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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

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OF

SOCIAL WORK

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AT THE

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A. GENERAL SESSIONS

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PUBLIC PROTECTION OF CHILDREN

(PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS)

Grace Abbott, Chief, Children's Bureau, Washington

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The first invasion of Toronto by the National Conference took place in 1897—evidently a happy occasion, for we have come again as the result of a cordial, not to say insistent, invitation from our Toronto members and what might be described as, for some people at least, a disconcertingly enthusiastic acceptance of your invitation by the Washington Conference. In 1897, as now, it was felt that coming to Canada made the meeting one of more than usual significance, and we shall all be groping while we are here for some means of expressing the respect and affection in which we hold Canada and Canadians. Last week I attended a meeting of state and provincial health officers; during the months to come trade unions and labor officials of the United States and Canada will discuss together, as we shall this week, common problems without the question of nationality ever being raised.

Although we have an international membership we nevertheless call ourselves a National Conference. Because the problems which we shall be discussing occur under different forms and with different manifestations in all nations and are universally national, perhaps it is accurate to describe ourselves as a National Conference of Social Work.

We shall, I am sure, again and again thoughtlessly make exclusive reference to states instead of saying states and provinces, but you will, I am sure, appreciate that it is because we have so many years of association behind us that this meeting takes on none of the outward signs of an international membership. Our understanding makes it unnecessary. For we do speak the same language and our differences are a part of the very deep understanding which is ours.

After last year's successful celebration of our fiftieth anniversary, it seems necessary to make at least passing reference to the fact that we are beginning a new half-century with this conference. All of us are much more interested in the present, for which we are responsible, than we are in either the past or the future. But because of the fact that we are here, the twenty-fourth meeting in Toronto is in our minds. Alexander Johnson, who has initiated so many of us into the Conference, was president at that time and Hastings Hart was the Conference secretary. Both of these men and others who attended the 1897

meeting would agree, I think, that there have been no discoveries in the field of social relationships that could seem comparable to the automobile, the airplane, or the radio in the mechanical field; still there are differences—some of them only superficial and others as revolutionary as the developments in means of communication. Then we called ourselves the National Conference of Charities and Correction. We have since, by a change of name, tried to unload as belonging to the dead past all the mistakes we had made in the name of charity; and perhaps we are also trying with this new name to make ourselves believe that we have already arrived at the day when social justice and scientific social treatment make charity and correction unnecessary.

In 1897 the standing committees, which correspond to the present divisions of the Conference, were: (1) on reports from states; (2) on organization of charity; (3) on child-saving; (4) on social settlements in cities; (5) on juvenile reformatories; (6) on care of the insane; (7) on care of the feebleminded; (8) on study of social problems in institutions of learning; (9) on municipal and county public charities; (10) on soldiers' and sailors' homes; (11) on prison reform.

One notices at once certain important omissions; health, mental hygiene, race relations, immigration, and economic problems were not among the subjects considered.

Free public employment offices which had recently been established in Ohio as a result of trade-union agitation were discussed from the standpoint of preventing pauperism rather than as a means to general organization of the employment market. The discussion of what should be done for "tramps" indicated that poverty was still regarded by many as evidence of lack of moral stamina rather than as evidence of a badly organized industrial system.

Excellent discussions of prison reform—the probation system, the indeterminate sentence, and the reasons for abandoning the county jail—make very painful reading because we have not made the progress we should in view of the fact that the principles have been understood and accepted by students of prison reform for so many years. Many of the same things will be resaid this week; some of them have already been said at the meeting of the National Probation Association. I wish we might feel that this year was to see conspicuous advances in the realization of that program.

Before I begin that annual performance known as the president's address I want to make a word of explanation about the evening programs for the week. With only six evenings and ten divisions, your harassed Program Committee had to face the fact that it was no longer possible to pretend to follow the Conference tradition that a general evening session should be allotted to each division. Upon the authority of the Executive Committee we finally decided that any attempt to compromise with that tradition presented such serious difficulties that it seemed wiser to select from the suggestions made by the various divisions those general problems with which the entire Conference

is concerned, and so far as possible to discuss them from the standpoint not of any one division but of the Conference as a whole. You will at once see some of the disadvantages in this plan and you may conclude that the difficulties of compromise with the traditions of the past must be more conservatively met in the future.

So far as your president's address is concerned, you will have perceived that I have assumed that if I stuck to my present interests I would not do violence to the scheme. I beg of you, however, to suspend your judgment as to the success of the experiment until you have heard others that are not ex officio performers.

PUBLIC PROTECTION FOR CHILDREN

I have chosen to speak tonight on the subject of public protection for children not because I have a new program to offer but because, first, public provision is so fundamental in a child-welfare program, and second, in addition to the economic, social, and medical questions which may be involved in the decision as to whether or not a particular program should be undertaken, legal and political questions which enter into such discussions have been frequently raised but little discussed in recent years.

Because of the very machinery of government, public action or failure to act affects profoundly the possibility of successful protection through individual or privately organized efforts. If we are to have not limited but universal provision for all children or for all members of any special group of children public aid must be enlisted. If a democratic community is committed to the policy of endeavoring to secure for all its children what the best and wisest parent wants for his own children, our efforts to realize this obligation must be continuous.

What, if any, are the limitations we should put on the public service in a child-welfare program? In general social workers have been responsible for extensions of state activity in social welfare. But there has not always been unanimity about these extensions. There have been fields which some of our members have thought the public agency should not enter. There are others who believe that the eventual taking over by the public of practically all social work should be our object. Many of these people believe there is a real social gain in the recognition of a public obligation even though the scope of the work is not enlarged when it passes under public control, and the technique temporarily or even permanently is not so good as under private auspices. There are still others who have recognized in the question as to the claims of the public versus the private agency no theoretical limitations on action; they ask only as to expediency. I have decided to try to discuss very briefly some of the political questions which have arisen in the past whenever extension of public functions or what is usually described as "further centralization" has been involved in a program found socially necessary or desirable.

The disagreement ten years ago as to mothers' pensions brought forth some of these difficulties and showed important differences of opinion. Some

thought it was a dangerous and far-reaching violation of an accepted and fundamental principle as to the division of work between public and private agencies. The line of division most frequently urged by this group was that the public should provide institutional care but that relief in the home must remain a private function. Some saw in it the acceptance by the state of an unsound policy of relief for what they regarded as a sound policy of social insurance, which seemed to them to be a possible alternative. Others saw insuperable practical difficulties to successful administration of such laws. As so often happens, words in themselves proved a barrier to a meeting of minds, and when someone discovered that public aid for dependent children in their own homes and not family relief was the issue, there were those who changed from opponents to advocates. As you know, the decision in this case was overwhelmingly in favor of public action.

A little over ten years ago the first law was passed and the first aid or pension of this sort was granted. Perhaps as many as 150,000 children in the United States and Canada are now receiving aid, and millions of dollars are being expended annually in this effort to prevent a break-up of families or a reduction of the standard of family life below the margin of social decency because of the death or incapacity of the husband and father. The maximum numbers have not yet been reached; although laws have been passed in forty-two states and in five provinces in some of these, because of no appropriation, the law is only a gesture, and no child has benefited by it yet. In many localities the attempt has never been made to grant aid to all those who could be said to come within the terms of the law. But the numbers and amounts are already so large as to present, as only mass statistics can, the importance of preventing widowhood by reducing the death-rate from disease and from industrial and other accidents, and, when death does occur, by preventing dependency on either public or private assistance by increasing wages. We ought to be thoroughly committed to the doctrine that except in unusual cases the workingman should be able to leave sufficient means to provide for the care and education of his own children. All this involves a further extension of programs for public action to which we are already committed, as well as the complicated economic problem of raising the level of wages of the lowest-paid group of workers, as to which we are probably not agreed.

Education and health offer better examples of some of the questions involved than do mothers' pensions. As soon as universal education instead of education of the few was accepted as a goal, free public schools became inevitable. But they were not established without a struggle.

Those who opposed public taxation for education denounced its proponents as socialists, or as advocates of a dangerous kind of paternalism, but the complete answer was that universal education on any other basis was impossible. We have now a similar situation with reference to the health of children. If we set before us the ideal of reducing to the lowest possible level our present unneces-

sarily high infant mortality and of assuring real physical fitness for all children, public participation in the program becomes absolutely necessary. In its final analysis this is an extension of an educational program, for we look forward to making available for every father and mother and for every child information as to how to prevent disease and, of almost greater importance to parents, how to feed and clothe and train children so that they may know real physical and mental fitness as distinct from mere absence of disease.

In the face of some opposition and with more support we are going forward with this program. In every part of the country public programs are under way for promoting good prenatal care for mothers and scientific care for infants and for all children as they pass through the preschool and school periods and are later initiated into the working world. This may be denounced as socialized medicine, as the beginnings of state medicine, as a program supplied by Moscow, but to the real question: "Can the general health of all children be safeguarded by any other method?" there is no answer.

State or provincial versus local control.—Our political philosophy is grounded in fear. We have been taught that that government is best which governs least and that that government is least dangerous which is nearest to us. These are maxims which influence our thinking even though we do not accept them as true. Our history accounts in large measure for our belief in local responsibility; in social service it came not from our federal form of government, but by inheritance from England of the theory of parish responsibility for the poor of each parish. Although local responsibility has behind it much sound political reasoning, in the United States as well as in England it has frequently furnished the explanation of neglect and of shameful incompetence and inefficiency. England's long struggle for centralized supervision began before our own. Ours has been won in discussion, but our practice still lags behind our theory in many parts of the continent.

It may help in some present controversies if we remember that although there has not been much objection in recent years to this process of state "centralization," as its opponents would call it, we owe that fact to the efforts of some who are here tonight and of others who belonged to an earlier generation of social reformers. We do not today hear people saying that the abandonment of the county insane asylum, the county jail, or the county poorhouse is a direct blow at the foundation principle of local responsibility in government. It was, however, exactly so denounced when Dorothea Dix began her agitation for state and national provision for the insane. Nowhere was this feeling of the importance of local government stronger than in Massachusetts, where Miss Dix began her work. But in the face of the facts which she presented political theories had to give way, and Massachusetts took the first steps toward state care of the insane.

In recent years, although our state governments have decreased in importance in most fields, they have assumed increasing responsibility in social work,

and in the last few years state administrative machinery has been greatly improved, so that these new responsibilities are being more successfully met. State provision for dependent children by institutional or family home care, by payment of some part of the cost of mothers' pensions, by the licensing and supervision of private agencies, by standardization of probation service, by assistance in the organization of county welfare boards and co-operation with such boards—these are only a few of the many examples that might be cited. The tendency in education has been along the same lines. Examination of teachers, prescribing curricula, and appropriating subsidies for reducing illiteracy, for training teachers, and for special types of education are usually accepted as a responsibility of the state government.

In the health field the states have been compelled to take the leadership. Assisting in carrying local health work until the local community is ready to take it over, as well as continuing state subsidies for special local activities, is becoming more general each year.

A new and genuine appreciation of the importance of rural work has given added impetus to this whole movement for the assumption of leadership by the state. No one sees any other method by which county-wide work can be initiated and carried on in the less populous and less wealthy counties. Even with taxation involving a sacrifice entirely out of proportion to that borne by the richer communities, such counties find the burden of adequate provision for the children's education, health, etc., is too heavy to bear.

Either we must give up the ideal of anything approximating equal opportunity for the child in the rural district and the small industrial and mining community and the child in the richer community or we must accept the principle of a wider taxing area and of central responsibility for the encouragement and development of a state-wide program. The necessity for rapid extension of education, health, and social service through state co-operation in county-wide programs is clearly indicated.

In institutional care the line of progress has been the permanent and complete taking over of what had previously been a function of the local government. In other fields there has been no such loss of power or function in the local community; state action has been directed toward a more efficient functioning of the local community with reference to social welfare; and it is interesting to note that the new programs for mental hygiene and for the care of the physically handicapped follow the line of state co-operation with the local community rather than that of taking over the entire program. It is in this relationship that we have come to recognize a new kind of administrative skill—in educating the public along special lines, in supplying information as to successful methods of local work, in lending trained and experienced personnel, in co-operating in difficult case work, in transferring records of persons who move from one part of the state to another, and in supporting local offices against local selfish forces that would destroy or render inefficient the county program.

State inspection of private child-caring agencies and state responsibility for helping the counties work out their programs for preventing delinquency and dependency and for developing recreation as well as for the treatment and care of those who are already delinquent and dependent are already established in only a few states, but the case for state leadership in education, health, and social service has been made, and ours is the responsibility of making it a successful reality.

The place of the national government in the program.—When it comes to the function of the national government, there are new complications. I think all of you would agree that the very important field of research and general education as to established principles of child care is recognized as the province of the federal government.

The old theory that matters of national interest should be the function of the federal government and those which are purely local should be locally settled is still unquestionably the rule to follow. But what is national, what is state, and what is purely local becomes a question of fact rather than of political theory or political traditions. Those who are opposed to the particular undertaking under discussion can always be counted upon to talk much about the fundamental political principles involved and very little about the end which is sought. But there are a few who favor the object sought, to whom the political changes seem so dangerous as to warrant opposition. As I have already suggested, there were those who prophesied the fall of the Republic when it was proposed that new types of work should be taken over by the state and the authority of local government was to be in any degree curtailed as well as when a proposal to increase or develop national functions was made.

Although in many states local feeling has been as strong as state feeling, and geographic, economic, and social differences inside a single state are often as striking and as fundamental as the differences between any two states, this local community feeling has never been associated with a great struggle, and it finds expression in no familiar maxim which passes for thought and judgment.

Geographic relationship and economic and social conditions have all greatly changed. The most remote state may be nearer Washington in means of communication and transportation than Buffalo was to Albany or Boston to Springfield at the time the Constitution was adopted. Economic lines of development everywhere cross the arbitrary boundaries of the state. The industrial district of which New York City is the center crosses the boundaries of four states; that of Chicago, three states; while in the industrial districts of St. Louis, Philadelphia, and many other cities, two states are included. The state in which an increasing number of men and women sleep and vote is not the state in which they work. We have come to recognize that local transportation problems of these and many other cities cannot be settled in either a single city or a single state. But the question as to whether education, health, or child labor present national problems is more frequently challenged.

That the welfare of children is a matter of more than local concern no one would challenge, since the future citizenship of the nation as well as of the individual state is always involved. Moreover, we have made a matter of national concern what has been happening to the children of Germany, Russia, Austria, and Armenia, as well as those of Belgium and Japan and Greece. Here in Canada, I may be reminded that most of the world has joined in an international effort to protect children. There can be no question of the existence of a national interest in the protection of childhood. But there are always two questions, first, whether the need of national action exists, and second, whether further if the need exists it is at the time practical to meet the need by national action.

In the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy, Congress and forty-one states and the territory of Hawaii have found that the need exists and that as in the more recently developed administrative relationship of the state to the county, the method used strengthens rather than impairs the sense of local responsibility and increases the efficiency of local administrative agencies.

Congress has three times declared for national action with reference to child labor—twice by statute and finally by a constitutional amendment submitted to the states for ratification. Each time co-operation with the states and not exclusive control has been the method chosen. Whether or not the states by ratification of the proposed amendment will agree as to the need for national action and as to the practical character of this remedy will be decided in the election of state legislators this autumn.

Congress has not yet acted on the proposal of federal aid for general education, but that this proposal will be much discussed in the immediate future is clearly indicated. It is important in the discussions that are to come that we keep close to the facts. Is there a national need and, as a matter of practical administration, can it be met in the way suggested? No new national policy is involved. The same questions have been with us since 1781. The extreme states rights of the Articles of Confederation were promptly found to have a disastrous effect on business. From 1791 to the present, extensions of national authority which promoted commerce and agriculture have been made and will continue to be made as new conditions arise or as new understanding of old conditions develops. Extension in the social welfare field is therefore only a part of a developing tendency. We are not guided by the past in our social thinking. We cannot be guided by the past in the adaptation of political machinery to social needs not understood nor given recognition at the time that machinery was set up. We shall have to do our own thinking and assume responsibility for what we do or fail to do for the children of the present. Our political forefathers showed both courage and independence; our pioneers in social reform have lacked neither vision nor courage. I think no one of us prefers to forget our own responsibilities in satisfaction over the qualities that they displayed.

I cannot leave the question of public protection of children without saying something about the factor on which the success of any program depends—a properly qualified personnel. At the meeting of the Conference here in Toronto in 1897 in what was perhaps the most significant paper of all those presented, Mary Richmond discussed the need of a training school of applied philanthropy. In it she set forth the imperative need of more and better training for the tasks which the social worker was undertaking to perform in the community and outlined with convincing concreteness the possible curriculum and the field of work, as well as the relationship which such a school might sustain to the university or college as well as to social agencies. Although Miss Richmond's conclusions were challenged by some, it was only a short time before a beginning was made in meeting this new educational need. Today we have graduate and undergraduate schools giving general and specialized training. We have also, as I am sure all of you know, an organization of social workers which is trying to develop a professional attitude among ourselves and toward ourselves. There is, however, only one way by which these advancing standards can find permanent place in the public service, and that is through a recognition of the merit principle in appointment. The universal experience is that the merit principle is made certain in the public service by civil service and by civil service only.

I am led to speak of this for several reasons. In the first place, in spite of years of agitation, the need is still not met. In a recent article in the annals of the American Academy, the executive secretary of the American Association of Social Workers states that "only four of the twenty-five states reporting have all or any part of the social work classified under civil service." A scientific classification of employees is the basis of an efficient working of the merit principle. Federal employees found their prophecies fulfilled when that important function was not given to the Federal Civil Service Commission which for nearly half a century with increasing effectiveness has protected the service from the politician and co-operated in raising the standards of admission to the service. At last year's conference it was said that one could no more choose a social worker by means of a civil service examination than a man could choose his wife by that method. That this conclusion involved a fundamental misconception of the task of the social worker and also of the progress that has been made in the administration of civil service, I do not need to point out to you.

Some good public officials, it is true, prefer the dangers of politics to what they think are the uncertain means of determining real fitness which a civil service examination offers.

In many states and local communities, the civil service laws are badly drawn or poorly administered. This cannot be accepted as a reason for regarding civil service as a failure any more than we would advocate a return to employers' liability because a workmen's compensation law was badly drawn or administered. In the federal service we use now very commonly what is known as the non-assembled examination in which the applicant's education

and experience are rated and an oral examination determines those qualities which only a personal interview can determine. I know of no better basis of choosing a properly qualified person than education, experience, and personal adaptation for the work. Under civil service all of the requirements for different types of service can be worked out as carefully as in the best-organized personnel bureaus; the only restriction on the civil service is that these standards once set up cannot be changed while the examination is in progress.

What is the alternative to this method of selection? Every year some state or local community in which the tradition of the merit system has seemed to put the public service on a sure foundation has seen the work for children sacrificed to selfish ambitions—sometimes of one party and sometimes of another.

At the meeting held in Toronto in 1897 a committee was appointed to investigate and report upon the subject of "Politics and Public Institutions." At the next meeting in New York in 1898, Dr. Henderson, who was chairman of the committee, reported on the results of a questionnaire sent out to all the states. Information was obtained which he described as "in no case exhaustive." To quote Dr. Henderson's words:

> A startling yet very natural revelation of the tendency of the "spoils system" came out in our correspondence and showed that system to be what it is—a system of terrorism, under which the best and bravest men quail. In almost every instance we have been in honor obliged to omit the names of our informants and even the states from which our knowledge comes.

Conditions have improved since that time. But we ought to have no false sense of security. Responsible executives in most places are not appointed through civil service, and the work is not secure when it is only the subordinate positions in which the merit system prevails. I do not mean to say that we have not had excellent political appointees who have done much to advance the programs in which we are all interested. But these advantages we could secure on a more dignified basis through the civil service. Whether or not we extend the field of public service, it is already so important that one of the tasks that we have always with us is to protect and at the same time to raise our standard of public administration. This is especially important in the case of public child-caring agencies because of the peculiar helplessness of all children and especially of the groups of children so frequently intrusted to the care of the state. Moreover, the problems of child welfare are so varied and so fundamental that only when our ideal of public administration becomes a reality can we hope to do for children what we should.

Finally, as I close, I want to explain to our Canadian friends why some of our members, especially those who have been for years leaders in the Conference, feel that our coming to Canada presents a very special opportunity and obligation. Those who come from the East and the more congested centers of the Middle West are eager to put their experience at your disposal. They have in mind not so much Toronto as the great stretches west of Toronto. Investigation would show, I think, that they have the same yearning solicitude with

reference to those parts of the United States which were only yesterday the homes which the pioneers wrested from the wilderness of prairie and mountain. They have it for the South, in which development along social lines has been delayed by causes with which we are all familiar. Believing that the trial-and-error method in social work should become a thing of the past, they would like to see others learn by their mistakes. They hope to see measures undertaken by you which will render much of the work they are now doing unnecessary; that measures not only for the prevention of social disease of one kind and another but for the creation of a new standard of social welfare may be made the basis of your work. They do not ask you to follow them; on the contrary, they suggest that you avoid following them and profit by the costliness in human welfare which failure to build on the basis of the community's responsibility for health and social welfare has meant in the lives of the children for whom they are responsible.

Our history indicates that as a rule great steps forward usually come in a new community, or one in which the field has been so long uncultivated that it might be classified as virgin soil. The great advance which the Middle West made in its provisions for education is a conspicuous example. Encouraged by a federal subsidy, for the first time in the history of the world a really comprehensive educational program was established. It supplemented the local elementary and secondary schools with free college, technical, and professional training and an extension service for the whole state and especially for the farmers. This program has become an integral part of the conception of public provision for education west of the Alleghany Mountains. All of this was done during the recurrent periods of agricultural depression and through the payment of taxes which involved greater sacrifices than the same provisions would have required in the richer Atlantic Coast states. It was based on what is the best conception of the reason for public provision and that is that the path of economy is co-operation of all the people in providing and in controlling the services which are in general needed by all. The heavily endowed school or agency does not exist in such communities; but it is one of the characteristics of frontier life that the people feel themselves adequate to the performance of any task of whose importance they have become convinced. And we hope that the frontier habit of thought is still ours and yours.

Those who come from congested centers are eager to see the constructive imagination of the West turned toward community health, toward provision of real homes for all children, toward prevention of dependency and delinquency, as it was toward education at the time when those great advances in our conception of education were in the making. With that done it would still be necessary to draw on the experience of those older communities in which because of numbers greater specialization is possible and in consequence the value of experiments can be more readily determined and where the very pressure of immediate needs leads to the discovery of new methods and new resources.

We are grateful to the older communities in which during a period of years the standard of care and the extent of the service have steadily developed. We are learning also from other communities whose beginning shows as early a date but in which the development of a social program has been delayed, which are now furnishing new examples in state leadership and in administrative machinery. Out of the older communities comes the movement which is born of compassion for the needless and cruel suffering of children; out of the newer communities comes the faith in the realization of that new day for children to secure which the pioneer turned his face toward the West. One seeks to correct existing injustices, to overcome the apathy and inhibitions which devotion to tradition creates, to correlate the efforts of many toward a single object; the other requires creative imagination for the utilization of the opportunity of building anew with the right social perspective and with the place of the child in the future of the state fully recognized.

THE URGE FORWARD

Right Hon. Sir George E. Foster, G.C.M.G., Toronto

I was quite put out when I was told a moment ago that I had to speak to this machine [radio]. I had thought I came here to speak to the people, and to speak to people through a machine is a piece of business which I do not very much like. But what can you do? The radio is the fashion, and sometimes Fashion has to rule.

The line of thought that has been forced upon me by the selection of my subject runs quite differently from the line of thought carried out by the eloquent and most interesting and able speaker who has preceded me. My line of thought is rather along the larger aspect of the world's work of today and of the world's activities of today as compared with the past, prompted by a glance study of the almost innumerable associations which today are engaged in the work of the betterment of humanity in the world at large. What I shall attempt to do is not to think these matters out closely and in detail, but if I may be able in a short time to make as it were certain broad chalk marks and delineations which you may follow out if you are interested and feel it of use, I shall have done all that I came here to do tonight. Passing through a city not long since I saw, in a prominent place, three words, "Stop—Look—Listen," and it struck me that at this particular stage of the world's development along the lines of betterment it would not be without use for us for a moment to stop, and to look, and to listen. It is a wise thing for anyone to do who is approaching a railway track before he takes the plunge across which may put him into danger. It is a wise thing for a man or a woman to do at certain junctures in life, to stop going for a moment, to look and listen, to compare and learn. In these busy world-times it is a big help, a great assistance to us, if in the almost tireless

rush of progress we draw our car to a stop, take a view as wide and as far as we possibly can, and listen to the voices that come to us from that which we see with our mental vision. It is amazing to a man when he stops and looks and listens to see the differences which present themselves in a contrast between the world of a hundred years ago and the world of today; between the world of a thousand years ago and the world of today it is more marked; between the world of twenty-five years ago and that of today it is marked in a way that astonishes us.

Let us look for a moment. What are the great distinguishing things we see? First, the amazing activity which is prominent and which is noticeable everywhere in the world. Never at any age of the world's history were its activities in the aggregate or in the individual anything to be compared to the restless, tireless, ceaseless activity of the present. One sees also that the man power of today as compared with the man power of a hundred years ago is amazingly increased. We today have a man power which is more efficient, more widely distributed, more useful, and which latterly has become almost doubled by the addition of the surplus of woman power in the great affairs of the world. We take another glance and we see something else. Never in the history of the world were so largely wrested from nature those forces which have so long lain dormant, those forces which in these latter days have been harnessed and put at work and at the disposition of the activities and the man power of today. Then we take another look and ask ourselves when were the accumulated resources of the world anything to be compared with today's. In wealth, in potentiality, in distribution, in the vast variety which they attain the resources of the world, I suppose, are almost incalculably greater today than they were a hundred or even fifty years ago. In those four great lines, then, you have the activities of the world at an amazing pitch in their growth and in their work, you have the man-power development vastly greater, you have the forces of nature more widely conquered, and you have the immense resources. These are elements in the work of the world which almost revolutionize its methods, which call for almost entire revolution in its methods of treatment. Social workers, educational workers, workers in every line of activity, must take note of these changes and of their multiplication, and make their methods fitted more and more to these conditions.

What perhaps astonishes me more than anything else is the amazing mobility of the present age as compared with that of any past age in the history of the world. The mobility of matter as compared with a few years ago, how vastly it has increased. In the olden times what was raised in the locality had to be consumed there. To be sure four-footed beasts might be driven a short way and some products carried, while today matter in bulk and great variety from every section of the world comes almost to our doors. Such is the mobility of transportation which almost passes our belief unless we sit down and look at the results. The mobility of man is wonderfully increased. Today one hops off

at early daylight in New York, and hops on to the ground in the late dusk in California. He has made that distance in twenty-one hours. Today we have the spectacle of three nationalities chasing themselves in air transport around the world and accomplishing the feat with fair success. The mobility of man makes his powers infinitely greater in their effect. The mobility of thought and common action, they are all so enhanced in these latter times that when you come to add that idea to the ideas of the greater resources, the greater man power, of the natural forces chained in and harnessed to the activities of the world; when you take all this into account, is it too much to say that the world has changed its condition almost entirely and that we must change our methods in reference to our work as these conditions have changed?

For a moment let me go to the third thought. We have stopped; we have looked for a very brief time; we have taken a very hasty and imperfect review of the conditions as they are today; but the main thing after all is that we listen. As we listen what voice is brought to us? What lesson is taught us? What impulse comes to us from those conditions which we have broadly and briefly outlined? For there must be a spirit which informs and works within those conditions. There must be an impulse that drives, there must be ideals which attract and lead into some direction or other. And the question which arises before us and will not down is as to whether in all those changed conditions the material has thrust and further enslaved the heart and soul of us, or whether the mental, the intellectual, and the spiritual in us have found in greater material advancement, greater space, greater opportunity for work. Which has attained the ascendancy? Is it that the material is the stronger, or the spiritual? Is the balance of advantage found in these things that have come out of these changes, the influences and the results, beneficent or is it maleficent? Is man more a director and a master over the material, or is he on the other hand more a slave of the material? These are questions we are interested in answering. As we listen to the lessons taught by the present-day activities, by these resources we have spoken of, by these forces, what can we draw as fairly comfortable answers?

I think there are three. There may be more, but I think there are three voices that speak to us out of that accumulation of world-forces and powers which I have so briefly and so ineffectually brought to our minds tonight. First, we may be assured of this: of the greatly increased sense of the obligations of human brotherhood and service. Have I put that clearly? A greatly increased sense of the obligations resting upon us of human brotherhood and of human service one to the other. Take any period of past history. The farther we go back the more strikingly we see the contrast, but take any period and contrast it with the present, and we can draw comfort from the fact that there has been an advance in that sense of human brotherhood and of human service which marks one of the large advances of the human race and of the world during these latter times. Second, in order to realize those obligations

there have come into the arena practical business methods of organization in the work for the fulfilling of those obligations. Never, I think, in any stage of the world's history have we seen practical business methods applied to the working out of these obligations of human brotherhood and of human service as we have in these latter days. The third thing which comes as a lesson is this: that we have entered into a period where such work is not simply that of an individual or of a small local aggregation of individuals, but where there is organization and co-operation, an in-and-out working of the community, of society, of the nation, and of essential international co-operation as well. Have I made this clear to you? The distinguishing characteristic of today's world's work is the fact that it is not bounded by small localities, it is not bounded by states, it is not bounded by nations, but it is a world getting together, a world-co-operation, and a putting together of the finest sentiment and the highest aspirations of the world and working them for the common betterment of humanity the wide world over.

Let me illustrate: A Rockefeller lives and does his work through a long period of years. There appears to be nothing in that but the piling up of material wealth. You look in vain for spiritual influences, for humanitarian impulses. It is a mighty business; millions upon millions are brought together by the genius and the work chiefly of one man. But Rockefeller comes to a certain time in his material development, and the world faces a new phase: that the millions upon millions of this material wealth have now been placed into a high and noble trust, under the control of trustees of the highest character, and that those millions of Rockefeller in these latter years and for long years to come are administering to the spiritual comfort, the humanitarian improvement, and the healing processes of the world. We might take Carnegie as another example. We might multiply these examples by hundreds and thousands in the United States of America, in Great Britain, and in Canada on a higher or lower scale. And you will find, in all those outcroppings of the pursuit of material wealth for a generation or more, in so many cases that it has gone into the treasury of humanity and of God, placed there for the help of humanity. And as we look across the international field and watch the associations which are at work, the universities which have been founded, colleges put upon their feet, great libraries and schools opened, research efforts undertaken, a thousand and one of the finest and noblest institutions established for human uplift, all being supported today by the material wealth which was gathered when we knew little and cared less, we behold with thanksgiving all those services which are now being ministered to by endowments which it has made.

Take, again, what you find in these latter years since the war has passed through the gates of the Armistice, what a stupendous outpouring there has been of private and public money and of private and public service in the interests of those who suffer, not in any special locality but in any and every locality. It would take a mathematician a long while to calculate the money which has

gone into work of that kind during the last ten years. It would take more than mathematical calculations to sum up the good done thereby—the alleviation of human ills, the incitement to human endeavor and hope, the work of raising and of influencing toward the best and the highest and the strongest of large sections of humanity, all of which has been characteristic of these latter years, which gives to me the happy answer that the brotherhood claims, the human service claims of humanity are being met in a way different from any previous age in the world's history. Then take all those associations of science, of education, all the different lines of research, all lines of religious work. These are not confined to the locality nor to the state nor to the nation. They have broken all bounds and are now world-wide in their co-operation and in their effects.

So I take from the lessons which we may read on these broad and general lines a message of comfort and hope and affirmation to the questions: Is the world becoming better, or is it growing worse? Are the impulses and influences at work, the spiritual, humanizing influences, overmastering and overpowering the maleficent influences at work? We must declare a decided affirmative. These considerations bring hope to my heart, and I am sure will to yours, that the world of humanity is marching still onward and upward, that the spiritual is overcoming and dominating the material and taking of it for its own uses, that there is a soul in humanity which can be appealed to, which has aspirations and longings in common, that the world is today, as it were, mobilizing all these common agreements, aspirations and hopes and, as in the conduct of the Great War, mobilizing them under one general direction.

I want to cite one or two instances buttressing what I have said. How long has the world wished for the reign of law in the international relations of the world! How long has it wished for it! Sometimes how near it has been to accomplishment, but never until the last two years have we had uplifted in the vision of the world a world-court which could do for nations in their legal and constitutional relations with one another what the courts of our national entities do for the citizens of the different nations. That world-court has been established. It is trying world-cases. It is giving world-decisions, and it is gradually gathering about it and evolving a system of world-jurisprudence and constitutional law. Fifty-four nations today have subscribed to that court. In the heart of nations outside of those that have subscribed there is the same longing and the same ideals. Only a little time and this world-court will become an institution, the effect of which will be that war lag to the rear and peace forge to the front, when the day dawn of enduring peace and the hope of humanity grows clear and strong for the future. Today there is in this world of ours a league of nations, fifty-four of whom have made their compact with one another to eschew war and to settle international differences by the methods of peace. More and more the influence and strength of that league of nations is developing and approving itself to the people of the world, and we are within

seeing distance of a combination of all the nations of the world which shall put war behind them as a method of settling difficulties.

If we put the question tonight to the watchman on the tower as he stands and looks into the future, "Watchman, what of the night?" shall we hear an encouraging word? I think so. The word will come to us something like this: that humanity's soul is aroused; that human brotherhood and human service are coming into their own; that there is a drift upward, an urge forward in the wide world; that there is a God in heaven; that the day breaks of a time when war shall be no more, when the wings of peace shall envelop the earth, when the common sentiments and aspirations of humanity shall find conscious vocalization in a great round-the-world league of nations which shall act from a common and humane purpose and for common and humane results.

THE COMMUNITY CHEST MOVEMENT—AN INTERPRETATION

C. M. Bookman, Executive Secretary, Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati

The social service infant whose birth was so deplored among social workers ten years ago, whose early years were so beset with dangers, and whose early actions were so severely criticized, has grown and developed until it is today a giant holding in his grasp the destiny of American social work for at least a decade to come. The two or three cities with federations ten years ago have increased to nearly two hundred; the two or three hundred thousand dollars raised by federations ten years ago have increased to over fifty millions; the few thousand stockholders in the early enterprises now share the joy of service with millions of their fellow-citizens. More and more cities are adopting the plan and nothing seems likely either to stop its growth or to hasten greatly its continued spread. A few successes or a few failures will influence it but slightly. Its ultimate success or failure rests upon the soundness of its principles and the statesmanship of its leaders. No movement in the long history of social work has so quickly caught the popular fancy. Through community chest methods practically the entire population of many cities have become interested in social work. Social problems and ways of solving them have become popular topics of conversation. Social work in these cities is recognized as one of the vital forces in the life of the people. Hence more money has been raised for social service and charitable endeavor than was ever dreamed possible, and many of the results secured are outstanding.

I have no desire to compare the social results of a community chest city with the social results of a city not so organized. Such comparisons are invidious; but that progress in social service in community chest cities has been marked during the past ten years, I believe will be accepted without question.

Some of the individual pieces of social work are no better done than in unorganized cities, but the entire social program has developed more soundly. Social results on a community basis have been secured. The movement has not been in existence long enough to ascribe to it longevity. However, it has been in existence long enough, and it gives promise of a long enough future life, to make an inventory a possibility and a necessity.

I shall speak frankly on the subject of community chests, realizing that neither the opponents of community chest methods, nor its friends, will be pleased with some of the things I shall have to say.

Why has this movement caught the popular fancy? The belief of many that community chests owe their continued existence to war experience and the urge to social service endeavor that came after the war is partly correct. The war and the war chests accelerated the growth of community chests more than ten years of careful planning and effort could have accelerated it without the war. At the same time the war and the war chests had a bad influence on the sound development of the federation movement. The tremendous necessities growing out of the war made imperative the quick development of the best money-raising machinery possible if sufficient funds were to be raised to continue social work programs that had developed during the war. The war chests demonstrated that large amounts could be raised through unity of action in one campaign. The fact that churches, colleges, and hundreds of other organizations adopted this plan of securing their finances and still continue such a plan indicates clearly that war chests made a contribution to methods of raising money by popular subscription. Of course, it must be stated that the war chest itself owes its existence largely to the experience of cities that before the war had found the federated method of securing funds sound and practical. After the war, many cities having learned the value of united and concerted action, planned to carry on this successful money-raising plan and many community chests were formed as a result. Other cities discontinued their joint money-raising efforts until business depressions forced the agencies into joint efforts at financing their needs. Hence three or four years after the war we find a second spread of the idea of joint financing. That interest is still unabated.

While war chests undoubtedly accelerated the growth of federations, they followed certain practices that have been detrimental. Although certain well-defined standards were adopted for the determination of budgets, war agencies, generally, received what they asked without too careful scrutiny of needs. The prevailing opinion was that no amount asked could be in excess of the needs, the money often being contributed first and programs formulated afterward. The effect of this financial frenzy is still with us. Churches, colleges, social agencies, and innumerable other groups have been conducting campaigns for millions, often with indefinite plans, with rather hazy conceptions of the real values inherent in the programs to be executed, and with little or no concern

about the capacity or desire of the public to give. I do not mean to imply that the capacity to give has been reached. What I do want to emphasize is that the habit formed during the war, and continued annually since the war, of asking without proper budget consideration is rapidly exhausting the patience of the public. Those responsible for collective financing before the war based their appeals for funds upon most careful budgetary procedure. Agencies were willing to put their plans through a refining process, to eliminate all slag possible. They realized that funds with which to do the work would not be sufficient if they were not careful to request only what was reasonable after most careful study of the needs. Expansions during the war and immediately after the war encouraged the agencies to ask for any sum whatsoever with almost total abandon.

Then, war chests were interested almost solely in finances. They did not undertake in any way to co-ordinate the social work, leaving that entirely to the separate agencies. They were self-appointed bodies, that because of war needs could handle the giving of the public as they wished; they generally wished to do it in an autocratic way. People were told what they must give, and public opinion backed by methods not always commendable forced their gifts. Laborers were told to give by their employers, and quite generally the amount of their gift was subtracted from the pay envelope on the first of the following month. This autocratic method was little objected to, and was in a large measure justified by the exigencies of the war situation. Labor reasoned, if the government can restrict the amount of flour to be used, others can impose this personal tax for semi-governmental purposes. There were some murmurs of disapproval, usually squelched by epithets that no true American cared to leave as a heritage. Then followed a partial revolt against this arbitrary authority and to this rather than to any diminution of patriotism of the individual delinquents were due the losses in collections suffered by war chests when their control began to lessen.

I wonder if some of the losses in collections today experienced by many of the community chests should be interpreted in the same way. Many community chests today are little more than financial agencies. Chambers of commerce, business men's organizations, and individual givers, who had come to realize the wastefulness of the former methods of financing social work—the social agencies themselves that received more money through the war chest plan, with practically no supervision going with it, were willing to perpetuate the plan as it was during the war. So, we find many community chests organized on that basis; the same, or practically the same, self-appointed group taking control, and the social agencies, in fact the givers themselves, having little or no representation. This undemocratic board, as the money-raising efforts took less and less time, began to dictate what social programs should be prosecuted and what ones suppressed, and the agencies, in a large measure, found themselves unrepresented in places of authority. The board of control, being so

far removed from the actual social needs and the existing agencies' methods of reaching those needs, could not be intelligently sympathetic. The agencies having no responsibility in the money-raising could little appreciate the difficulties of money-raising and requested expansions beyond any community's ability to grant, and in many cases felt they were being discriminated against when the sum was not forthcoming, honestly believing they could raise the amount asked if they should attempt it independently, forgetting their days of poverty in their years of prosperity.

Community chests when organized as financial agents can present convincing arguments on the value of their work. They do raise more money than individual agencies would be able to raise, at an expense but a fraction of the former expense. They do relieve givers of the constant annoyance of repeated appeals—one reason why central financing appeals to the average business man. However, valuable as these contributions are, I doubt if community chests can justify their existence on the financial argument alone. We all recognize the need of economies. We realize that there is so much to do, and so little with which to do it, that the social agency or social worker that wastes money is guilty of malfeasance. But social programs are not formulated to save money or to save annoyance to givers; they are formulated to build up social values in society, to make possible a better and a happier people. We must look to social results for justification of the community chest plan of conducting social work. Many of the high ideals born with the war have disappeared, and yet the federated plan of enlisting interest and support for social work has continued. Why has it continued? We are all familiar with the loyalty of a few hundred givers to individual agencies before community chests were thought of; of the sacrifices these few hundred would make for the prosecution of the work of these independent agencies. These few hundred, through the community chest method, have become thousands vitally interested in the broader social programs as well as in the particular programs of individual agencies. These thousands have been able to hold fast to at least this one ideal that grew out of the war—common service to humanity.

Then, the community chest plan has made possible scientific methods of molding public opinion. The centralization and unification of social work has provided funds with which to carry on constructive educational programs; money with which to bring to the attention of the entire community the social ills of that community. A student of community chest cities will find that there has grown in those cities the feeling on the part of the citizens that no one can be a true citizen, and measure up to the real responsibilities of citizenship, if he fails to identify himself with such a movement.

Every citizen has it in his heart to give. He may find this or that or the other objection to giving, but he realizes that he owes a responsibility to the common life of the community, and that while sharing the opportunities of twentieth-century civilization he must accept the responsibilities that go with them.

Then, the community chest method is not a class method. Social work in the past has been largely a matter of taking from the rich and giving to the poor. The community chest bases its appeal upon common responsibility; asking the rich and the poor, the favored and the unfortunate to share in the up-building of the community life. This has appealed to the man of small means, and he has grasped the opportunity to be a part of such a movement. What was once the task of the privileged few has become the job of the average man.

Then the economies introduced have appealed to the business man. Sentiment must never be divorced from social work. It is the heart of it, but the head must be joined with the heart if we are to make progress in relieving modern social conditions.

Furthermore, the community chest plan in social work parallels the plans of unification and consolidation that have been going on in all lines of human endeavor. The business man knows the value and understands the reasons for unification of plans in the business world. The great financial consolidations and what they have accomplished, from his point of view, are convincing arguments for the adoption of the same plan in social work.

Much as we may regret it, the social worker in the past has not been considered by the public as very much needed in the scheme of things. The community chest, by combining the social endeavors of the various agencies, social workers and individuals, has produced a program and an activity of sufficient size to command the respect of the community, and to give to social workers and social agencies a standing they never had before.

Then many have been drawn to the community chest plan because of the petty annoyance of independent, unrelated money-raising efforts of the past. These things and many others have had their effect. I do not believe I am overly optimistic when I say that the biggest factor in the success of the community chest has come from the fact that it has permitted thousands to feel the thrill of service when they give their time and money to human welfare.

Why, if these things are true, has the community chest plan been criticized, not alone by social workers but by social agencies and various members of different boards, and sometimes by givers? Let us not forget that organized social work itself has not escaped criticism; that charity to the average citizen has been an individual matter; that his inclination has been to give to relieve personally known distress. To be sure he ofttimes gave because of the personal satisfaction that came to him at having relieved distress; he did not even experience the joy of unselfish service. Here is a factor that must not be overlooked.

The criticism was made that these separate agencies when organized would make charitable work mechanical; that it would remove the giver from the object of his gift. How natural when the community chest introduced a third step in the transference of his money to the object of his interest that he should be unfavorable to the plan.

Then, social agencies and social workers, much as they may preach the doctrine of unselfishness, are at heart just as selfish in the things they do as other human institutions and individuals. They fear that a certain amount of prestige and power may be removed from the agency they represent; that the control they exercise over their own programs will be assumed by an outside group; that the givers in the community who have been loyal to them and to their program will lose interest in that particular program as they develop interest in a wider community one.

Then, also, social workers have been largely a group of technicians, and as technicians they have developed sound and lasting methods of procedure in handling many phases of social work, but I fear that ofttimes technique has blinded the eyes of the social worker to the real purposes of social work.

Furthermore, the comment has been made that the community chest is a leveling process; that certain of the stronger agencies find themselves retarded in their growth, while the weaker agencies are permitted expansions. The community chest plan is a leveling process, but the strongest agency in the community chest is permitted expansion, in my opinion, beyond any expansion it could possibly secure through its individual efforts. At the same time agencies that are weaker, but just as important in the scheme of social progress, are built up to a point where their work is effective. The leveling process instead of being a drawback should be considered one of the strongest virtues of the community chest plan.

What does it profit an agency interested in the moral life of the young to flourish independently if health measures are neglected, if educational opportunities are lacking, if poverty and vice hold sway? Social agencies must realize that to accomplish the things they wish to accomplish it is necessary to build up the entire life of the community.

I do not believe that some of the social agencies unfavorable to the community chest plan of operation are quite consistent. Name an agency that is not willing and anxious to extend its work, to take over the work of other agencies! They are quite willing to federate social work under their own direction, but the community chest is anxious to federate social work under the direction of all the social forces of a community. The community chest plan is the democratic way. I think that perhaps this critical attitude arises from a desire on the part of an agency to increase its power and prestige and its standing per se, and does not arise from a fear that the social program will suffer.

A feeling of religious intolerance is, I think, another ground for objection to the community chest. The Catholic refusing to give if any part of his gift is to be used by a Jew or Protestant; the Jew refusing to support Catholic social work, and both concerned if any of their gift is used by a Protestant agency. This point of view might not be so serious if we could induce disease germs to recognize religious affiliations. It is perfectly futile to care for any one group in a community, and permit some other group to go unprotected and

unprovided for. The complexity of modern community life makes each individual dependent upon the welfare of every other individual; be he Catholic, Jew, or Protestant, white or black, we must be concerned with the social conditions under which he lives. For selfish reasons, if for no other, we must be cosmopolitan in our giving.

Of course there is a bigger and finer aspect to this subject; through joining forces for the welfare of the community, intolerance has been in a measure replaced by tolerance. One of the biggest contributions that the community chest has made to modern community life is to be found here.

There have developed, however, certain difficulties in community chest procedure which must be overcome, and some dangers which must be recognized. First, may I speak of the difficulties encountered in maintaining the high level of giving that has developed in community chest cities. When such large sums are raised as $4.00 to $4.25 per capita, there is little hope of a yearly increase in budgets. If giving in the cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati is studied it will be found that two periods of expansion occurred, one during the war and one immediately following it; that outside of these two periods of increase, the budgets of these cities have remained at practically the same amounts. I doubt if Cleveland or Cincinnati could raise such a large amount per capita for social work as they raise today if they had tried to make social service expansions by adding small amounts each year. Experience seems to indicate that in joint financing, budgets will increase more easily by adding large amounts at longer intervals than by smaller increases yearly. An accumulation of needs makes an impression on the giving public. The agencies themselves by such a policy are more careful in determining their real needs, and through constant publicity acquaint the public with these needs.

Certain wasteful practices have grown up in social service that must be eradicated; certain consolidations must be effected in the interest of the work. The period of consolidation is as important to the social agency as is the period of expansion.

New sources of revenue must be explored, such as taxation, earning power, and endowments. The fact scarcely needs statement that social agencies will not develop such sources of revenue to the fullest extent if expanding budgets are allowed year after year.

There has grown up quite generally in community chests the practice of lump-sum giving to the whole social program of a city. The individual giver has not been tied up to definite pieces of social work. The belief that the giver through organized social service and especially community chests will be removed from the object of his gift is one criticism that needs careful consideration. If we are to maintain the interest of the individual givers we must see to it that their interest is made specific; that they are tied up to individual pieces of social work and are given an opportunity to know social conditions first hand. If a community chest plans to consolidate all social work under its own direction

it does not matter much whether givers are interested in individual agencies or not. Such a plan would eliminate the separate agencies and center social work in one agency. One organization would be more economical, but what would be the source of its inspiration and leadership? No small group, however wise, should be intrusted with the control of the social welfare of a community. What social work needs is unity in diversity, not control but oversight and regulation with as many groups and individuals as possible furnishing inspiration and leadership. A way must be found to keep the individual giver interested in the separate agencies. I feel that the principle of designation, when joined with proper educational efforts, meets this difficulty. I do not present it as the only way, but I do feel that the giving in the city which I represent would be 25 per cent less if it were not for the principle of designation. I do not care to discuss the details of such a principle, but I do submit that the community chest must find some such method of tying up the giver to the social work of the city. A general interest is never so vital and certain as a specific interest. The two should go together.

One other danger has developed through wrong application of one of the sound principles of community chest organization—the functional committee plan of operation. This plan, in brief, is to group the agencies according to their interests, so that they may consider programs and plans in closely related fields of social work. In many cities this plan has produced almost an army of swivel-chair social workers, social workers who are out of touch with the actual social work, who are merely planners and not doers. I believe that the functional committee plan of organization must make use of the social workers already in individual agencies; to illustrate, the social workers connected with health agencies should form the functional committee on health. Additional employees at times may be needed by the functional committee, but such employees should be very largely under the control of the functional committee.

One other element of danger which I see in community chest practices is that a chest may take the position that it should be all inclusive; that no social work should go on in a community save under its guidance. Community chests, to be successful, must develop public opinion favorable to their work. There are, however, many social movements, instigated by minorities, which, though sound in their social point of view, are nevertheless militantly opposed. In their own interest, as well as in the interest of the community chest, these minorities should not intrust their programs to public opinion. Such agencies should not be members of community chests. But, someone asks: "How about your immunity feature? Will people give to agencies which are not members of the community chest?" Or will the giver say, "I have given once for all"? One thing clearly demonstrated in community chest practice is that immunity does not immunize. Additional campaigns conducted in chest cities during the past two or three years have been uniformly successful. Any agency which puts forth the same effort to secure its funds and to educate the people

in a federated city that it would put forth in a non-federated city will find the people responsive to its appeal.

The charge that big givers are controlling the development of social programs in community chest cities is largely without foundation. I believe that certain movements cannot participate in community chest endeavors because of the opposition not only of big givers, but of other strong, well-organized groups in a community. At times big givers, because of the tremendous financial support they give to the chest, speak with more authority than other groups, yet it has been my experience that the individual agencies within the community chest have more freedom in prosecuting their programs than when they operated independently. The chest stands as a buffer between these agencies and the public, and sometimes between the social worker and his own board. The crux of the whole matter is that we must consider carefully the types of agencies that should be members of a community chest, not accepting in membership those that the public is not ready to sponsor. I insist that this in no way interferes with the logical development of those agencies sponsoring programs not as yet acceptable to the public. They should develop through individual support until they have built up sufficient backing to become vital factors in community life, and should not permit their programs to retard other social developments.

Community chests are experiencing difficulty in working out the proper relationship that should exist between them and national agencies. The experience of the National Information Bureau shows one reason why this is so—over two thousand national agencies apply for indorsement and but 150 receive it. There is overlapping and overlooking, militant groups are interested in legislation before educational processes have convinced the public that such legislation is desirable; agencies fight intolerance but become quite as intolerant as those they fight; agencies with carefully formed programs are mixed in the public mind with those with indefinite programs, and so on through a long list. Some organization of national social work must be effected, lucid in its simplicity, representative in its organization, recognizing in its leadership that community chests cannot go faster than the public they represent is ready to have them go. Consider the effect of trying to finance 150 national agencies from community chest funds—twice as many agencies as any community chest has in local agency memberships. Until some order is developed in national agency work, community chests, in my opinion, will find great difficulty in contributing to national programs. Budgets are usually developed by national agencies without any representation from the communities that are supposed to raise the money; local communities are assessed certain amounts and are criticized when they refuse to grant these amounts. Some method of sound and sensible building up of national agency budgets must be devised. Community chests are conscious of the fact that the communities they represent have a definite obligation to do their part in national and state programs. They are willing to assist in formulating a policy that will make their support

effective and mutually helpful. In the meantime the national agency that will plan wisely can raise its funds in a community chest city more easily, I believe, than it can raise its funds in a nonfederated city.

There has been much recent discussion on when and how to organize a community chest. This subject is prominently before us now because of the contest conducted in New York for a plan of organizing the social work of that city, and because of the survey in Chicago to determine the methods of procedure there. It is not so much a question of when, as how to organize. That some order should be introduced into social work is an accepted fact. Whether the method of organization shall be a community chest, a council of social agencies, or both, or some other plan, is a question which should be answered after a very careful analysis of the social work of the city in question. The answer depends upon many factors. Some factors, however, are basic, and should be a part of any organization plan. Adequate finances and competent social engineering are two essentials to success in social work. Each of these essentials should be the responsibility of the groups vitally interested in social work, the agencies, the givers, and the general public. No ready made plan of organization will be successful in any city. Probably the Council of Social Agencies is the soundest method of procedure for most cities. A city wishing to organize its social work should secure the approval of the social agencies and social workers to the plan, and a reasonable backing of the givers to these agencies. It should develop its organization upon democratic lines, each agency appointing delegates to the central body. Once having secured the co-operation of the agencies, the social workers and the givers, the development can proceed as rapidly as sound leadership dictates.

In conclusion may I say a word regarding the real objectives of social work? The complexities of modern community life carry with them great opportunities but as a by-product of our twentieth-century civilization many responsibilities are apparent. It should be the aim of social work to secure the acceptance by the entire community of these common responsibilities. Rich and poor, the various religious denominations, the great forces, social, commercial, and religious, should be willing to join hands for common ideals, to make a better city for the living of human life, better health for all, better educational opportunities for young and old, moral conditions that strengthen character, better laws, less legal restrictions, and better standards of living. The community chest is a factor in this great work, and if organized and carried on in the proper spirit will contribute substantially to the realization of this high aim.

We should recognize the fact that no social agency exists for the purpose of adding to its own power and prestige, but for the purpose of contributing to human welfare. I predict in the future that the social agency that tries to stand alone unco-operative in its point of view, individualistic in its actions, will atrophy and die. I appeal to the social workers to improve their technique, but to be social statesmen as well as technicians. I appeal to them to get out-

side the circle of their own selfish interests and to add their strength, their ideals, and their powers to those of others, so that a proper and just social order may be established.

THE CORRELATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SOCIAL SERVICE

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From the historical point of view private social service is much older than public social service. For centuries attempts to help persons in distress were largely individual and usually accompanied by a religious motive. Promise of future reward or recompense for what had been done for the poor during one's lifetime was a stimulus through centuries to what we now call social service. In the Old Testament and in the New there are constant assurances that aid given to the poor or the sick or the distressed is certain of recognition by the Divine Power and will both in this life and the world to come bring ample reward? These assurances led people of wealth to leave large sums of money for charitable purposes after their death and also during their life to provide for food and other necessities for those who were in want. There was no particular interest in or sympathy for the poor. It was wholly a matter of selfishness. Someone has jokingly called it "fire insurance." The results of such a procedure were of course that poverty and distress increased because, as in the present labor situation in England, why work when you can get maintenance without working? The poor were perfectly willing to be cared for and were not particularly interested in the motives of the donors. In recent years, however, there has been a different motivation in private social work and the attempts to alleviate distress have been combined with definite constructive methods for the permanent betterment of the community and the individual family.

Public charity came at a later date and perhaps was a gradual development from the necessity of each town providing for its own and not being imposed upon by dependents who had wandered into their community. These situations gave rise to the Poor Laws and Regulations of Settlement and Residence. It has been during the last few decades that public social service has by very rapid strides made its greatest progress. Indeed, the functions which the state has assumed in relation to the personal welfare of its citizens are so numerous and in many cases so intimate that some years ago such a situation would have been termed socialistic and definitely paternalistic. The budget of the average state at the beginning of or even in the middle of the nineteenth century would have been divided into three parts—executive, judicial, and legislative. Looking at a state budget today one has difficulty in finding those three items, and one could easily expand the term "social service" so that it might cover two-thirds of the new activities of the state. It is safe to say that in the state of New York

alone there is an expenditure annually in the various political units and in the state as a whole for what might be termed social service of over a hundred million dollars.

There is no reason to believe that this movement has reached its limit. The safeguarding of the life, the health, and the environment of the citizens, the provision for their comfort and happiness, the maintenance of their homes, and proper care in sickness and distress are not likely to be lessened, but more likely to be increased by the modern state.

We may safely assert that public social service is in process of development and cannot, therefore, be disregarded by private social service. We are always going to have officials charged with duties that may be termed social. In the past, private social service has looked upon public social service and social servants with some degree of contempt and even derision. This attitude of superiority has not been helpful to public social service. There is a place for both public and private work and the best results can be obtained by working in harmony and not by the affectation of superiority on either side. However much public social service may develop locally or nationally, there is and will be a definite task for private social service to do.

Some of those tasks stand out very clearly. One is that of inspiration. Very few of the social service activities of the state have been assumed by the state on its own initiative, that is, by public officials asking for them. In almost every instance private social service has taken the initiative and shown the necessity of the job. We need only mention as examples the crusade against tuberculosis which began as a private effort and later was taken on by the cities and states along the lines laid out by private organizations. The playground and recreational movements were not thought of a few years ago as a municipal or state function. The private organizations have been able to place this form of social service in a position where today it is quite generally acknowledged that playgrounds and recreation centers are genuine municipal activities. The same is true in regard to the finding of homes for children, the subsidizing of mothers and many other movements which after trial by private groups have been assumed by the state as a suitable form of public social service.

It is quite unlikely that the public official will ever be zealous in attempting experiments in social work. Legislatures are not willing to grant appropriations for something that has not been definitely shown to be of use to the community. There is nothing to prevent legislatures approving experiments, but it is a fact that in the field of experimentation generally private laboratories have had to set the pace or inaugurate the project before public officials have become convinced regarding the advisability of spending the taxpayers' money for this purpose.

Therefore, the private social agencies will have to continue to be the experimenters and take a chance on the success or failure of new forms of social work. If such attempts fail, only private contributions have been affected, and

if they succeed there is a reasonable justification in asking the public officials to use the taxpayers' money for the further development of the idea.

Another relationship which stands out quite prominently is that of the education of public servants by private social service. The best way of doing the job has not always been discovered by the men occupying public positions, because of their lack of training and background. Private social service has shown how public social service may function efficiently. Examples of this may be seen in the improvement made in institutional activities: the better care of the insane, the development of clinics for both the mentally deranged and the mentally defective, the newer methods of treatment of the latter class in institutions provided for them, the broader vision of the orphan asylum, so-called, and the introduction of case work in the departments caring for the poor.

Here again the private social agency has a much broader opportunity and a greater freedom in the development of technique. Public officials are limited by legislative appropriations, very often by very definite civil service appointments, by definite positions which cannot be enlarged or changed except by legislative act, while private agencies are not restricted in any of these particulars. The creation of new positions to attempt new and untried methods must largely be left to private social agencies, thereby to blaze the way for public service later.

A third relationship is that of expansion of existing forms of public social service. This is particularly apparent in institutional activities. As the need for the care of the defective groups becomes more clearly understood and the value of such work appreciated by the community there arises a necessity for further facilities. Hospitals for the insane become overcrowded. Institutions for mental defectives become a menace to their inmates because of the numbers that are being cared for. Prisons become detrimental instead of helpful. Buildings become old and dilapidated and the requests for extension or renewals on the part of public officials do not always readily meet with the approval of fiscal authorities. It is here that private social service, representing the citizenship of the state, can be of great assistance by prevailing upon legislative bodies to provide suitable material equipment and housing facilities for public dependents. Propaganda for better housing for the state's wards, increased institutional facilities, and appropriations for new construction may be undertaken by private agencies with beneficial results.

As an interesting illustration, in New York State last year a proposition was submitted to the voters authorizing the expenditure of $50,000,000 for the expansion and improvement of state institutions. It went through by a very large majority and much of the propaganda was carried on by private social agencies.

A fourth relationship which may be of importance is the improvement of the personnel of public service through the influence of private social service.

Unfortunately, in the minds of appointing authorities, legislative or executive, there is not always an understanding of the particular requirements which public social service demands of official incumbents. It is more clearly understood in other fields. It is realized that the banking department should have at its head someone who knows about banks, that the engineering department of the state should have a trained engineer, and that the legal division of the state should have an attorney trained in the law. But only too often has it been taken for granted that the social service of the state can be conducted by anyone. Private social service represents the taxpayers, voters, citizens, and therefore has a right to make itself heard and to insist upon certain appointments not only as a protection for the individuals who are affected by public social service, but as a conservation of the finances of the state which are involved in that service. Perhaps the day has not yet dawned in a nation of party government when it will be worth while to ask for the appointment of the best-equipped person for a position unless that person belongs to the dominating party. There have happily been cases where party relationship has been disregarded. We know of several instances where men have been kept in positions as commissioners of charities, or similar positions, because they were efficient and not because they had rendered political service. If, however, this is asking too much, it is yet within reason to ask, and for private social service to create public opinion to demand, that if party members are to be appointed they should have such equipment and temperament as to make public social service efficient. It must be stressed that social service has not to do with things, but people. It deals in human welfare, it touches the beginning of future generations, it deals with the individual who is in distress, abnormal, deranged, or physically incapacitated. It requires, therefore, a combination of reason and emotion, of mind and heart, of vision and wisdom, which few other public positions require.

Indeed, the goal of private social service in its relation to public social service should be that the latter should be eliminated from political relationship entirely. Education and social service, institutional or otherwise, should be out of the realm of partisan rewards.

The relation of public social service to private social service perhaps is not so easily defined. It is not a group which is readily interested when reached. If we could speak to the public officials that have to do with social service, we would urge them that if they are without training, they seek to learn the technique of their job. Unfortunately many who come into the public service feel they have arrived when they get the position and they simply hold the job as long as it can be held and consider it simply a job. The public official should be taught to understand that private organizations can be of much help to him in showing how the work should be done and in supplementing the work of the public officials. Unfortunately the public official has sometimes resented the activity of the private group and has termed the latter "high-

brows," amateurs, theorists, busybodies and trouble-makers. This characterization has not been fair nor just. However, unnecessary criticism and unwise suggestions have brought about this condition of irritability.

There is much to be said regarding the vast improvement made in the work of public social service officials. Under considerable handicap both state and city officials have been able to contribute helpfully in this field. By proper statistics, by the preparation of forms and blanks, by publications of a helpful and informing character, public officials in many places have done very valuable work. Indeed, it should be stated most positively that the quality of the work of public social service officials has improved remarkably and there are a great many encouraging phases in this situation.

As a general thing the private social service group is influential. The various boards of managers usually represent the financial, social, and intellectual interests of the community, and its influence, therefore, might very properly be employed to secure proper appointments to public social service and to assist by friendly co-operation those who are appointed to do the job as experience has shown it should be done. Permanency in office of efficient officials is extremely desirable. The experience which is gained through several years of social service is not easily utilized in other places and it is a pity both for the community and for the official when such experience has been gained and found to be valuable that it must be scrapped because of some political change in administration. It would not be out of place if the private social agencies urged appropriating bodies to arrange for the presence of public officials at conferences such as this and let it be known that such gatherings, both state and national, may be extremely valuable and helpful in the general equipment of the public official and react to the benefit of the public.

The failures of public social service in institutions or otherwise should not be considered too much by private organizations for they are themselves only too vulnerable through failures which they have made. The mistakes of the private groups do not come to public notice to the same extent that the public failures do. The fact is that many of those whom public service must care for in institutions or otherwise were unsuccessfully treated or cared for by the private group. It is an easy matter for the private organization to throw over its cases on the city or state, and then if the public group fails, the private group is often ready to condemn and sometimes to ridicule and emphasize the failures of the public group. We are never going to get very far by a spirit of hostility, but the inspirational and educational work of the private group can, when exercised through a proper spirit of sympathy and helpfulness, bring public social service to a high state of efficiency.

THE RURAL HOME

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The family has always held primacy in the regard of social engineers. It is the cell in the social organism, and its healthful development is the essential condition of progress of all social functions. In all the complexity of city problems which the program of this association reveals, the welfare of the family is the point of departure and the goal to which to return.

This situation is naturally still more emphasized when the hardy and intrepid social worker who ventures out into the open areas of the country tracks the family to its native habitat on the farm. There is very much indeed to be said for the contention that the farm is the native home of the family—the place where it best thrives, the environment which is connatural to it. In substantiation of this claim I would advance some elementary considerations.

The unity of the family is the first requisite for the successful fulfilment of its prime purpose—the rearing and training of children. An environment which favors this continued unity—the fidelity of one man to one woman and their combined and continuous care and solicitude in the fulfilment of their task, the rearing of the children whom they bring into the world—such an environment may be termed the natural habitat of the family. And such is the farm home. There alone in the modern world do economic forces play for the maintenance of the unity of the family. Husband and wife have the same intellectual interests, make the same social contacts, and directly supervise the training of their children in the only apprenticeship left to children in America. In contrast to urban occupations which occupy the husband with interests remote from his wife's knowledge or understanding, which train the children in vocations where neither father nor mother can be their guide, the farm industry with its economic force fights for the unity of the family; the city industry tends to disrupt it. The result is that the city is strewn with the wreckage of broken homes, whereas divorce is comparatively infrequent in the country.

Again, the home, which exists to rear children, is supported by economic forces in the country, for there children are economically an asset. From that standpoint they are a liability in the city, where each additional child is a proportionately increased expense to be maintained until after school life. With the abundance of food, additional children do not become a proportionally additional burden on the farm, and from a very early age farm children become of real service. At three they can feed the chickens; at five they can bring home the cows; and at nine a boy can drive a team and be more useful than many hired men, without any detriment to himself. I am not unmindful of the evil of child labor on the farm. There are parents who consider their children chiefly as economic assets. But intelligent parents will give their

children an apprenticeship in the great profession of agriculture, enabling them to pay their way with profit to health and development of both mind and body.

Socially this is the significant thing about the farm—that it is the connatural environment for the family. It may be possible to hold living beings in captivity in cages which are cleaner and in some cases more sanitary than the native haunts, and it may be possible to teach such captives many tricks which they would not have learned in freedom, but such captivity has not increased the endurance or fertility of the captive. Much undoubtedly may be said for warehousing human individuals in great cities, but the farm home remains the natural habitat of the family.

The significance of the farm lies in its providing a normal environment for the family; its contribution to America is not only bread, but babies. Not in bread alone does man live. The country is the prolific source whence the city receives its sustenance and its population. In the past our cities have grown from immigration from abroad and from the country. The 1920 census shows that three-tenths of the city population of immediate foreign extraction furnished four-tenths of the children under ten years. In every hundred of city population thirty had either a father or mother born abroad. These thirty out of one hundred were the parents of forty out of one hundred of the children. The native seventy out of each hundred produced sixty out of one hundred of the children. The farm groups are equally prolific with the first generation of immigrants. The immigrant will cease to be a large factor in our growth after July 1 of this year. But the farm remains. The population of the United States divides itself roughly into three equal parts: one-third living on the farm, one-third in towns and small cities, and one-third in the great cities. But there are two million more children under ten years of age in the farm group than in either of the other groups. A whole nation of children, that will be clothed, fed, reared, educated by the farm home and then turned over to the city to run its industries. This is the great debt of the city to the country home.

The historic hardships of the rural home have been isolation and drudgery, and because of isolation an absence of spiritual social agencies, a poverty of indigenous social influences. The isolation has disappeared with good roads, the telephone, etc. The drudgery has largely disappeared from the farmyard, but not from the farm home. The idealistic picture of the country school was painted by Whittier in his well-known poem. A more realistic poem would have revealed an unprepared teacher, an inadequate course of study, and a too short term of school. This handicap is being progressively removed by the consolidated school.

But just as the historic hardships were being removed there supervened the most amazing rush to the city, which many view with alarm as the supreme evil and as constituting the great social problem. But let us keep our balance and ascertain if the rush to the city is necessarily an evil.

Certainly the country population is too prolific for anyone to expect all rural-born people to stay on the farm. Also, the increase in agricultural productivity per man renders it unnecessary to have as large a percentage of farmers as were formerly necessary for food production.

There would be a great social injury if the rush to the city were to involve either, first, that men who had been trained to be professional farmers should throw away their profession and become common laborers in the city; or, second, that all the most intelligent, imaginative, and capable part of the rural population should abandon the farms and cause a deterioration of the stock from which both city and country must be populated. Against the first evil the agricultural college, by enforcing the doctrine of the professional character of the farmer, is gradually raising an effective bulwark. Against the second, the opportunities on the farm for the ownership of private productive property, for self-employment, and for family life constitute a fairly effective safeguard.

It will be necessary to accelerate the removal of drudgery from the country home. The most promising experiment in this field is the introduction of electricity into the farm home. There is at present a national committee on the application of electricity to agriculture which is studying how to make it economical to bring electricity to homes where the service will be for only three homes to a mile, as against fifty to a mile in the city. The price per kilowatt-hour can be reduced only by increasing the load, and it will take a long process of education to convince the farmer that he will save money by having in his home refrigeration, washing-machine, and cream separator all electrically operated.

The most effective agencies for the strengthening of the rural home are the indigenous social agencies, namely, the church and the school. Just as the problem of electric power in the country is made difficult by the sparsity of population, so is the work of the rural social agencies made difficult by the same factor. Surveys show that social agencies professedly operating in the country tend to snuggle up to the town, even as electric power is first appropriated by farms in the immediate vicinity of villages. The country doctor is disappearing, the country nurse has normally a short term, and the school teacher gets her experience in the country, then seeks a place in the city.

The most hopeful factor in securing permanent social results in the country will be found in the strong rural parish. I premise that the rural representatives of religion should be possessed of a social outlook, and can point with some satisfaction to the introduction of these studies into the ecclesiastical colleges and seminaries.

The great social service of religion is in character-building, and in that field it has no substitute. The material with which religion should work is the young, during the period when habits are being formed. And this is the great misfortune of rural America, that religion is barred from the children except part of one day of the week. The school absorbs the entire mental energy and time

of the child, and more and more it tends to do so, and the agencies of religion are excluded, unintentionally perhaps, but none the less effectively. You may have a Niagara of electric energy, but it will profit the farm nothing unless power machinery is attached to it. You cannot afford to run electric high-power wires into the country just for lighting purposes. The church cannot afford to send high-grade representatives into the country just to preach on Sunday, if they must twiddle their thumbs the rest of the week. A recent report shows that church attendance of various denominations in the United States had fallen off 52 per cent in the last generation. It is not surprising, for no church can influence the young in the United States unless it assumes the tremendous task of providing a complete system for secular education. The falling off of church attendance in the rural districts is due primarily to this divorce of religion from education. The situation can be viewed with equanimity or approval only by the secularist who believes that the religion of Jesus Christ has lost its power to inspire with social ideals. As a social worker I protest against a system which manacles the hands of religion as a social force in rural America.

THE RELATION BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SOCIAL WORK

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Organized efforts to minimize or eliminate social maladjustments represent the inevitable by-products of the social order within which maladjustments occur. Social work is indispensable to a social order in proportion to the unresolved conflicts, the balked aspirations, and the frustrated lives which the social order precipitates and engenders. Until recently industrial expansion, machine-labor, and the concentration of population in urban centers were thought to be chiefly responsible for the increasingly pathological character of modern life. We now know that the problems of family disintegration, dependency, defectiveness, and delinquency which were once considered the peculiar ills of city areas are equally relevant to rural areas and to rural populations. Why was the rural social problem misconceived or left so long unrecognized?

One of the answers which deserves most attention is that the surplus wealth and the unearned increment of our economic system has drifted to cities and that therefore the funds available for alleviating the apparent miseries of the less privileged were easily accessible. Misery in city life became vividly objective by sheer contrast with luxury. In the country, misery and unadjustment existed along the line of the horizontal average; in the city the differentiation was perpendicular. The urban class of possession was so far separated from the dispossessed that to beg from those who had in order to relieve the

sufferings of those who had not did not appear to be incongruous. Thus the vested rights of property were extended to include man; industry existed by the side of idleness; wealth by the side of poverty; luxury by the side of want; health by the side of disease. In view of these paradoxes, justice and her satellites became dimmed by the growing luster of charity. Men who refused to discuss justice were elevated to respectable positions of honor by virtue of their philanthropies. So long as Marxian determinism held sway and remained as the only postponed hope of the dispossessed, this condition was not without compensations: disparity between classes and ensuing sublimation of justice were ideal symbols for the presumably inevitable revolution in which those who had not were inspired to hope for the power to capture possession for themselves. Without resorting to an analogous fatalism, it is now possible to indicate that a superior though blind justice has arisen to offset, temporarily at least, the Marxian dogma. All available facts regarding wealth, income, wages, taxes, capital, investments, interests, and savings point unmistakably to the gradual distribution of capital-income and a corresponding elevation of the material standard of living. Wealth is created whenever production exceeds consumption, and this process which constitutes saving is slowly but certainly coming to involve a participation of the many rather than of the few. Nothing illustrates this more adequately than the phenomenal rise of so-called labor banks and the entry of consumers' co-operation into the field of industrial production.

In the past, antagonism toward capitalists was invariably interpreted as opposition to capital and capitalism. We are now coming to see that the real discord of economic and social life is not an inescapable warfare between capitalists and non-capitalists but rather a warfare between power and non-power. The older capitalist was an epitome of unintegrated power; it was not his quantitative accumulation of wealth which caused rancor, but rather his qualitative impositions of power. The evil of capitalism was not capital but control. Now that capital is being distributed, will power be also distributed? Will laborers with capitalistic tools also turn to the use of the older capitalistic power-technique? When control is shared, will liberty and freedom increase? Under distributive capitalism, will the good life be easier of attainment by the many? These queries carry the weight of important if not decisive implications for the future of social work.

The farmer-capitalist myth[1].—Farmers have been effectually dissociated from the process which ordinarily goes by the name of the labor movement by a specious psychological barrier. The farmer has always been classified economically as a capitalist by reason of his ownership of land and tools, and with this classification has gone the accompanying assumption that his interests were

[1] Facts regarding tenancy, labor income, mobility of farmers, lack of adjustment between production and consumption, purchasing power of the farmer's dollar, etc., were gathered for the purpose of validating the claims made in this paper. Time did not permit the use of these facts, and they are consequently omitted from the published report of the address.

identical with the interests of the capitalist class. So firmly imbedded have these assumptions become that farmers are not yet aware, for instance, of the incongruity of their support of protective tariffs. Agricultural economists have, however, been driven to a research technique which evaluates the farmers' wealth not in terms of precise profits but in terms of labor income. Wealth accumulated by means of rising land values and interest rates is not real wealth and it is now seen that the only true measure of the farmer's income is that margin of production over consumption which is measurable in terms of labor. Technical economics is accomplishing a reclassification which patently places the farmer in the labor rather than in the capitalist class. He is of course still permitted to go through certain of the capitalist motions such as paying interest, owning tools, and employing labor but it becomes increasingly apparent that these are not his significant activities. He pays interest to other speculators, he deals in land with other speculators, he buys tools from capitalist manufacturers, he disposes of his crops at the will of and at the price of speculators; in the end what he possesses of saving above consumption is traceable to labor and not to capitalist production. The conservative elements in our social order still cling to the myth that the farmer is a capitalist and that therefore he may be counted upon to ally himself permanently with capitalistic interests. All signs, on the contrary, point to a gradual shifting of the psychological as well as of the economical base—a shifting which is destined in the end to make of the farmer the same sort of capitalist as the laborer, namely, a capitalist who shares in the control of land and tools but who produces for use rather than for profits. In the evolution of distributive capitalism the germ of new cultural and social as well as economic implications is contained. The newer relations between urban and rural social problems will need to be evaluated in terms of evolving implications.

Postulates of change.—For purposes of clarity and emphasis the postulates upon which the coming relation between rural and urban social work are to be based may be stated in terms of tentative assumptions.

First, social work is for the present indigenous to the city; its rural applications are in reality extensions from urban to rural groups. But a real process of social adjustment cannot proceed by external means. If the technique of social adjustment is to become a part of rural culture, that technique must evolve from within and not from without. Herein lies the fundamental distinction between material and social sciences. Agriculture may become technicalized by mere accommodation to scientific inventions but rural life can become socialized only through internal, indigenous, and creative processes from within. Given an adequate amount of and a qualitatively valid education, rural groups will be able to achieve creative adjustments with far less of technical service than is already necessary in urban areas. (The experience of Denmark, our only peculiarly rural culture of the present, is sufficient warrant for the foregoing prophecy.)

Second, adjustment on the economic level precipitates the necessity of adjustment on other levels. Co-operative marketing plus co-operative credits represent a new adjustment of farmers to their environment, an adjustment which is in itself so incomplete and partial as to be wholly misleading. Co-operative marketing, with its attendant implication of meeting demand with orderly supply, invariably leads to higher prices for commodities. Higher prices invariably lead to increased production and increased production disturbs the balance between supply and demand which ultimately lowers the price level. Co-operative marketing may minimize the farmer's margin of speculation but it cannot wholly divorce him from the emergencies of speculative enterprise. The farmer may become a producer for use rather than for speculative profits, only when he reaches that level of conscious control which enables him to regulate production within certain limits of scientific prediction. In the meantime, the social and mental adjustments which the farmer's newer economic activities naturally evoke will be postponed. He will be continually delayed in making social adjustments, in elevating the total standard of living under the misguided assumption that social success must await economic success. Leaders of agricultural economic movements have been so far unaware of the intimate relation between economic and social progress that they have consciously and effectively habituated the farmer to this negative state of mind. A co-operative marketing venture may become so impervious to its social implications as to evolve into a barrier to total progress. It is not too much to state that certain of our larger and more successful co-operative enterprises have already become so far separated from human values as to justify their classification with such institutions as the United States Steel Corporation. There are, however, evidences of fairer promise: several of the newer commodity co-operatives, notably in the southern states, have already embarked upon a policy of social education which may save these associations from the deadening burden of mere economic achievement.

Social workers in urban areas have learned to appreciate the inadequacy of their efforts to create social adjustments within an economic system which was feebly understood. Failure to learn this lesson earlier has resulted in placing many social workers in a most uncomfortable and anomalous position—a position which molds their thought in terms of the past rather than of the future. What social worker would not, for example, be happy to feel assured of a place central to the labor movement, the movement within which the larger distributions of future control are destined to reside? One cannot appraise the temper and the thought-processes of contemporary social workers without feeling that in the great but certain transition many will be called but few chosen. The same temptation to align the social worker with the embodiments of present rather than future power exists among rural leaders. Rural social workers need not, however, succumb to the temptation under the plea of ignorance.

Third, eliminating the speculators, those who gain through others' losses, a functional graph of future society would include organized industrial producers, organized agricultural producers, organized transporters of goods, organized technicians, and organized consumers. To think in terms of national unity or harmony is to be confronted with the inescapable conflicts between the foregoing groups. Essential conflict implies relation or necessary interrelation and it is in the sphere of relation (barring physiological malformation) that the social worker finds his fruitful medium of activity. Future social adjustments of family, neighborhood, community, and commonwealth will be made in terms of the values created by the foregoing functional groups. These groups will of themselves be creative, not in terms of idyllic harmony, but rather in terms of evolving technique for dealing with conflicts. No person is so sadly needed in the present confusion of agricultural adjustment as the leader who can foresee the waste and the tragedy of a rural population permanently divorced in ideals, aims, and purposes from the great mass of industrial workers. Into this area of confusion comes the social technician, the social statesman, the social prophet. The bread-producers and the bread-eaters will tread life underfoot in the brawl for means to live, if at the crossroads of conflict the inspired thinker does not stand holding in his hand the bread of life. The sick body, the sick mind, the sick soul—these will fall into their minor rôles when once we begin to see life in wholeness rather than in parts. The drama of future life will as heretofore center about conflict but it need not be the conflict of degradation in which the values of city life are set over against the values of rural life, but rather an interpenetration of these two sets of values which will lift both groups to higher levels of aspiration. The future social worker need not stand external to conflicting groups, nor need he be the amiable pacifier striving for that risky pedestal of neutrality which symbolizes the negative life; on the contrary he may and should stand within his group, bearing its burdens, sharing its unfulfilments, and articulating its creative aims.

Fourth, both industrial and agricultural workers stand upon the threshold of mighty undertakings and bold responsibilities. The older power-groups, political and economical, are rapidly disintegrating under their invalidated assumptions of values. They stand bereft of leadership, of unified purpose and of sufficient courage to prosecute their worn-out creeds and policies. The social worker as we have known him in the past may be drawn downward in the suction of this sinking ship unless he awakens to the signs of the times. A homely rural phrase, although paradoxical in content, must now be taken seriously: people everywhere are learning that they must lift themselves by their own bootstraps. Urban dwellers pushed downward by the unrelenting forces of economic pressure may have accepted the imputations of so-called welfare work—imputations which degrade both those who give and those who receive, without compensating the starved personalities of either. Not so the craftsmen of the soil. If rural and urban laborers are to stand upon equal

ground, a renaissance of self-reliance, a revived respect for the independent spirit which once lay so close to the meaning of life on this continent must occur. This quality has thus far been conserved at terrible cost within the rural population and a social work program which does not reckon with the strength of its fiber can become nothing more than a tolerated accretion. In the future orientation of rural and urban social forces one criterion will stand above all others: not efficiency or skill in meeting human needs, but purity of motive will be the touchstone of the good life.

This essay has obviously and purposely evaded consideration of detailed problems of technique and organizational relationships existing or portending in the relation between urban and rural social work.[1] Something more than a mechanic's blueprint is needed for the next steps in social work and progress. Visions are needed—broad-gauged, daring, majestic visions which precede plans in the wisdom of their conception. The maladjustments of rural life are apparent to all who have eyes to see; if these are to be transformed into pivots of architectonic creativeness there must be experimentation. The social worker must find his place within these experiments and his must above all else be the function of educational generator. Social work, if it takes its cue from the few values conserved in American rural life, will be of and by, not for, the people who stand in need of adjustment. The wisdom of the expert and the wisdom of homely experience will find in the area of the social worker's activity suitable soil for this joint and glorious adventure in releasing the human mind.

We are working out a new way of living for mankind, a new rule, a new conscience.
It is no small job for all of us.
There must be lifetimes of building up and lifetimes of pulling down and trying again—
Hopes and disappointments, and much need of philosophy.
Let us therefore pledge ourselves to service.
Let us make ourselves watchers and guardians of the new order of the world.
Let us set ourselves, with all our minds and all our hearts, to the perfecting and working out of the salvation of mankind.

THE COMING KINGDOM

(CONFERENCE SERMON)

Rev. W. A. Cameron, Minister of Bloor Street Baptist Church, Toronto

If anyone will read the Gospels with half an eye, he will be amazed by the continual recurrence of the phrase, "the Kingdom of God." Jesus is ever preaching the Kingdom and explaining it in parables and images of exquisite simplicity. At the beginning of his ministry he came into Galilee proclaiming the gospel of the Kingdom. He exhorts men to make any sacrifice, that they

[1] Many of these were discussed in a paper read at the Milwaukee (1921) meeting of the National Conference of Social Work.

may enter into the Kingdom. He warns certain ones that they must not look back lest they should not be fit for the Kingdom. He declares that it was not possible for others to enter into the Kingdom. He encourages a young man because he is not far from the Kingdom. And in the day of his apparent overthrow, when his friends have forsaken him, when his enemies have him in their power, and when death and disgrace are rushing fast upon him, he is still able to speak of his Kingdom.

> Lo, as some venturer, from his stars receiving
> Promise and presage of sublime emprise,
> Wears evermore the seal of his believing
> Deep in the dark of solitary eyes.

So this Dreamer of dreams, this Venturer with his fortune in ruins around him, still holds to his proud hope and talks about his coming Kingdom. There can be little doubt that in the mind of Jesus the Kingdom was the chiefest good of the soul and the hope of the world.

To begin with let me say that the sphere of the Kingdom is the individual soul. When I pray, "Thy Kingdom come," I am praying for myself. I am praying that God's Kingdom may come in my own heart. I am asking Christ to come into my life, to rule there, to take the throne there, to make me completely his. Christ came into the world to establish a Kingdom that would enfold within its embrace all sorts and conditions of men. His Kingdom has a firm hold upon the world and must grow, and its continuous and universal influence is only explained on the ground of its inwardness. "What is common to all men," says Marcus Dods, "lies deepest in each." The Kingdom adapts itself to the needs of all men in any climate, in any civilization, of whatever culture, because it touches the inmost spring of character and conduct. Christ speaks from within the circle of fellowship with God to that in man which hungers for God. He proclaims and establishes a Kingdom of the soul. The seat of that Kingdom must be within the man. Its deepest meaning is a personal experience. It is the experience of a Paul who can say, "Old things have passed away, all things have become new." It is the experience of St. Francis who exclaimed, "Thou hast conquered, O Christ, and henceforth I will fight for Thee, I will fight for Thee." It is the experience of a Colonel Hadley who said, "Twenty years ago, I came into the Jerry McAuley Mission a poor dying drunkard. I knelt at the feet of Christ, I arose a new man, my wife had a new husband, my country had a new citizen, my God a new child." It is the experience of innumerable commonplace people—if you can call any man commonplace. To some it came in a dramatic crisis. To some it occurred in a way that they can tell neither the place nor the hour, but in the deep assurance of their souls they know that the estrangement from God is gone, that sin is forgiven, that there is the increasing power of victory in their lives. They know that there is communion with God now, that there is entrance into spheres of usefulness now, that there is salvation in that richer, fuller sense. They understand the mean-

ing of that word so full of mystery to one of old, "Except a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God."

I am anxious to assert this truth even to this distinguished company for I have the feeling that there is grave danger of its being neglected if not entirely overlooked. During these days together you are discussing many important themes. There is the problem of child welfare, of delinquents and their correction, of the health of the community, of the family, of industrial and economic relations, of neighborhood and community life, of mental hygiene, of the organization of social forces, of the immigrant. All these problems will be considered from many standpoints. They are all definitely related to the progress of the Kingdom of God. They are all dear to the heart of Christ for they have to do with the well-being of the people, and the well-being of the people was the Master's peculiar care. At the same time I would remind you that man is more than a physical being, that human life has a spiritual base, that religion is our chief concern for it is nothing less than the soul's cry for completeness. True reform begins with the cleansing of the individual life within men. We can only secure our social improvements in the degree in which we are constantly increasing the number of men and women whose lives are unselfish and consecrated to goodness. An ethical ideal can survive only as it is enshrined in a spiritual person. If we could only see that Christ would have the whole life of the individual and therefore of society regulated from a divine center in the unseen we would be closer to the place from which human nature can be reached as a whole.

We are all eager for reforms but we want them to begin from without. We are quite sure if Parliament would pass the necessary legislative reform that the Kingdom would be ushered in. Do not misunderstand me. There is much that Parliament can and ought to do for us, but it was not on such reform that Jesus laid the emphasis. It is not easy to pray the old prayer, "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me." It would be less difficult to put it in some such form as this, "Create a better social order, O God, and renew a right relation between various classes of men." Some of you may remember how Charles Kingsley in writing to the Chartists stated it: "I don't deny, my friends, it is much cheaper and pleasanter to be reformed by the devil than by God: for God will only reform society on the condition of our reforming every man his own self, while the devil is quite ready to help us mend the laws of earth and heaven, without even starting such an impertinent and personal request as that a man should mend himself." The Kingdom of God in the mind of Jesus is inseparably associated with character in its members. Every attempt to reconstruct society which leaves out of account the redemption of character is foredoomed to failure.

Nor is this to be dismissed as selfish individualism. If a man's religion stops short at his own conversion it is radically deficient. After regeneration the main current of the Christian life flows outward. Once the soul is brought

into harmony with God the Christian man ceases to live for himself and begins to live for others. Genuine religion is not getting, having, and being served, but giving, sacrificing, and serving. When Jesus was moved with compassion for the multitude he created a new ethical tradition. Horace said, "I hate the vulgar crowd and keep it at a distance." Jesus said, "The Son of Man is come not to be ministered unto but to minister." The true Christian longs for the happiness of all and pours himself out in helpful ministries. The monuments of Christianity are not churches and cathedrals only, but a host of social and philanthropic organizations seeking to perpetuate the ministry of Christ. And it is very significant that the revival of spiritual religion has generally quickened the social spirit. The evangelical revival of the eighteenth century not only created Methodism as a great religious movement, but gave birth to the impulse which abolished West Indian slavery, repealed the Corn Laws, created Sunday schools, and the movement for popular education, and, later still, the temperance reformation. The lesson is unmistakable. If you tell me that the greatest need of the hour is an ethical revival, I must tell you that the only way to obtain such a revival is by seeking first a great spiritual awakening. When General Booth commenced his life work his idea was purely evangelistic. "If anyone had told me," says he, "that I must feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and shelter the destitute, I should have answered, 'No, that is not my business; my work is to preach the Gospel, to save the souls of the people.'" But General Booth's heart had not come into contact with the great father-heart of God for long, and at the same time into contact with humanity, before he felt compelled to give himself to social service. The social gospel is nothing new; it is as old as Christianity itself. It comes straight from the heart of God to meet the ever changing conditions of modern life.

In the next place you will notice that in offering the prayer, "Thy Kingdom come," we must not stop with ourselves. The Kingdom is commensurate with his reign and rule and authority everywhere. It includes the new social order where is gathered together a great fellowship of art, science, literature, music, statecraft, government, family life, everything shot through with the spirit of God. It includes the sanctified church, the sanctified state, the sanctified family, the sanctified nation, the sanctified world. The Kingdom comes to a man when he sets up Christ's cross in his heart. It passes on its way when that man rises from the table and girds himself and serves the person next him. It comes to every man with its offer of rebirth into newness of life. It comes to society with a new order which reshapes the men and women who live under it. It comes as a protest against any features in prevailing conditions that do not disclose Christlike love. It comes with a program of social redemption to be made effective in commerce, in pleasures, in international relations, and the whole of human life. It is the world-wide state, whose law is the divine will, whose members obey the spirit of Jesus, whose strength is goodness, whose heritage is God.

"Thy Kingdom come." Is it not as the voice of the archangel and the trump of God to every man whose life is a lie; whose trade is a curse to his fellow-men; whose profession is full of cheating and dishonesty; to every man who, by the base indulgence of his evil passions, drags down human souls to lower levels. How can such pray, "Thy Kingdom come"! They despise its ordinances. They defy its laws. They violate its principles. They put stumbling blocks in the path of its development. They are the enemies of the Cross of Christ. How can they pray this prayer who aim no higher than contentment with the life of the animal; the multitudes who eat, and drink, and sleep, and live in self-indulgent comfort, but have never yet struck one blow, never lifted one finger, never suffered one loss, never dared even to brave one taunt for the cause of God, nor can show one scar of a single wound in even the lightest of his battles? If we pray, "Thy Kingdom come," we are bound to fight for it and fight hard; to strike for it and strike home; to wrestle mightily, and shoulder to shoulder. Dr. Horton is right when he says that "one of the most truly Christian poems of the nineteenth century is that of Blake's, which only in this twentieth century begins to come to its own." Blake has grasped the meaning of what Christ proclaimed as the Kingdom of God:

And did those feet in ancient time
Walk upon England's mountains green?
And was the holy Lamb of God
On England's pleasant pastures seen?

And did the Countenance Divine
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
And was Jerusalem builded here
Among these dark Satanic mills?

Bring me my bow of burning gold,
Bring me my arrows of desire,
Bring me my sphere! O clouds, unfold!
Bring me my chariot of fire!

I will not cease from mental fight
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

When we pray this prayer we are praying that God may rule in our homes, in our city, in our shops and warehouses, in our municipal buildings and our houses of Parliament, in our Palace of Peace at the Hague and the hall of the League of Nations at Geneva. You are in business to look after God's interests and to promote his Kingdom. You are in your professions to look after God's interests and to promote his Kingdom. "The whole complex of human life, of political institutions, of education, of the new generation succeeding the old, of advancing civilization, of growing knowledge and power, of rapid transport

and intercourse between the ends of the earth, is justified by one purpose—to get the will of God done, to make his reign a reality in every stage and detail and person."

And now finally let me ask, "How can we make this Kingdom a reality?" Well, for one thing, it cannot come by way of compulsion. If you think it unnecessary to say that, I must remind you that there have been a thousand attempts to hasten the coming of the Kingdom by the strong arm of force. Dare we criticize these attempts too severely? Have we not tried something very much like that in our own day? Ten years ago some of us thought a great war would usher in the Kingdom. Now I have no more doubt today than I had in 1914 that it was a righteous war from which we dared not hold back if we would be true to God and the great traditions of our Anglo-Saxon race. If we had stood idly by and watched the tiger leap at the throat of civilization, if we had been content to watch the oppressor triumph, we should have been unworthy of the God we worship and the glory of our heritage of freedom. Yet I cannot but recall how many of us imagined that through the influence of this war we were going to have a new world, that there was to be the redemption of society, that old feuds would go, that capital and labor, class and class would no longer oppose one another, that as we all faced the same risk and shared the same sacrifice we would be united and be one people for evermore. We expected that the new era, the good time coming, would burst with noontide glory over the entire world. We were terribly mistaken. The Kingdom of God does not come that way.

The Kingdom will only be set up by the power of love. It is only thus that Christ conquers. This is the only scepter with which he rules. We cannot believe otherwise if we remember the life he lived. Love made him the children's King. The proud courtiers of his day would have waved them back, but he would have a path cleared for them, so that their access might be unhindered. Love made him King of the suffering, sorrowing folk. We may be sure that the plaudits of the multitude were not so sweet to him as the dumb appeal from the shadowed realm of lives that needed his help. Love made him King of the outcasts. High above them in character, he was yet as near to them in helpfulness as a brother and a friend. Is anything more sure of a Kingdom than love?

Love is swift of foot,
  Love's a man of war,
  And can shoot
And can hit from far.

Nay, let wrath remove,
  Love will do the deed,
  For with love
Stony hearts will bleed.

It was He, and not Constantine, who saw the sign of the cross upon the sky, with the words, "By this sign conquer." And the song of His church sounds

forth the deepest secret of his abiding reign: "Unto Him that loveth us and loosed us from our sins by his blood: and He made us to be a Kingdom: to Him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever." If we have seen and felt the power of his love, surely we cannot break his bonds asunder nor cast away his cords from us. Let our love be the throne to which we raise him, and the diadem with which we crown him Lord of all.

SOME CURRENT FALLACIES WITH REGARD TO ALCOHOL

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In discussing the subject of prohibition it is important to have at least an elementary knowledge of the effect on the human organism of the substance to be prohibited, alcohol. Such knowledge is often lacking on the part of those who discuss this question most violently; and this applies to both sides in the controversy. Some regard alcohol as a demon, others as a drug, and there is a widespread belief that it is also a food and a stimulant.

As society generally experiences various reactions, due to the attempted enforcement of prohibition in this country, and propaganda for prohibition spreads in other countries, it is natural that an attempt should be made to discredit the scientific evidence with regard to the effect of alcohol on human life, which was so influential in determining the verdict of the people in favor of prohibition.

With the close of the war, scientific sentiment and especially medical sentiment was strongly against alcohol. Laboratory evidence has shown it to be devoid of any stimulating qualities, and it has been classified as a narcotic habit-forming drug. Statistical evidence derived chiefly from life insurance sources, proved that its circulation even in so-called moderation in large masses of people increased the death-rate in such a group. This was accepted by actuaries and scientific men generally as conclusive.

Latterly, however, an attempt has been made to give scientific support to some outworn and discarded theories with regard to alcohol that prevailed about twenty-five years ago and to some brand new theories exactly contrary to the evidence. The most valuable contribution I can make to this discussion is to present some specific instances of this kind which have had wide circulation and may lead to the mistaken notion that real life has actually been injected into these scientific corpses, and that the laboratory and statistical evidence that has been widely accepted by the great life insurance corporations who have so much at stake in these matters, is ready for the scientific scrap heap.

One eminent authority, author of a recent popular treatise on alcohol, entitled, *The Action of Alcohol on Man*, said to give a scientific and impar-

tial account of its effects, submits these interesting statements: "From the beginning of human time almost all races of men have prepared fermented liquors and have regarded them as one of the indispensable good things of existence and as gifts from the gods." And it is further stated that "it is only within comparatively recent times that an opinion has been widely expressed and acted upon to the effect that the invention of fermented liquors was a false step in the progress of man, and that, in spite of the large part played by these liquors in social and religious rites throughout all ages, their use must be condemned as unreservedly bad."

He implies that alcohol should be used as a beverage because it has been used in social and religious rites throughout the ages. It would be somewhat naïve if we were to practice at the present time all the rites that have accompanied religious observances in the past. We would have to burn people at the stake, torture them, and do other injurious things not countenanced by modern society.

Furthermore, a thoroughly unbiased scientific mind would at this point recall that we have only emerged in the past fifty years from the age of sewer gas and "laudable pus," that is, in spite of the survival of the human race there is still a vast load of human misery which every well-posted scientific man knows is largely preventable, and that a considerable amount of this misery has arisen from grossly ignorant and harmful living practices, among which is alcoholic indulgence. When we can look around us upon a world reasonably happy and free from disease and physical incapacity, we may talk with more assurance with regard to the value of age-old customs. As a matter of fact we are now in the early history of the human race. It has been figured that we may look forward to about three million years of opportunity in which there will probably be little change in the climate or in the environment of man; so the argument for the continuance of customs established during the recent barbaric period and persisting during the semi-barbaric period that now obtains, notwithstanding our many ingenious mechanical devices, is rather weak.

The satisfaction of some scientific writers with the present state of mankind is difficult to understand. One would think that we had actually arrived at a state of physical and moral perfection of such degree that owing most of it to the selective influence of alcohol, it would be desirable to establish monuments to this great life preserver and race improver.

When during the war the nations combed over their population for military material, they did not have this high feeling of satisfaction that should consistently be felt by any scientific man who urges the circulation of alcohol as a means of eliminating the unfit. Unfortunately we have a very large proportion of "unfit" still with us after thirty thousand years of indulgence. This authority actually goes so far as to suggest that alcohol may be compared to a vitamin, that is, a substance that does not take any part in the energy exchanges of the body, but nevertheless performs some useful service. There is no scientific

evidence to support such a far-fetched conclusion. It is well known that people can exist in perfect health, indeed even in a superior state of health, without alcohol. We are often told that man's instinct for alcoholic indulgence is normal and should be regarded. Unfortunately man's instinct for protective or nourishing substances is not altogether reliable. The dietary of the average individual is badly balanced. A man has no special instinct for vitamins or minerals. In a state of nature there is a certain automatic protection afforded by the type of food available in the struggle for existence, but in an artificial state of society, man consults his appetites rather than his fundamental needs. And we often observe people developing a craving for foods that are the most harmful to them.

I have elsewhere described alcohol as in the nature of a fake hormone and shown that while it releases man from some kinds of soul pain or physical discomfort, the transaction is in the nature of borrowing—the acquisition of a liability rather than an asset.

Our author also states:

> The slight deleterious effects of alcohol in such cases may be more than offset by the psychical effects of its consumption, such as the increased appetite or interest in the work, or a freeing of the mind from depressing ideas unrelated to the work. In such circumstances the total effect of a moderate dose of alcohol in the form of an agreeable and accustomed drink may be favorable rather than unfavorable. Nevertheless, whenever a man or animal is required to put forth maximum efforts over a considerable time, alcohol is unsuitable from the point of view of food. If taken at all it should be taken not before or during work but when the labors of the day are over.

One of the most dangerous fallacies advanced by this and other scientific men, even by some who condemn alcohol, is the statement that the amount of alcohol represented by moderate daily indulgence is almost completely oxidized or burned up in the body and therefore can do no harm. There is a statement made by this author to the effect that 35 cubic centimeters of alcohol (equivalent to $\frac{1}{2}$ bottle of light wine, $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints of ale, 3 ounces of whiskey) will be completely oxidized within three and one-half to five hours so that if this amount be taken in the evening it will have disappeared before morning and the subject will be able to commence work free from alcoholic effects. This is an instance of resting the whole case on oxidation. The influence of alcohol during the evening on the nervous system, on conduct, on ideals, on activities, is completely ignored. The morning irritability, the hang-over that is manifest in a large percentage of people who drink regularly, is completely ignored as well as the danger of substituting the drug resource for normal rest and recreation, and normal sleep. Many a man has locked up forever his natural powers of adaptation by utilizing this temporary false adjustment which disappears with the disappearance of the alcohol. Furthermore the risk of increasing indulgence, a definite, serious, and well-known risk, is not properly emphasized when he states that this amount of alcohol can be taken throughout adult existence without injury to health or efficiency, and is sufficient to attain the bene-

ficial results and produce the increased pleasure in living which are the objects of the employment of alcoholic beverages.

Digressing for a moment to the subject of so-called light wines and beers, recent important evidence has become available from the Carnegie Institution of Washington, through the investigations of Dr. Walter R. Miles. The popular impression, shared by a good many physicians, that 2.75 per cent beer is innocuous, is not supported by these researches. On the contrary, it is shown very clearly that alcohol, even this dilution taken in the quantities usually consumed, is toxic, if not intoxicating.

The author states:

> There is no longer room for doubt in reference to the toxic action of alcoholic beverages as weak as 2.75 per cent by weight. If 27.5 grams of alcohol are taken in this form, the well-defined and measurable depression in physical and mental processes, judged within the limits of this investigation, is not far short of the result found when 21 to 28 grams of alcohol are taken in solutions varying from 14 to 22 per cent.

One interesting observation of the author, in which we heartily concur, is that the actual effect of these doses of alcohol taken under living conditions outside of the laboratory, would be greater than as recorded in the laboratory. I have before commented on this phase of laboratory investigation. In the laboratory there is necessarily a certain control of conduct. There is a subconscious tendency to resist the effect of alcohol. While these subjects experimented on are prevented, so far as possible, from detecting that alcohol is being given them during the various periods of investigation—that is, an attempt is made to disguise the alcoholic doses so that the subject may not be aware that the test is made after the ingestion of alcohol—nevertheless the subject is aware that he is under investigation as to the influence of alcohol and his natural tendency would be during all the periods of investigation to concentrate on the work done and maintain a reasonable level of efficiency. In daily life conditions vary in both directions. When there is an invitation to loss of control, the alcoholic effect may be greatly increased. On the other hand, a man under observation or discipline may successfully resist the effect of alcohol to a measurable degree. Unfortunately, alcohol is usually taken under conditions of relaxation and even under conditions of temptation to lax conduct.

The evidence derived from such studies as these far outweighs the casual observation of lawyers, judges, doctors, or citizens at large, who assume to settle this question on the basis of passion and prejudice.

Other fallacies regarding the effect of alcohol on the mind and nervous system require discussion. We are not really so much concerned with actual drunkenness and the alcoholic psychoses as we are with the effect of alcohol on the great masses of the people who indulge. There seems to be a notion that people can be separated into sharply defined groups—the mentally fit and the mentally unfit; the physically fit and the physically unfit. As a matter of fact we never find perfection, either mental or physical. At the top we find

those free from important defects, at the bottom the grossly and hopelessly defective; the mass of the people forms a middle group swinging backward and forward according to environmental influence and suggestion. It is this group that should give us concern as to its reaction to the unrestricted use of alcohol.

It is regrettable to note in a scientific discussion of this kind the purely arbitrary statement credited to Dr. Stewart Paton, of Princeton University, that in communities where the spirit of prohibition is active there is almost always an unusual amount of nervousness not to mention an exceedingly unhealthy outlook upon human problems. This is another instance of feeling rather than fact inspiring the utterance of an eminent scientific man. The nervousness at the present time seems to be largely among the group in the population demanding alcohol as the facts cited in this review plainly indicate.

That we should deliberately allow alcohol in circulation in order to weed out the defective is an old and familiar argument. Even if this plan worked, would such a crude method be compatible with true science and decent humanity? There are other ways offering more promise of real results and less fraught with frightful menace to society. Deliberately to push half-insane people over the border and turn them loose in society to propagate as they usually do before they die, to spread venereal infection and create foci of crime, is so crude and stupid a procedure that one wonders how men trained in scientific methods of thought can even mention it as a remotely possible resource. Civilized man stands today a substandard defective type with numerous physical and mental deficiencies. Thirty thousand years of alcohol have not cured him. Why not try some other way?

In sifting out the statistical fallacies recently given widespread circulation we find a prominent biometrician who states that only two important studies of the effect of alcohol on longevity have ever been made, one by Neison, a British actuary, in 1851, and the other by himself. This author correctly defines certain fundamental requirements in these investigations, such as essential homogeneity in the groups compared except as to the characteristic being investigated; and then he proceeds to disregard these principles in their most important relationship. He omits in his discussion of the effect of alcohol on life and health to include health and bodily condition as a component of the group of factors establishing the required homogeneity for scientific comparative studies. Comparatively ancient studies of life insurance groups regarded by modern investigators as of no particular value are given extensive consideration and the modern studies by the Medico-Actuarial Society of America, comprising the experience of forty-one life insurance companies, studied, analyzed, and interpreted by a group of the most eminent medical men and actuaries in America were put aside as containing elementary and crude statistical fallacies. The learned professor presents some "new material" to which he has devoted a tremendous amount of statistical analysis covering a group of 2,047 persons

1,259 men and 788 women, separated into two groups as to sex, and then classified as to their drinking habits, i.e., total abstainers, moderate drinkers, occasional drinkers, heavy, and steady drinkers.[1] These absurdly small groups—there were only 271 male total abstainers and only 26 (!) female heavy drinkers—he proceeds to analyze as to their mortality, and actually constructs life-tables based upon these meager data. Bear in mind that the data on these people were all secured from the family history records of the Baltimore city health department, the tuberculosis clinic of Johns Hopkins Hospital (all tubercular subjects) and the juvenile court and general dispensary of the Johns Hopkins Hospital (all non-tubercular subjects) and all were dead. This is not, therefore, a comparison of homogeneous living groups of reasonably healthy people as in the case of the life insurance studies, so contemptuously treated by this author, but a study of death records; and there is no scientific warrant for constructing life-tables from such groups for the purpose of such an inquiry. On these records he makes the world-wide generalization that moderate drinkers live longer than abstainers. He also arrives at the epoch-making conclusion that the old soak is a bad risk!

Contrast these extremely shaky statistics with the record of the Northwestern Life Insurance Company covering the experience on 286,000 policies for the period 1885 to 1915. This investigation showed: increased death-rate among moderate, occasional users of alcohol—19 per cent; increased mortality among daily users of beer—33 per cent; increased mortality among daily users of spirits—66 per cent. These percentages represent the excess mortality as compared to that among total abstainers. This experience is entirely consistent with that of forty-one American companies covering two million people.

The criticism of these figures often advanced that they comprise groups classified as to their habits at time of acceptance for insurance and not throughout life, is without point. Society seeks to know what the effect of alcoholic indulgence is on many thousands, or indeed millions, of people using it. These classifications according to the degree of indulgence established as a custom at a given period of life are entirely valid and they do not rest wholly on the applicants' statements. To insist on ascertaining the death-rate on those who succeed in maintaining throughout life a habit of moderate drinking or of total abstinence would be to exclude from the drinking group the record of one of the most serious risks of moderate drinking, namely, increasing indulgence. To exclude death from accident and homicide as the author in question does is to exclude other hazards of alcohol.

If a group of average people could be absolutely controlled as to the use of alcohol, confining it within the limits of moderate drinking, the difference in mortality between the total abstainer and user would no doubt be less. There is an analogy in life insurance selection of risks. Risks are rated up because of the condition at time of examination, such as moderately increased blood-

[1] Includes steady moderate drinkers.

pressure, overweight, signs of heart affections, etc., and companies recognize a certain extra death-rate as obtaining in such classes. It is the same with alcohol; the indulgence established as a habit at the time of acceptance may be changed by individuals in the group, but on the entire group the extra hazard is fairly definite, just as it is in high blood-pressure and heart cases, even though individuals in these groups overcome their impairments. The existence of these impairments at a given time constitutes a liability. The circulation of alcohol among a large group of people constitutes a social liability which can be excluded by restrictive measures not applicable to many other factors menacing human life.

Here is a word to the unwise on "personal liberty." Many years ago Huxley, one of the most ardent advocates of individual freedom of speech, thought, and action, wrote:

> It is a necessary condition of social existence that men should renounce some of their freedom of action. There is no country or nation in which an adult man has exclusive possession of himself. In fact, the very existence of society depends on the fact that every member of it tacitly admits that he is not the exclusive possessor of himself and that he admits the claim of the polity of which he forms a part, to act to some extent as his master.

The question of prohibition as a matter of social expediency or social welfare is a problem for sociologists and statesmen to settle in their leadership of the people. But it cannot be settled rightly unless there is a full and clear understanding of the actual effect of alcohol on the human organism. As shown by the experience of the Life Extension Institute in the examination of more than 300,000 lives, there are other equally important life-shortening factors besides alcohol, and this drug must not bear the whole blame for life failure and chronic organic disease. Manifold infections, sedentary existence, injurious dietetic customs, are of equal importance.

I am willing to say, however, with no other motive actuating me but the prolongation and betterment of human life, that I can see no reason to modify or lessen the strength of the testimony derived from the study of large numbers of lives, checked up by laboratory experience, as to the destructive influence of alcohol on human life.

PROHIBITION—THE PROBLEM OF ENFORCEMENT FROM THE FEDERAL STANDPOINT

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Probably a word of explanation might be in order concerning the branches of the United States government and how they function and how they interrelate. I am not going to go into it in detail, but simply to show that, contrary to public conception, law enforcement depends upon the Treasury Department

as much as the Department of Justice, for the evidence-gathering—which you will all appreciate as one of the most important elements of case-making in any kind of law enforcement—is almost entirely in the hands of the various bureaus of the Treasury Department of the federal government. Probably 80, or at least 60, per cent of all cases prosecuted by the Department of Justice are prepared, so far as evidence is concerned, by agents working out of the Treasury Department. Therefore you will see that the supervision of the attorney-general over prohibition enforcement begins, as a practical matter, after the collection of the evidence, and covers enforcement in so far as may be necessary to compel the case to be carried successfully through the courts of the United States.

It is wise, in considering the prohibition problem, to keep in mind the dual form of government that exists between state and nation and to realize how that dual form of government has caused, since the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, one of the most difficult phases of prohibition enforcement. Prior to national prohibition there were twenty-three states that had constitutional prohibition and there were thirty-three states that had some kind of prohibition law. Each state in the union felt the responsibility of enforcement and in each were active agencies working locally for the spread of the local-option movement, or for the adoption and safe carrying through of a program of prohibition enforcement, or for the abolition of the saloon.

When the Eighteenth Amendment was passed one bad effect arose directly from it. To some extent it caused the cessation of the activities of agencies that were fostering sentiment for the prevention of the use of alcohol. There spread a feeling that what was wanted was accomplished, when in fact work had only begun in its larger phase.

I could not help thinking, as the previous speaker discussed the prohibition question from the scientific standpoint, how completely we in the United States have lost sight of that side of it and have come to consider it only a question of law enforcement. Particularly with the bad bootleg liquors in distribution, it cannot be said to have lost its dual nature as a scientific, social problem, as well as one of respect for law. It is still a local problem too, and good people in local communities cannot lean back in their rocking-chairs and say, "Let Uncle Sam do it," as too many of us are doing today.

I do not think that constitutional prohibition in the United States of America has yet had a fair trial. After four years there has not been half the kind of a trial nor half the earnest effort that can and must be put forward in order to succeed in the national undertaking. That is not a criticism directed at any particular individual, nor solely at any branch of the federal government, nor any state government. Failure to give it a trial is the result of a series of circumstances. The reasons, as I see them, are three: First, local communities have gone to sleep on this question. Second, the federal government has not yet to its fullest capacity co-ordinated its efforts on the particular phases of

prohibition enforcement that the federal government must and can be responsible for, such as the issuance of permits, and development of big interstate conspiracies. And third, so far, prohibition enforcement has had entirely too much politics in it. It has been made a kind of political football. I believe any group of people earnestly desiring to get at the bottom of a problem so tied up with the welfare and the national dignity of the United States as this one is must face faults and failures honestly and attempt to correct them, instead of evade or excuse them.

Probably in speaking of the three phases of the question I have suggested, it is more natural to take them up in reverse order. First, as to the federal government's failure so far to focus its attention, even if it means neglect of smaller cases, on the pending federal phases of enforcement.

The Eighteenth Amendment places concurrent responsibility on the states and the federal government for the enforcement of prohibition which is declared to be the national policy. It is not possible, merely because the federal government declared as a national policy the abolition of the liquor traffic, thereby to expect the government to assume all the responsibility and burden of its eradication. Our government would be fairly charged with paternalism if it attempted to police every back yard in the United States with agents from Washington. Policing is, and will always remain, a matter to be supervised and handled by the state, city, and county agencies of law enforcement. But though it is within their domain, they should not refuse to act, for since our union is indissoluble, it is the duty of each state, whether it approves of the policy or not, to bear its local share of the responsibility of carrying into effect a national policy written regularly into the Constitution of the United States.

The federal government has responsibilities under the national prohibition act that state governments cannot assume: First, for the issuance of permits to carry on dealings in industrial alcohol, and trade in the legitimate liquor uses. Second, it has the responsibility to make the big cases, whose schemes of law violation run into many states and outside of the jurisdiction of any one locality. Small cases should be left to the local agencies.

Perhaps an example would be interesting of the kind of case I believe it is the duty of Uncle Sam to focus attention upon, where trained agents have to be sent to get all the evidence of multiple conspiracies. To the state of Ohio there moved a certain individual from Chicago. He belonged to my noble profession, a profession where, as in all professions, there exist shysters. He set about buying up distilleries in several states, Kentucky and Ohio. He bought many, but our evidence reached only to three. At each distillery there is a government man called a "gauger," who inspects all withdrawals of liquor. To get the liquor past the gauger he had to have a government permit. Only drug-stores could obtain permits; therefore, he bought up three drug-stores. One he put in the name of his wife's brother, another in the name of his chauffeur, and the third in the name of his cook's husband! All had good-sounding

names, and in due time, after application, they received permits to withdraw liquor for the three drug-stores.

At this point let me nail down one of the responsibilities which rest solely upon the federal government—issuance of these permits, carelessness in which fosters more of the illicit liquor distribution than any one other cause. There's not nearly as much surveillance as there should be over selection of permittees, and following up the way their permits are used. That is the first fact we must face—a federal error we must confess and correct.

But back to Remus: he had to have transportation facilities to take the liquor, not to the drug-stores, but to where he could sell it. So he bought up a transportation company and gave it the patriotic name of the American Transfer Company. He had a large number of excellent trucks which were sided up. Near the top were little portholes where armed men lay guarding the load. Next, he had to have some place from where he could bootleg the liquor and so he bought up several lonely farmhouses. One was called Death Valley Farm because a revenue agent was killed there. He made the basement of the house over into a bottling plant. He made over the barns as storage places and kept from three to five armed guards on duty day and night guarding the liquor which his trucks brought there.

What really happened was that one of these trucks broke down on the road and the prohibition agent noted that although the permit called for the transfer of liquor to a drug-store in Cincinnati, the truck was many miles out of the city and not on any reasonable road to such destination. He was suspicious of the armed guards and of those portholes also, so he brought the facts to the attention of the United States Attorney. Now again this illustrates a point I want to emphasize. Too often now the agents make a little case or many little ones where a big one against ringleaders is possible. The Remus case would have ended no doubt by the United States Attorney filing a libel on the truck and its load, and prosecuting the driver for transportation. But instead of so doing he realized from the surrounding circumstances that there must be somebody back of it much bigger than a driver and so he wrote to Washington and we put some experienced investigators at work.

To make a long story short, we traced it all back to Remus, who was found to be the owner of the chain of distilleries, drug-stores, transportation facilities, and farmhouses. He, with his confederates, was placed under arrest and held for the grand jury. Then things began to happen. Before the grand jury was ready to meet I went to Cincinnati to assist in the presentation of the case, for we were thrown into consternation by the fact that a great deal of our evidence had evaporated. One witness had gone on a wedding trip although he had been married eight months; one had gone to Mexico and wrote that he liked the climate and would stay; and a third—a man on whose testimony the case largely rested, one of the guards named Hubbard—died very suddenly! We never could believe that there was anything unnatural about his death, but

we could not make some of the rest of the witnesses think so. A panic seized the government witnesses and we despaired.

Finally when we realized we were lost without Hubbard's testimony, I said to the men who were working with me, "Send for Mrs Hubbard." They replied that Mrs. Hubbard did not know anything about the case, she was greatly excited over her husband's recent death, and anyway she had lived half a mile from Death Valley Farm. I said, "She probably brought the men their lunches. You will find she knows something about it." So we sent an agent to get her, and summoning her brought to light another fact that I want everybody here to remember. When she reached me the next morning, at my first question or two she replied, "Yes, Mrs. Willebrandt, I know a lot about what was going on there at Death Valley, from the things I actually saw, but do not ask me to testify. *Remus is bigger than the government.*" Do you think she could have thought so, if that community were not neglecting its share of law enforcement! It took all the assurance I could muster to overcome her fear. I promised her if anything should happen to her to get me on the telephone day or night and she should have protection. Finally she said, "I will go before the grand jury." She did so, and as a consequence Remus was indicted, and when the time came for the trial she was the star witness.

As the trial progressed the courtroom was crowded with bootleggers and with friends of bootleggers, but where, oh, where were the people in that community who wanted to see the law enforced? They were not there. A federal judge who was working long hours on such cases in a different state once said to me, "Why is it that every time I sentence a bootlegger all his friends are jamming the courtroom, and all the cheap politicians in the community send people to see me, but the decent people in the community who really want to see the law enforced never seem to notice what I am doing unless there comes an opportunity to criticize?"

When Mrs. Hubbard took the stand some of the lawyers for the defense made the mistake in handling her as a witness that even the best of men are liable to make when dealing with an aroused woman! They tried to make her say she was mistaken about some of the things she had seen, and you ought to have seen her come back at them! She identified Remus as having collected the money, and not only told what was done at Death Valley Farm, but told that once when a visit by revenue men was "tipped off" by a crooked prohibition agent, the liquor was moved to a hill back of her farm. And then she began identifying not only defendants who helped but people standing in the back of the room. Her answer was stricken out but there was an exodus from the courtroom!

Do you think that kind of a case would have been possible; that kind of conspiracy could have grown up; that kind of fear on the part of witnesses called to testify to facts which they knew for the federal government, if the local

community had not been suffering from sleeping-sickness as far as its duty toward the enforcement of law was concerned?

Local communities used to have a sturdy sense of independence that prompted resentment at interfering with their sovereignty, if officials from Washington attempted to enforce laws of only a local import, like a case against a man for possession of liquor, which is in most places covered by a state law. But so far as prohibition is concerned, and largely because of the patronage of the bootleggers by so-called good and honest people, that sturdy sentiment of responsibility is suffering a temporary decadence. One of the most vital things social workers can do is not to lay so much importance upon the enforcement of law by federal officials, but to bring home to local communities that on their part is the big responsibility for the preservation of law and order. This should be felt in election and appointment of every local official from mayor and chief of police to county judge.

Here in this audience are represented leaders in welfare work. You have it in your power to revive this interest. Not till local communities have a sense of shame, blush, and feel a guilty civic conscience if conditions of law violations are uncovered in their midst, will the United States be rated where our pride should put her among the nations of the world in the business of suppressing crime. We pride ourselves upon being the land of opportunity and yet it is rather a paradox that statistics convict us of being also the land of opportunity for crime! Our citizenship in the United States is dual—state and United States. Our responsibilities are dual as well.

Too many of us are all too much like Voltaire. He was standing on the street one day as a holy procession passed, and surprised that he should remove his hat and stand with bowed head, a friend said, "Why, Voltaire, I did not know that you recognized God," and Voltaire answered, "Oh, yes, we bow but we do not speak." Too often, to our sense of responsibility and our patriotism, we bow but we do not speak. When traveling in a foreign country if somebody infringes on our rights we rush to the embassy over which flies our flag and we claim all the privileges and protections that come through citizenship, but when it comes to curing conditions or political strangulation of law enforcement in and around our own homes, as close as the policeman on our beat, as the mayor who governs our city, as the aldermen who make our ordinances, and as the public officials who make our wider state and national laws, then we bow but we do not speak.

Many criminals, upon leaving Atlanta or Leavenworth, having served terms for graver crimes, and having learned that to the criminal aristocracy belongs the bootlegging fraternity, join that fraternity and bring to it all the other forms of law violation that criminal minds can devise. Smugglers and bootleggers are flourishing in large seaports and are bringing to the conduct of their unlawful business all kinds of crime. They tarnish official honor; corruption and bribery follow in their trail. The tremendous amount of money they suck from legit-

imate business enterprises goes to the hampering of local law-enforcing agencies to an extent that most people do not appreciate.

On our southern shores before the war there was a ring of smugglers known as the "Big Four." There were four families of them that had flourished for many years. After prohibition came in they carried on their activities on a much larger scale. They had for many years been smuggling dope, Chinamen, and other things. Every effort to apprehend them was frustrated because the Big Four had their own intelligence system. At its head was a man who later, it was learned, was wanted in several districts of the United States for various crimes, one of which was swindling a preacher out of twenty-five thousand dollars! We sent investigators into that locality. They were met by this intelligence officer who said to them, "You might just as well get out of town, boys, we know you are federal agents." The Big Four almost owned the town. They had money to loan and controlled elections. Finally we looked up their income tax. Only a few had paid any income tax at all. Revenue agents were sent to backtrack their bank deposits. As a result, the federal government assessed the "king-pin" of this group for failure to pay the past three years' income tax amounting to $1,343,000. The others owed from $100,000 to $45,000. From that you can imagine the extent of their business. We sent some trusted and experienced investigators from the Department of Justice to get acquainted with "Willie," the said "king-pin." He was the modern bandit type of the old buccaneering pirate. At one time when a prohibition boat sailed into southern waters, he had run it into one of the bayous and sunk it. But he could not have flourished in a locality that was not asleep. He was indicted for failure to pay income tax. He thought he could get out of that by paying a fine. So long as they think that they are not afraid.

Our agents reported two or three times a week, and one report was received with great glee. The time of trial of the income tax case was approaching. Willie had said to one of these agents, "I think I am going to be tried on this income tax proposition. I am not much afraid of it, but think I better look up that jury," and he chose one of our men to do his bribing! As a result, his whole crowd was put under indictment and convicted, and eighty-five of them are now in Atlanta Penitentiary. One hundred and twenty-five others are awaiting trial for lesser parts in the conspiracy.

That is the kind of case the federal government must be responsible for, but the hip-pocket variety of cases must be left to the police courts. Prohibition enforcement can never be a success unless local enforcement and federal enforcement go hand in hand, and the locality recognizes that it has as much responsibility to carry out the policy of the nation as the central government; each to the limit of its respective capacity. Federal agents must be better trained to handle big cases. Just because a man has been politically active or useful, or because he has taught a Sunday-school class, does not make him able to get evidence on crooks. The reason why we have fewer trained men in

the prohibition service than we have in the post-office department, or in the treasury department to uncover cases of forgery, is because as far as the appointment of prohibition agents is concerned, it has been controlled by the politicians. The only safe principle is that as far as law enforcement is concerned the best politics for any nation or any party is no politics.

All of Europe is watching the great experiment America is making. Their observers, however, do not go as far west as they ought to to get the whole story. They are too apt to base their observations on what is going on at the Atlantic seaports. Although bad there, the picture is not all black, by any means. Prohibition enforcement has taken on three phases in the states where it has prevailed for a long time: First, when prohibition laws are passed the liquor traffic assumes the position of a powerful political foe to the law. It grumbles defiance and openly fights asserting its aristocracy and liberal independence. Next, after enforcement gets a good toe-and-hand hold of the situation, the liquor interests resort to back yards and brothels and places of that sort where no claim to respectability is made, and advance the argument that they would be much less dangerous if brought out again to the front streets. The third position after the prohibition laws begin to be taken as a matter of course, as in many states, like Kansas, is that the liquor interests cease to be a political factor. There always will be violations of these laws, but proportionately no greater violation than of other laws. In some states, particularly on the Atlantic seaboard, this problem is in the first stage, and the European watchers, seeing that, think it is all a failure. It is not. The other evening I went through the Bowery in New York and I could not help contrasting conditions—bad as prohibition enforcement is in New York today—with conditions of five and six years ago.

The whole of what I have been trying to emphasize is epitomized by a cartoon. A law violator sat beside a table on which were piled all the things he had made in violation of the law—booze, narcotics, money saved out of taxes. Leaning back in his chair he looked through a door, just outside of which stood the figure of Justice trying to reach in to seize him. He had an insolent expression as he watched the figure of Justice because between him and the door stood in a row his faithful henchmen. Who were they? First, old man Pull, pompous and political; next in line, Miss Sentimentalism. He knew he could depend upon her for a pardon. Next stood Professional Bondsman in a checked suit and a red tie, always ready to get him out of jail and forfeit his bond—for a consideration, of course. There was old man Delay, doddering and doleful, with cobwebs in his whiskers. On him he could depend to have his case put off until the witnesses died or moved away. And last in line stood the father of the whole brood, old Public Indifference. The test of government is, how many of that group are in your local communities, and how long will you suffer them to remain?

NEGRO MIGRATION—ITS EFFECT ON FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE IN THE NORTH

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In discussing the question of Negro migration to the North, four general facts should be mentioned as a background: First, the movement of the Negro population is only one phase of the migrations of populations from one section of America to another, and from Europe to America. These population movements have been great during the past seventy-five years, increasing with more rapid transportation and communication and with the tremendous changes in agriculture and industry. The migration of Negroes northward since 1870 has ebbed and flowed decade by decade with the changes in industrial conditions and the tides of immigration from Europe.

There has been a white migration from the South to the North as well as a Negro migration. According to the census, the number of whites born in the South but living in other states increased 780,576 between 1910 and 1920. During the same decade there was an increase of 340,260 Negroes in the entire North and West. In 1920 there were about two and a half times as many whites as Negroes who had been born in the South but were living in other states.[1]

The second general fact is that the migration of Negroes northward during and since the world-war is only the latest act in our great drama of democracy. These two great, diverse races are leading characters in this drama which is laid in our land of growing, congested cities and increasingly depleted rural districts. There have been at least two great acts preceding the present. The first act introduced and settled Negroes as slave workers into our labor system from the days of the colonies until the Civil War. Then free white labor and human conscience awakened and by great sacrifice of blood and treasure made the first correction of the economic and social blunders of the preceding generations. The second act opened with the emancipation of four million slaves and continued until the world-war. During that time these millions of emancipated, landless serfs more than doubled in numbers and thousands of them slowly shifted from landless tenants and farm laborers to independent farmers and to city dwellers. In the late seventies we had a great migration of Negroes from the agricultural regions of Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana to Kansas and the Middle West, and fluctuating tides to the North in every decade since that time.

The world-war raised the curtain upon the third act which is now before our eyes. The sudden call to arms in Europe, when the world-war broke out, drew away thousands of unskilled and semi-skilled workers and created a labor vacuum in northern industries and mines and on northern railroads. The Negro population furnished the one great source of surplus labor to northern industrial

[1] V. D. Johnson, *Opportunity*, August, 1923, p. 236.

captains. Dissatisfaction with their surroundings, the damages to cotton culture by the boll weevil, and "hunger-wages" in the South made Negroes eager to leave.

We are beginning to perceive that the resulting migration is just a part of the family, industrial, and community adjustments of two great racial groups which have lived side by side through three centuries of colonial and national development; affected by the coming and going of national groups from Europe.

The third general fact about this migration is that the adjustment of relations of these two races can no longer be regarded by anyone as a southern question. It is national in its distribution, factors, and influence. In 1920, sixteen states had from 1 to 5 per cent of their total population Negro; seven states had from 5 to 25 per cent of their total population Negro; eight states had from 25 to 50 per cent of their population Negro, and two states had 50 per cent or over Negro. Thirty-three states now have a considerable percentage of the total population Negro. Whatever is done in Detroit, Cleveland, or New York affects race relations in the South. The happenings in Mississippi and Louisiana are of moment to Michigan and Pennsylvania.

The fourth general fact is that the Negro people are an aspiring American group that has made progress, and contributed substantial values to American life. They justify the belief in their greater future contributions. In the face of unusual and unwarranted barriers and discriminations, Negro poets, musicians, painters, educators, orators, scientists, inventors, and others of talent have made substantial achievements. The rank and file of the group advanced to such an extent that the late Viscount Bryce said that the Negro in America made greater progress in the first thirty years of his freedom than did the Anglo-Saxon in any similar period of his history.

Important questions involved.—With these general facts in mind the effects of Negro migration upon family and community life in the North must be regarded as of national importance. Among the many questions which naturally arise are the following: Is this movement temporary or is there to be a large permanent Negro population in northern communities? From what type of communities have these people come and to what types of communities are they going? What types of individuals and families have migrated to northern communities? What are some of the effects upon these Negro families and communities in the North? What are some of the effects upon the white families and communities among whom they have settled?

Is the northern settlement permanent?—To the first question about the temporary or permanent character of this Negro population, we may get an answer by summarizing some of the causes of the migration movement and some of the basic facts relating to it. The causes are economic, social, and personal. Economic causes involve the breaking down of southern agriculture in the last ten years through the increasing spread and depredations of the boll weevil on the cotton crop, the floods and drought in sections of Alabama and Georgia,

the changes in the crop system, and the decline of cotton prices in the early period of the world-war and during the depression of 1920–21. All of these forces served to uproot the Negro farm-hand and tenant from the plantations and agricultural districts and depress wages even lower than usual in the towns and cities of such states as Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

At the time the Negro was leaving the farms in 1915–18 there came the sudden expansion of war industries and a great demand for coal and for railroad transportation in war production for Europe and later for our own army. The nations of Europe were calling their sons home and immigration from Europe to America was cut off. Northern employers turned to the South offering attractions of high wages, and, in the earlier years, free transportation. Negroes and whites came by the thousands. After the world-war, the immigration law of 1921 admitted, as is well known, only 3 per cent of the national groups in the United States as shown by the census of 1910. The new quota law, which became effective July 1, changes, as we all know, the annual quota to 2 per cent of the national groups in this country in 1890, thus greatly reducing for an indefinite period European immigration with its supply of foreign workers.

With the expansion of industry taking place in our country there will doubtless be for some years an increasing demand for semi-skilled and unskilled labor in northern and western factories, coal mines, and on railroads. The source of that labor supply is the Negro population in the cities, towns, and rural districts of the South. There will probably come large numbers of Mexicans, who have been exempted from the quota provisions of the immigration law, but there are drawbacks to their coming into northern districts. They speak a foreign language; Negroes speak English; Mexicans have foreign customs; Negroes know American ways; Mexicans will not show the patience and cheerfulness of the Negro. Negroes, then, will be the main source for labor recruits. The large majority of Negro families are still making a terrific struggle to keep above the poverty line; one of the strongest aspirations of Negro migrants to the North has been to find economic support and security for their families. During the world-war period thousands of Negro men for the first time found it possible to secure sufficient wages to provide for their families so that their wives were enabled to remain at home, free from the necessity of helping to win the daily bread in addition to performing the duties of housekeeper, wife, and mother.

The social causes involve principally the evils and injustices endured by the Negro and his fears and feelings from such evils as lynching, Jim-Crow cars, unsatisfactory crop settlements, and lack of justice in the courts. For years an increasing feeling of restlessness and insecurity has been general. The lack of educational facilities has been felt by Negro parents who increasingly are anxious about the education of their children. In 1923 Negroes in mass-meetings in Mississippi and in Georgia passed resolutions stating that thousands

were leaving these states because of low wages, lack of educational and other public facilities, lack of safety to life, and general despair of obtaining their rights as citizens. One of the statements declared that the state "sent more Negro soldiers to the world-war than white, that the Negroes on their return home found themselves with no more voice in the state and government which they fought to defend than the German enemies whom they helped to stay from the American soil." The third group of causes, namely the personal, has to do with many coming to the North to join relatives and friends, others having the restlessness to move from familiar surroundings to see the world and the great cities and to enjoy the excitement of strange lands.

The probable permanence of this Negro population in northern industrial centers may also be seen in the figures of its growth. In each decade from 1880 to 1920 the increase of the Negro population in northern cities has been from two to five times as great as the increase of the Negro population in the continental United States. Furthermore, it seems that the annual rate of migration has been accelerated; this is certainly true since 1910. From 1870 to 1910 the net increase of Negro population in the North and West was about 10,000 per year. Between 1910 and 1920 the average net increase was about 34,000 per year. As near as we can guess, in 1922 and 1923 there was a net increase of between 100,000 and 150,000 per year of those who moved North.

To sum up the point, since the causes of Negro migration are fundamentally economic, social, and personal, and have operated for a long time, and since they will probably continue to operate for a considerable period of years with European immigration reduced probably to less than 20 per cent of its pre-war numbers, we may conclude that Negro migration will continue for an indefinite period and that a large permanent Negro population will settle both in the northern industrial cities to which thousands have already come, in many other industrial centers not now attracting them, and probably in some of the farming districts.

To the propagandists like those of last year who claimed that Negroes were returning in large numbers to the South, it may be said that careful observation for successive years of more than a decade shows that probably about 10 per cent have returned as each wave of population has moved North. Of these, however, indeterminate numbers are returning to visit relatives, to wind up personal affairs preparatory to permanent residence in the North, and many of them are workers and servants who move back and forth with the tourist seasons.

Types of communities from which migrants go.—The types of communities from which Negro migrants are coming show the community experience they bring to the North. In the southern rural districts there are neighborhoods where independent Negro farmers are in the large majority and own much of the land they till. So far only small numbers of such migrants have come North. In other rural areas with large plantations and tenant farms Negro

tenants and farm-hands prevail. Three out of every four Negro farmers in 1920 were either croppers, share-tenants, or cash-tenants. In districts of such tenant farmers, the families are usually scattered over the plantations and farms and live in small cabins usually of one room, or sometimes two rooms, and a lean-to kitchen. These plantation workers either about make ends meet or they are in debt from year to year according to the success of the cotton crop, the fairness of the landlord, and the thrift of the tenant or farm laborer. The average annual returns to the Negro tenant farmer in one county in Georgia in 1923 was estimated less than $225. The wages of farm-hands before the heavy migration of recent years ranged from 50 cents to $1.00 per day. In two black-belt counties of Alabama in 1916–18 such laborers were receiving 50 cents to 60 cents per day.[1] The public schools in the majority of such districts, usually ungraded, run from three to six months, taught by poorly prepared, poorly paid teachers in ramshackle buildings or in churches with practically no teaching equipment.

The most influential institution for reaching the Negro community is the Negro church. The Protestant Negro churches have grown rapidly the past sixty years. With their bishops, their presidents of conventions, moderators, district superintendents, and other general officers and their local ministers they have made great headway in organizing and serving the people in many ways. The Negro minister may have been lacking often in knowledge and worldly wisdom, but he soothed the sorrows, fired the hopes, and guided the minds of the masses. Shut off from most of the other intellectual, political, commercial, and emotional channels of community expression, Negroes have found an untrammeled outlet in their church. They built up its form, made its rules and traditions, handled its finances, and picked its leaders unhindered by the surrounding world. They awoke in turn to find it the greatest of their instruments for group service and group expression.

In each rural district there is usually at least a small Baptist and a small Methodist church. Meetings are held at such churches once or twice a month when the roads allow travel. There the exchanges of gossip and experience of all kinds are made, and social contact and community stimulation through fellowship are found. The minister usually lives in a nearby town and serves several churches on successive Sundays. Agencies and activities for wholesome recreation, intellectual or other culture are conspicuous by their absence. Monotony of life is occasionally relieved for the young people miles around by a hunt, a picnic, or a dance.

Community life in the small towns and cities under ten thousand inhabitants does not differ greatly from that of the rural districts, except that there is usually a better school building, a longer school term, and teachers with a little better pay and a little better training. A majority of these colored residents

[1] U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration in 1916–1918*, reports on Alabama and Georgia.

have somewhat better houses than those on the farms. There are usually some Negro families with homes that compare favorably with those of the best white families. The churches in these urban centers usually have resident ministers and play a large part in the life of such communities. Here, too, secret societies make their influence felt upon the men more than in the rural districts and colored women's clubs exercise influence for social and moral advancement. Frequently a moving-picture exhibition, a stereopticon lecture, a musical, or some other entertainment comes to town and holds forth at a church. The church and Sunday school often furnish some outlet such as an occasional sociable, picnic, or outing.

In the larger cities like Memphis, Nashville, Birmingham, Atlanta, and New Orleans the Negro community life takes on larger aspects. Space does not permit a complete description of this life. Some of its features center about the rank and file of the Negro wage-earners who live in small, two-, three-, and four-room frame houses where paved streets, sanitation, and sewerage provision, police, and fire protection are absent or meager, but where close proximity and numbers offer advantages of group life and association. Such larger numbers of the Negro population in segregated neighborhoods furnish a foundation for Negro business enterprises and the professional classes, who in turn set higher standards of living and have leisure and education for intellectual, social, and spiritual development.

Health hazards because of numbers, housing congestion, and living conditions are greater than in rural districts, but increasing realization by white people of the connection between the health of the Negro neighborhood and that of the whole community and increasing numbers of Negro doctors and nurses have secured better attention to Negro health needs. Negro doctors and dentists have multiplied until in 1920 there were about 4,500 of them located mainly in the town and city centers of the South. Hospitals, public sanitation, and health instruction have increasingly received attention. Public schools in these larger cities are usually better than those of the rural districts and small towns. Buildings and equipment have been rising in quality; the pay of Negro teachers, while below that for white teachers of similar grades, is sufficient to attract good ability. Negro churches are larger, many having brick structures of imposing architecture with resident ministers of training and character. These are the most influential centers. Fraternal societies, women's clubs, and other voluntary organizations give expression to group life. Blocks and neighborhoods of Negro homes are among the best.

In the rural districts as well as in the towns and cities the several Negro neighborhoods usually become knit together in an autonomous Negro community and are almost entirely segregated from the white neighborhoods. There has been little political and civic organization and life in these southern communities because of disfranchisement and exclusion from county, town, or city law-making, law-interpreting, or law-executing machinery. Separate schools

for Negro children and youth, separate accommodation on street cars and railroad trains, separate churches and even separate cemeteries have brought almost a complete isolation of large sections of the Negro world. Such segregation has been partly the cause and partly the effect of legal disfranchisement which excluded participation in political and civic life of the community. Through segregation the white world knows little of the achievements of Negroes and Negro communities in the past sixty years. The Negro leaders of these communities, educated very largely in the five hundred mission and philanthropic schools scattered in over two hundred communities, have furnished types of able professional and business men and women who have been the guides of the people.

Types of communities to which migrants come.—Let us contrast these situations with the kinds of communities in which the migrants are settling in the North. These may be indicated first by the fact that in 1920 there were seventeen industrial cities in the North which then contained ten thousand or more Negroes. There were sixteen small industrial cities or suburban residential cities in which there were between five and ten thousand Negroes. Judging from census estimates and first-hand local surveys we may estimate that probably four of these smaller cities in 1924 have a Negro population of about ten thousand each. This makes a probable total of twenty-one northern cities now in each of which the Negro population equals or exceeds ten thousand. In 1920 nearly three-fourths of the Negro population in the North were living in ten industrial districts named by Professor M. N. Work as follows:

Indianapolis district	47,550
Detroit; Toledo	55,918
Cleveland; Youngstown	58,350
Kansas City district	65,393
Pittsburgh district	88,273
Columbus; Cincinnati	89,651
St. Louis district	102,607
Chicago district	131,580
Philadelphia district	248,343
New York district	251,340

These industrial districts include a number of the smaller industrial cities and suburban industrial and residential centers such as Evanston, Illinois, Gary, Indiana, Toledo, Ohio, and Chester, Pennsylvania. Because of their previous hard and humdrum experience on farms and plantations the Negro migrant has a prejudice against rural life. Because, also, of the apparent better wage and other attractions of town life, the farming districts of the North, even the rich farming areas of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and New Jersey, have not attracted these migrants. The Connecticut Valley tobacco district, with here and there a few truck-farms, has apparently been the only rural area that has drawn Negroes in any numbers to agricultural work. With a few exceptions

such as the large increase in some of the smaller steel centers like Youngstown, Ohio, and Gary, Indiana, the tendency of the Negro population seems to be to move more rapidly toward the larger centers such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit.

The industrial attraction of these cities for Negro migrants partly explains the trend and arises from about seven basic industries: iron and steel mills, automobile manufactures, chemical and allied factories, foundries and hardware factories, slaughtering and meat-packing, stone, tile, and glass industry, and the clothing trades. The centers of the textile industries have not attracted Negroes. The building trades in some cities have held restrictions through some of their unions. The mining towns of Pennsylvania attracted thousands during the coal shortage of the war period, and types of railroad work called for considerable numbers. The more technical phases of manufacturing industries, especially those where union labor holds sway, and that require highly trained labor, attract only limited numbers of Negro migrants. The communities of the basic industries named above that require much unskilled and semi-skilled labor are those to which the large majority of migrants are moving. Much of the domestic and personal service in many of these cities performed by European immigrants heretofore is now done by Negro workers, especially women.

One other factor in these communities has been the presence of a considerable number of Negro residents in the larger centers like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Detroit before the heavy migration of the last ten years. They enjoyed a large measure of freedom in the life of these communities. The public schools were open to their children without much tendency toward segregation. Many of these residents were in mixed church congregations and some of them held positions of importance and responsibility in business or the local government. Some were in business for themselves. They were fairly well integrated into the community life.

Types of Negro migrants.—The types of Negro migrants are interesting. In 1916 and 1917, the earlier years of the present migration, the majority of the newcomers were men—particularly detached men—either men without families or men who would not venture to bring their families with them into an unknown country. Included among them were a great many younger men, with the floaters and ne'er-do-wells, who had been easily attracted away from southern towns and cities by the stories of easy work at high wages and by free transportation offered promiscuously by labor agents and railroad companies. A second class was made up of a large number of single women, detached from their families, who came because of the large opportunities for remunerative work, particularly in domestic service.

These gradually were accompanied and followed by a third type, the substantial laboring man of unskilled or semi-skilled abilities. For the most part these men either brought their families, soon married, or sent for their families

as soon as they could find remunerative employment. Fourth, with such families as fathers and sons had left behind came a great many broken families —widows with children, attracted by the opportunities for an education in public schools and wages in domestic service; there came also the aged relatives of the wage-earning men and women of families. As those in the larger southern cities and towns moved on to the North, others moved in from the hamlets and rural districts to fill their places and to swell the proportions. Thus much of the movement was by successive stages.

Beginning about 1919 those who had come in the two or three years preceding had gained a substantial economic footing and knowledge of being able to stand the climate and other living conditions. Consequently a general assurance spread throughout cities, towns, and rural districts of the South. Frequently whole families or neighborhoods, sometimes with previous arrangements for employment in some of the industrial communities, migrated in a group. A few cases have been recorded of whole church congregations bringing their pastors with them. As the types described above settled, they furnished a field for the small tradesman and the professional class who either came along with the crowd or followed closely after. In many cases, of course, the more enterprising wage-earners finding themselves in the midst of a large Negro population with considerable wages to spend ventured into business. Along with this host of mixed humanity there came a vicious and criminal element. It is the testimony, however, of social workers, railroad officials, law officers and other observers that to an unusual degree these people are law-abiding, unoffending folk who are seeking larger opportunities in a new environment.

Effects on Negro life in the North.—The foregoing facts lead the way to our consideration of effects on families and communities in the North. Some of the outstanding effects of migration on the average Negro family are better standards of food and clothing due to higher wages. The children have better school buildings with teaching equipment and higher-paid, better-trained teachers. The permanent effects on health and mortality can only be surmised. Statistics of the births and deaths are as yet meager but they seem to indicate a trend toward improvement. A survey made by Forrester B. Washington under the auspices of the Inter-racial Committee of Toledo, Ohio, showed a Negro death-rate for 1922 of 15.2 per cent as compared with the general death-rate of 11.7 per cent—a difference of 3.5 per cent; but in 1912 before the 200 per cent increase of Negro population due to migration the Negro death-rate was 20.5 per cent while the general death-rate was 13.8 per cent, a difference of 6.7 per cent. In Cincinnati the Negro death-rate was 34.9 per cent for the decade 1902–12 and declined to 27.4 per cent for the decade 1913–23.

Dr. Dublin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company[1] states that in nearly two million Negro industrial policy-holders, including men, women, and children, the "mortality rate was 17.5 per thousand" in 1911 and 14.5 in 1923,

[1] Address before the National Conference of Social Work, Toronto, July 2, 1924.

a decrease of more than one-sixth. Death from tuberculosis, "the outstanding cause of death among colored people," was 41 per cent less in 1923 than in 1911. "Nothing indicates so well the general health condition of a race as the incidence of tuberculosis and nothing reflects so well an improvement in its mode of life as does a big drop in the tuberculosis death-rate. . . . . The improvement in typhoid fever is especially noteworthy," declining 77.5 per cent between 1911 and 1923. The effect of northern migration in the changes is indicated by the fact that there has been a "marked increase in the number of colored policy-holders" in Illinois and Michigan, mainly concentrated in Chicago and Detroit.

In most northern cities the housing condition shows a majority of the Negro families coming North are grievously overcrowded and in practically all of the cities the rents for them have been far in excess of those for residents who are residing at the same time in similar localities. A survey made by the Federation of Churches of Buffalo in 1922 disclosed the fact that about 75 per cent of the colored families occupied a section of that city which contained the poorest houses, some of which had formerly been condemned as not habitable. A similar survey made by the Federated Churches of Cleveland showed that while a substantial part of the colored people have secured good houses, inadequate and unsanitary conditions still exist in one of the principal Negro communities of the city. The Philadelphia Housing Association found in a recent survey that only 10.5 per cent of the houses occupied by Negro families were equipped for sanitation, convenience, and comfort, while 28.6 per cent of the houses occupied by whites were so equipped. There was no room-overcrowding, however. In New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and other cities, while there are many good houses, the majority of the people are overcrowded in houses lacking in facilities for sanitation, convenience, and comfort.

A striking development of their settlement has been their effort to improve their housing condition. This is evinced in their increased striving to purchase the homes they occupy. In the survey of Toledo previously referred to about 27.6 per cent of the families investigated owned or were purchasing their homes, nearly half of these having their homes free and clear. In 1910 in thirteen northern cities and two boroughs of New York City from 10 to over 25 per cent of Negro families owned or were buying the houses they occupied, and in seven additional cities and two boroughs of New York from 4 to 10 per cent owned or were buying the houses they occupied. During the past ten years there has been a great eagerness of Negro migrants to buy houses and in some cities real-estate manipulators have forced many to buy or move. We may conclude, then, that in northern cities from 10 to 25 per cent of the Negro families own or are buying their homes.

Negroes believe that the Negro community in the North, although considerably segregated, has advantages over their former homes in the South, such as theaters, public libraries, parks, playgrounds, museums, and no "Jim-Crow" railroad and street cars. Negroes are taking part more and more in the civic

and political affairs of the community. Newspapers and magazines, especially Negro newspapers and magazines, are being read as never before. Negro newspapers and magazines with the largest circulation are published in Chicago and New York. The headquarters of nearly every one of the Negro betterment organizations are now in northern cities and many of the general officers of the Negro churches have moved North. Negro small business enterprises are increasing rapidly. A study of "The Negro at Work in New York," in 1910, before the present migration, listed about 475 enterprises in Manhattan; in 1921 a similar survey showed at least 584 such business enterprises in the Harlem district alone—a larger number than in the three Negro neighborhoods of Manhattan in 1910. General observations in Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland give a similar impression of increase.

What has been the effect of migration on the Negro church, which we saw was the most influential institution in Negro life in the South? In the northern city it has increased greatly in membership, although many small mushroom store-front churches have sprung up and often become a hindrance to progress. There have developed some strong organizations in every one of these cities. Their great need is better-trained leadership. In a few cities Negro congregations have bought or built institutional plants and are employing trained social workers. Abyssinian Baptist Church, St. Philip's P.E. Church, Williams Institutional C.M.E. Church, and Mother Zion A.M.E. Church in New York City; St. John's Congregational Church in Springfield, Massachusetts; Mount Zion Congregational Church, and St. John's A.M.E. Church in Cleveland; Olivet Baptist Church and two community churches in Chicago; and Sharpe Street M.E. Church in Baltimore are prophecies of great community service and show the possibilities.

The serious shortcomings of the church in community service are recognized and respect is given to the opinion of many social workers who think that the church is not able to function with technical efficiency in case-work. Yet I am moved to maintain that the Negro church is by far the most substantial institution we have for reaching the Negro rank and file with our social program. Trying to look at the matter without bias, it seems to me that many of our efforts have not carried over to the masses of the Negro people because we have not sold our social program through the Negro churches which have already a hold upon the thousands who have developed the churches for more than a hundred years and now find them their social agency. If we get our plans accepted in the programs of those churches, much of our effort would not need to go into building social service programs and trying to force Negroes into them. It is true that there are great obstacles in the way of getting scientific technique in this field; there are other dangers involved. There are baffling difficulties of leadership and restricted vision. These Negro church organizations, however, have a willingness and zeal for service which has brought results wherever skilled social workers have been able to link them up to the

scientific methods and directions needed. In Wichita, Kansas; in Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago, Toledo, Cincinnati, Brooklyn, and other cities, the white and Negro social workers and the white and Negro church leaders have begun inter-racial committees by co-operative community planning which has already achieved results and promises larger things for the future. Perhaps the most fully worked out and best piece of social engineering in race relations in a northern community has been developed the past six years in Cincinnati, in the inter-racial work of the Council of Social Agencies, with James H. Robinson as executive secretary. They have co-ordinated the Negro churches, fraternal bodies, women's clubs, Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A. with the white social agencies and organizations. The Negro population increased from about 20,000 to 35,000 in ten years, largely during the 1916–18 migration. These people have been integrated into the city's life through their leaders and organizations to an extent which hardly seemed workable ten years ago. In Philadelphia the Armstrong Association with Forrester B. Washington as secretary has successfully started somewhat similar plans and policies. Other cities with the co-operation of urban leagues are beginning such policies.

Effects on the white communities in northern cities.—This leads us logically to the effect of Negro migration on the white community in northern cities. In such communities the reaction of public opinion seems to have become one of our foremost problems. For instance, anyone would have been considered an alarmist twenty years ago had he predicted that public opinion would allow fifty-eight Negro homes in Chicago to be bombed with impunity as increasing numbers forced Negro residents to spread beyond the areas where they had formerly lived. Race riots and outrages in East St. Louis, Omaha, Chicago, and Washington paralyzed these cities for days and shocked the nation. In public schools in more than half a dozen northern cities Negro children are being directly or indirectly segregated. In one small city recently a company of leading white citizens spent a whole evening deliberating how they might control the adjustment of Negroes in the community with some fairness and yet not make it favorable enough to attract additional numbers. In some cities the former Negro residents have felt an unfriendly reaction toward their former free participation in community life.

This reaction of white public opinion has shown itself decidedly in the housing situation. These newcomers meet tremendous racial friction which grows out of their efforts to improve their housing conditions. It is very important that northen public opinion should not regard Negroes as things, nor as serfs, nor as half men and women. Many of them are handicapped by ignorance, previous conditions, and poverty, yet they possess all the rights and needs of whole men and women and are seeking the opportunities of free citizens.

The newspapers, the pulpits, and other community channels of information may influence public opinion toward friendly racial attitudes. The Inter-racial Committee of Youngstown, Ohio, recently had an educational campaign

which included a pageant produced by five hundred of the Negro people of the community on two nights at the leading theater in the city. It received the praise of the leading newspapers and over two thousand white citizens who packed the theater. The music and dramatic ability were a revelation to the performers as well as to the community. During the Sunday that preceded the performance the ministers of the leading churches gave strong addresses or sermons on the problems of inter-racial adjustment and, on two days following, in the elementary and high schools through songs and addresses information was given to the pupils about the achievements of Negroes along lines of art, literature, science, and invention. The newspapers gave liberal space to reports of these events. The effect upon political life in northern communities when large numbers of Negro voters came in is too extensive a subject to be considered here. The dramatic and musical contributions of Negroes have greatly changed the comedy, the song, and the dance of the North where opportunity the past fifteen years has brought ragtime, jazz, comic acting and art songs of high quality which have influenced the whole community.

The effects of increasing thousands of Negro workers in northern industries are of great importance for in this field the masses meet face to face. In the past Negroes often got chances to work when white workers went on strike. They were then taunted as scabs by white workmen who had previously objected to their being on the job and had excluded them from their unions. Gradually, however, Negro workers are winning their way into the ranks of labor. The Negro worker is not militant-minded. He is drawn more to persons than to property. He often considers the interest of the other group as a part of his own. Is not this spirit of conciliation the ethical value that must more and more control both white capitalist and white worker before we shall have democracy in industry or industrial peace? The Negro worker needs help that his preference for persons above property may not make him a tool in the hands of employers who may wish to use him to fight the unions. As the Negro worker gets into labor ranks he may bring a spirit of co-operation that the new day in industry requires.

The need of integration into community life.—There is a special call to social workers for types of service in addition to the usual case-work for dependents, defectives, and delinquents. What is needed by the large majority of the Negro migrants is friendly integration fully into the economic, educational, civic, and religious life of the community. These people by their brain and brawn are seeking to pay their way by their labor in the expanding industries of northern communities. They are not a group of economic dependents or social delinquents. Many are ignorant and unused to the complex life about them, but they are very teachable and most adaptable. They need help, for instance, against the exploitation of real estate sharks, white and Negro, who exploit them for the houses and shacks they buy or rent; from the shameless profiteers who sell them goods on the instalment plan; from commercialized vice which flour-

ishes unmolested by public authorities in their tenements and neighborhoods. They need the liberal interest of white citizens such as prompted the Americanization efforts for the foreign-born. The Negro, however, needs help only in securing the opportunity to embrace American advantages. He does not have to forget foreign customs and foreign loyalties for he is not a naturalized but a natural-born American citizen.

These Negro migrants are a part of a great body of American citizens who are permeated with a deep community and group-consciousness and who have shown their ability for team work with other racial and national groups in America by unselfish co-operation in communities North and South. They have demonstrated their undying loyalty to American ideals of democracy by offering their life-blood upon every battlefield of liberty from Bunker Hill to the fields of Flanders. What greater loyalty has any people shown than the Negroes who, during the Civil War, remained behind on the plantations and took care of the helpless wives and children of the masters who were away fighting to keep them in slavery, and later remained to provide support for many of those same families when the masters did not return from the battlefield? Thousands of them during the world-war fought and died to make America safe for democracy, although fully conscious that they and theirs would not be allowed to enjoy the full measure of the very blessings of liberty for which they were pouring out their life's blood. These people, seeking opportunity for self-development and self-determination, have moved by thousands to the North. If we help them to integrate their lives into the community and to make their contribution to the common life as the years come and go, there will grow increasingly in America, our America, a realization of that democracy which is to be in "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

NEGRO MIGRATION, AN OPPORTUNITY FOR BI-RACIAL STATESMANSHIP IN THE SOUTH

Isaac Fisher, University Editor, Fisk University, Nashville

The first duty of this moment is for me to express my humility in the consideration of a topic which deals with any phase of the American race problem. So much has been said about it which ought never have been spoken; and so much has been left unsaid which should have been proclaimed from the housetops! Science has pleaded for a body of undisputed facts upon which to philosophize; but more vociferous special pleaders of two races have too often given, instead, the stone of hasty generalization. Statesmanship has begged for constructive measures of peace; but too often the demagogue, more fluent and ready with panaceas than the builders of good will and progress, has pressed to the fore with programs of strife and confusion, which wear down the struc-

tures of men. Christianity has sought to set up the principles of love between the races, but the militant forces of Antichrist in both races have preached a gospel of hatred. A voice from the East declares, "Lo, this is the way!" but quickly another one speaks with authority in the West, "Nay, not so; this is the road. Follow me!" Where we need multiplicity of counsel, we have mass egotism, declaring that there is but one course; we brand as heretics and infidels those who dare think any other thoughts than our own, and we would fain bring such nonconformists "bound unto Jerusalem." And what is most disconcerting is the fact that, in a way, each race group has adopted one attitude of mind in discussing problems of race; and each shapes its arguments and presents its proof in support of that attitude, and being two lines of thought on questions of race, which diverge from one common point of origin, they never meet, and, please God, they never will meet unless, revolving about that same point, they overtake each other somewhere on God's circumference of time.

Why should not I, then, feel humble in attempting to discuss my own topic here today? By the testimony of your most excellent president, I can prove that I appear on the program with great reluctance. I am simply oppressed with a sense of the need for greater wisdom and wider vision than any I have ever possessed. And yet in spite of doubts and uncertainties, to paraphrase the words of Paul, "I am not ashamed of the gospel which I preach," of duty and opportunity in the South with reference to the Negro migration from that section to other parts of the country.

In the attempt to uphold the thesis that Negro migration is an opportunity for bi-racial statesmanship in the South certain queries are pertinent: Is there a Negro migration from the South? What are its causes? What are its effects? If any of the effects are harmful, what ought to be done to avoid them? If all that ought to be done cannot be done, how much can be done?

That there has been a heavy migration of colored people from the South, and that the movement has not ceased, is known by every careful student of the question. There has not been such agreement, however, as to the causes of the migration. On the side of the white people of the South rather generally, it has been held that the movement was caused by economic considerations; and there has been a definite tendency to minimize any other causes, particularly those set forth by colored publicists and students of the race question as it affects the South. On the other hand, colored people, not only in the South, but all over the United States, have rather definitely maintained, and do yet maintain, that the major causes of the exodus were intolerable conditions of life for the Negro in the South; and there has been the tendency on their part to underestimate and understate the effect of high wages and broader industrial opportunities in the North, East, and West, as factors in moving so large a number of colored people from their long-time home in the South.

When we come to examine the effects of the migration upon the South itself, we are compelled, in the absence of comprehensive statistical data, to fall back

upon that most useful general of our great army of reasoning—General Ization. We do have some facts; but the South is large, and we can, at best, do no more than guess—one man's guess being better than another's as he has studied more localities and causes. There are some definite changes in parts of the South, relative to the Negro, which are the direct results of the Negro migration therefrom. There are some changes in other sections which were caused by the enlarged vision which the world-war gave to all American citizens; and there are changes in still other quarters which an awakened Christianity has dictated. But all of the effects are not yet known, although some stand out in bold relief. Still more is it true that all of the evil effects of the movement upon the South are not fully known.

It is obvious, then, that adequate efforts cannot be made to counteract the evil effects of the migration upon the South, if such effects there be, until they are definitely known. And this brings us to what seems to be a first step for bi-racial statesmanship to take—leaders of the two race groups must find a way to induce the South to take stock of itself since the migration, and see what results have accrued therefrom.

I know the matter of race co-operation for sociological or any other study is not easy in the South. Tradition, habits of thought, and the practices of the section are all against it; although the inter-racial committees set up since the signing of the armistice hold out the promise that the hope for co-operation may not be so vain as it sometimes seems.

But we are not discussing the difficulty of co-operative social stock-taking by the two races in the South, but rather the fine opportunity for real statesmanship that is presented. If every community of the South would study itself, white students of the problem tabulating the direct and proximate results of Negro migration, and the colored students doing the same, the whole section would have the whole truth about the subject; and with each set of students checking against the other, even the proximate results could be reduced to known actual results. Once the whole body of results were known, it would next be easy to determine the proper course to be taken. If, as some maintain, there are no harmful results to the South from Negro migration, it would hardly be expected that that section would become excited over the movement. But if there are evil effects, generally known and generally agreed upon in the South itself, it would then be easy to induce a study of that which the logician not very well versed in human nature would point out as the subject of the first inquiry, namely, the causes of Negro migration from the South. People are not likely to delve deeply into the causes of things which neither touch nor interest them.

In addition, then, to what may be done elsewhere, colored people and white people of forward-looking and constructive habits of mind should encourage this self-examination by the two race groups living in the South, to determine accurately and dispassionately what harm has resulted to the South itself from

Negro migration. Such a study would necessarily reveal the effects of the movement upon child life, family life, and community life in general; and it would have the merit of thoroughness because done by those whose interests had been touched. Yes, such a study will be difficult to initiate; but my topic is the opportunity for bi-racial statesmanship to effect that result in spite of the difficulty; for in this race problem of the South we are not going to get very far in running away from it, with the plaint of the discouraged Elijah that the forces of righteousness have been defeated, and with his bitter plea to be permitted to die. Difficult as the situation is, significant as the flow of Negro migration has been, we cannot escape the fact that practically seven millions of Negroes yet remain in the South, and statesmanship there must, at short range, continue to work for the ninety and nine that went not away.

I am delaying the other suggestions of this talk in order to stress the grave importance of the first thesis. Practically all careful students of the whole subject of Negro migration will agree that in spite of many hopeful signs of inter-racial co-operation and progress in the South, it is generally assumed that the South does not propose, at any early date, to change the general attitude of the whites toward Negroes, which the latter unanimously hold as the cause of the Negro migration. That convention of Mississippi colored people, in 1923, expressed this general view when it declared, first, that the Negro has generally despaired of obtaining his rights as a citizen in this section; second, that it is assumed, since it is believed that the South will not change, that major emphasis should be placed upon helping to give the Negro migrants every possible assistance in adjusting themselves to life in their new homes.

The implications from these two conclusions are grave and serious. They would seem to point to the further conclusion that there is nothing that can be done to change the conditions of the colored people who remain in the South. This is rank and hopeless fatalism; and there are some, including the speaker, who are not fatalists. No finer piece of work has been done than that of the social-Christian agencies which have worked so patiently and so splendidly to help the new homes of the migrating colored people absorb them without friction and social waste. We are under obligations to those who have done that work so well. But to despair and to concentrate all our efforts upon the melioration of those who have left the South, important as that great work is, will not complete our social program, for there yet remain and for some time will remain in the South that great majority of all of the colored people in the United States. However anxious some may be for all of them to leave that section, the statesmen of both races must take note of the fact that they have not all gone. So long as God lives and retains his attributes of love, mercy, compassion, and justice, nothing is hopeless; and although progress is slow, oh, so slow, we are under obligations to our day and to the future to keep trying to devise remedies in the South that will meet the claims of mutual tolerance and yet satisfy the aspirations of God-created, God-endowed human creatures

who aspire to all that is good in human life. Demagogues, knowing how to do nothing but destroy, will fail before this task; but the faith, tact, and patience of Christian statesmen will succeed.

If we can set up and constantly maintain as desirable objectives the creation of a body of thoughtful and self-controlled student-statesmen of both races in the South who will work unceasingly and without thought of personal aggrandizement toward the goal of co-operative endeavors for the good of all, we shall set powerful forces to work, which will lead in the direction of our hearts' desires. May we now return to the few remaining definite steps which bi-racial statesmanship ought to accomplish in the South, relative to Negro migration therefrom?

Having charted together the harmful effects of the migration, if such effects there be, and having made the facts so found common knowledge in the South, these same two sets of investigators should, as a second step, study the causes of the migratory movement. As I have pointed out, we logically studied the causes first, and made that knowledge pretty well known in some quarters. But if we were seeking for results, we should have studied the effects of the migration on the life of the South first, making sure that its own students were taking leading parts in the investigations. This would have established an immediate self-interest in the question which would easily lead to a demand to know the causes of the movement.

It will not be difficult to ascertain these causes. The Negro who knows better than any other living soul why he is leaving the South has spoken clearly and definitely. In the last analysis, his reasons constitute primary or first-hand evidence, the very best that can be had. What is needed is that these reasons be made the common property of both races. The majority of white people do not read Negro books and newspapers, do not listen to Negro speakers, attend Negro meetings, nor converse with educated colored people. As a result, the definite causes of the migration, as phrased by the Negro himself, while known to many thoughtful white people in the South, are not the common knowledge of all. Men and women of good will in both race groups must in close co-operation find some way to have these causes made known and discussed in every community of the South. And it will be found that if every community can be induced to search itself and determine what is wrong, the truth will be brought home to the whole area with surprising clarity and concreteness.

The next step for statesmanship suggests itself. If the study discovers any wrongs which ought to be righted by either side, forward-looking men should lead the way in seeking each to come into equity with clean hands. If the white group violates the laws of human personality and rights, with respect to the colored group, there must be created through constant appeals to a common humanity and a common Christianity which all profess, a public sentiment which will attack the wrongs and remedy them; and so with the colored group, if it violates any of the laws of good citizenship and right. I know it is growing

to be the fashion to scoff at any such procedure as this in helping adjust our maladjusted relations in the South and to think of other expedients which, being more dramatic, appeal more to the imagination. But if we get change of conditions it will come through change of public opinion; and to get this change of public opinion, there must be this constant exchange of opinion between the thoughtful ones of both race groups.

The next course is a continuing one, and is most difficult of all; namely, to conclude that if the obvious changes needed to be made cannot be made at once, to strive, nevertheless, to make the changes which can be made, and not lose heart the while. The white people of the South who have shown the most sensitive consciences on the present maladjusted relations between Negroes and whites in their section of the country, noting the great number of far-reaching changes which colored people are asking for, and knowing so well the firm opposition on the part of great hosts of other white people to the making of such changes, and the danger of being misunderstood by their own race, often feel that further efforts to change the situation are unwise and hopeless; and they are often inclined to let it all alone. Similarly, colored persons feel, though with greater hopelessness, that since the changes which are taking place do not go to the root of all the dissatisfaction, that is, do not extend to the granting to all qualified colored persons free and full participation in the affairs of government, so that through the ballot they can protect themselves from most of the evils of which they complain—since the changes made and being made seem to the colored people relatively so minor, and do not seem to affect the great issues at stake—nothing can be done; and, therefore, the few boons granted might just as well be rejected and all efforts addressed to the conscience of the South be abandoned.

It is here that the optimism which comes from a study of the persistent progress of God's truth through the ages past must take issue with the pessimism which has been bred from the maladjustments of the present day. It is here that those who know the tendencies of the human heart in all lands must oppose the fatalism which assumes that any race is beyond the promptings of kindness and love. We cannot give up the fight for brotherhood in the South so long as we know that there are men and women of fine ideals in both races who live there. Often the kindliest individuals of both races, battling for brotherhood in that section, in unguarded moments of speech or action, find their usefulness at an end in that place. They give up in despair, and then we ask, "What's the use?" But Christian statesmen cannot give up, so long as all of us pray to the one Father and follow or strive to follow the teachings of his Son, the unconquerable Prince of Peace. Negro migration from the South has neither solved the problem for the nation nor absolved Christian sociologists from their duty of finding new means with which to help clarify the situation in the South; and they must re-emphasize the worth-while agencies already there, which are as old as the eternal hills.

Those of us who remain there must gird us again and anew, and help summon into perpetual conference all the forces of righteousness, all the forces of kindliness, all the forces of good will which we can find in the South. We shall not be able to plead before the bar of history that none of these solvents of race problems are to be found in the South, for this does not square with the facts. We shall not be able to plead that because we could not accomplish all we desired, it was wise not to accomplish what we could; nor that because we could not see results today we were justified in refusing to labor for triumphs after we are gone and our bones dust.

The Negro migration is not, as some would like to feel, an instrument to the South; but it is, rather, an opportunity for bi-racial statesmanship in and of the South. It is the voice of God, bidding the South, as he has commanded all races and nations, to walk humbly in his presence by deeds of kindness and justice and love toward the darker race which, for reasons of his own, he gave a home in that sunny clime. It is the voice of God, urging the colored people who remain to exhaust every honorable remedy and means to work out their salvation with wisdom and righteousness, retaining their faith in him the while. If there be any statesmen in the two races in the South, the duty is laid upon them of interpreting this voice of God to each one. For those who leave, God has shown that he will find a way, if they deserve it, but for the shepherds of those who of their own free will decide to remain in the South, his voice speaks to all statesmen, white and black alike—"Feed my sheep."

I would not speak here with perfect candor if this paper were concluded without a word of kindly and humble suggestion to those of you who live in other sections of the country, as to your duty to those who remain in "Dixie" and are earnestly and honestly striving to help. Their task is not easy. On the one side stand the barriers of race; grim, silent, apparently uncompromising and unmovable. On the other side stand suspicion, misunderstanding, and abuse. Everybody agrees that co-operation and appreciation between the two races in the South are absolutely essential for the prayed-for changes which we all desire; and yet, strange to say, no sooner do a group of persons begin to win this co-operation than they are made the targets of vilification and insults. We shall not go far traveling this course. Give us your help, your advice, your assistance, and your love; but in God's name, while we labor where the task is difficult and requires the wisdom of serpents and the harmlessness of doves, rather than the beauties of rhetoric and the courage of distance and safety, do not deny to us the privilege of seeking to employ all of the forces of love and good will which are commanded by the Master of us all, to accomplish that which is the object of our mutual desires.

Some of us, please God, have not lost heart, for we do see some signs of promise and good. Demagogues of both races have appealed to passion—statesmen of both races must keep open the ear for "the still small voice" of conscience. The men and women of good will in both races must find each

other and work together, applying at each step the solvents and the ointments of Christian brotherhood which we must exalt at every step.

Through the harsh noises of our day,
A low sweet prelude finds its way;
Through clouds of doubt and creeds of fear
A light is breaking calm and clear.

In our search for truth in this place, may we re-consecrate ourselves to the task of finding new ways of mobilizing the finest statesmanship of the two races in the South for the common task of cementing a finer brotherhood and finding a way out of the labyrinth of uncertainty in which we have groped so long. I know that the Universal Father of races and nations will generously approve every step we take whose purpose shall be to encourage men to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with their God.

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION AND THE PROBLEMS OF ASSIMILATION

Edith Abbott, Dean of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

You should have had as your first speaker this evening the Commissioner General of Immigration of the United States, whose name appeared on the earlier program that was sent out to you. It is a matter of regret to all of us that Mr. Husband's long absence in Europe has made his presence on our program tonight impossible. I cannot attempt to fill Mr. Husband's place and present, as he would have presented so well, our government's interpretation of our new immigration law. I can only attempt to discuss from the point of view of the social worker what seem to some of us who are interested in problems of immigration in the United States the main outlines of the present situation and our duty with regard to it.

Never have we had a better time to examine carefully, thoughtfully, and even solemnly the immigration policies of our country. We have had for a decade what, in contrast to pre-war days, may be said to be almost a complete cessation of immigration, and by our new act of Congress this cessation of immigration is now to be prolonged. How long this policy shall be continued is a momentous question that we in common with other Americans must face. As social workers it is our peculiar obligation to study this question, since we know the immigrants as does no other group in our country, unless perhaps we except the teachers in our public schools, and it is our duty to interpret the immigrant to the communities in which we live. Croatian and Slovenian, Ruthenian, Slovak, and Lithuanian, these names sound strange and foreign and "unassimilable" to the ordinary citizen, but to those of us who have been meeting these people day by day, week by week, and year by year as neighbors in our

settlements and as people in trouble in our charity offices, they are like the rest of us except that opportunities which have always been ours are new to them.

Immigration has been throughout our history the great outstanding fact of our national life. During the period of approximately one hundred years, from the close of the Napoleonic wars to the opening of the Great War, more than thirty-five million immigrants came to the United States. It is to this vast migration of the masses from the Old World to our "brave New World" that we owe our position as the greatest and richest continent in the world. These immigrants and their children and their children's children have built our railroads and canals, opened our mines, turned the prairie sod, and followed the long trails to the new states of the West. The old frontiers disappeared before their advancing hosts. They crossed the deserts and the mountains and helped us to conquer the wilderness. In later years they furnished the labor supplies needed for the development of our new industries. The last generation of the nineteenth century found us an agricultural nation and left us one of the great manufacturing countries of the world, and this vast industrial expansion would not have been possible without the labor supply furnished by the so-called "new immigration" that came from the once remote peasant districts of Eastern and Southern Europe. They have done and are doing still the heavy work in our great basic industries that Americans are unwilling to undertake. The main facts of this movement are not disputed. Few doubts have been expressed as to the economic gains from immigration. The question that has troubled our minds and hearts has been the question of the assimilation of these alien immigrants that decade after decade have poured through our seaports and across our borders.

Were we able in the past to assimilate the vast numbers of immigrants from Ireland, from Germany, from the Scandinavian countries? Can we assimilate today the peasant people of Southern and Eastern Europe who wish to escape from the poverty-stricken regions in which they live? A distinguished foreign historian published in the *American Historical Review* some years ago an address he had delivered at one of our American universities on the share of America in civilization. It is interesting and significant that on this occasion he declared:

> I would classify immigration as the greatest of all the contributions of America to civilization. You [he said to his audience] are a nation, in some respects, of a unique type. . . . . Every other nation is, or was, composed of a race or of separate races each speaking its own language; you are a nation formed by the fusion of races of different languages, brought by superior inducements to speak only the hereditary language of the country. In other words, you are a nation formed of other nations by their own free will. You are formed by free immigration, not by conquest. . . . . This is in my opinion the first and greatest influence of the discovery of America on civilization; the appearance on earth of an immense continent destined to be the new home of the old European races, where they would meet and mix and speak the same language, while in the native soil (in the old world from which they came) their old stocks would continue separated and even belligerent. In other words, a fact never seen or imagined before, of a new mankind, a new mankind formed by self-selection.

I have quoted this opinion because it is the opinion of a thoughtful scholar, and we have need of thoughtful judgments on this subject. The problem of immigration, though often so hastily dismissed with biased and prejudiced opinions, is one of our great social questions which could be studied critically and even scientifically because the experimental method so rarely available in the social sciences may here be used. The experience of nearly three centuries awaits the judgment of the scientific observer.

Fear that immigrants might not assimilate has troubled us not only in recent years but at numerous other periods of our history. The first of these was in the colonial days, when the English settlers of Pennsylvania quarreled with their successive colonial governors because poor German emigrants were admitted in such large numbers as to endanger English supremacy in the province. The most notable of the group who feared the invasion of unassimilable German immigrants was Benjamin Franklin, who inquired, "Why should the Germans be suffered to swarm into our settlements, and, by herding together, establish their language and manners to the exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Englifying them, and will never adopt our language or customs any more than they can acquire our complexion?"

And again, a year or two later, Franklin wrote to a friend:

> I am perfectly of your mind, that measures of great temper are necessary with the Germans; and am not without apprehension that, through their indiscretion or ours, or both, great disorders may one day arise among us. Those who come hither are generally the most stupid of their own nation . . . . and as few of the English understand the German language, and so cannot address them either from the press or the pulpit, it is almost impossible to remove any prejudices they may entertain. Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it. . . . . Few of their children in the country know English. They import many books from Germany; and of the six printing-houses in the province, only two are entirely English. The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages, and in some places only German. They begin of late to make all their bonds and other legal instruments in their own language, which are even allowed good in our courts, ... where the German business so increases that there is continued need of interpreters; and I suppose in a few years they will also be necessary in the Assembly, to tell one half of our legislators what the other half say.
>
> In short, unless the stream of German importation could be turned from this to other colonies, they will soon so outnumber us that all the advantages we have will, in my opinion, be not able to preserve the English language, and even our government will become precarious.

Jefferson in his *Notes on Virginia* also protested against what he called the "importation of foreigners." There were advantages, he admitted it, in an increased population, but the disadvantages outweighed the advantages when the European immigrants came in great numbers. These immigrants who were coming from the monarchies of the Old World were said to be unassimilable politically. They brought with them, he said, "the principles of the governments they had imbibed in early youth," or if able to throw them off, it was "in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is

usual, from one extreme to another." It would be a miracle, he thought, if this were to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. "Their principles," said Jefferson, "they will transmit with their language to their children. In proportion to their numbers they will share with us in legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its direction, and render it heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted mass."

Somewhat later, John Randolph protested in Congress in his vigorous and violent fashion against the immigrant invasion of the year 1816 and said if immigrants were to be admitted at all they must be denied the privilege of sharing in our government. "What," he asked, "was the cause of the ruin of old Rome? Why, their opening their gates and letting in the rabble of the whole world. If," said he, "you wish to preserve among your fellow-citizens that exalted sense of freedom which gave birth to the Revolution—if you wish to keep alive among them the spirit of '76—you must endeavor to stop this flood of foreign emigration."

If American statesmen had doubts, still more did some of our foreign visitors. A French officer, who after the fall of Quebec lived for fifteen years in the United States and wrote that interesting collection of *Letters from an American Farmer*, asked in one of the letters, "What is an American?" And he answered it by saying: "They are a mixture of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes; from this promiscuous breed, that race now called Americans has arisen. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations." "Such a mixture," said a German observer, "will require a long fermentation before it will contain the spirit, the feelings, and the imprint of a united people."

The next period of alarm over the unassimilable alien was the period of the Native American party in the thirties of the last century. In 1835, Mr. S. F. B. Morse wrote a very widely distributed and extremely interesting book entitled *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration*. Samuel Morse suspected a foreign conspiracy against American liberties, and he believed that the European immigrants who were then arriving in large numbers were being sent over to destroy our democracy. He objected in particular to the Irish nationalistic societies that were organized all over the country. The Boston Hibernian Lyceum, for example, he considered a most dangerous organization whose object it was "to promote a foreign interest in the republic."

In the same year Henry Clay, of Kentucky, led the opposition in Congress to the granting of homesteads to the alien German and Scandinavian immigrants who were clamoring for land. Our great public domain, he said, was the property of the people of the United States, and he believed in conferring the bounty of the government upon our own race, instead of holding out a general invita-

tion to all the paupers of all the European governments to come here and compete with our own honest poor. There had been more desirable immigrants, said Henry Clay, at an earlier day, but he would not compare the De Kalbs, the Steubens, the Lafayettes, the Pulaskis, with the hordes of foreign paupers that he believed were then flooding our shores. "It has become," he said, "the permanent policy of the country to go on inviting all the hordes of Europe to come over and partake of our bounty, derived from our ancestors, and which we should preserve for our posterity."

The German and Irish immigrants of this period were both looked upon as unassimilable by the Native Americans, and each was inclined to be critical of the other. A distinguished German-American (Professor Francis Lieber), writing in 1835, felt quite confident that the Germans were a most valuable addition to our population, but he was very doubtful about the Irish. The Irish, he said, clanned more together than the emigrants of any other nation. They openly retained their name, and even when they went to the polls as naturalized voters they went under Irish banners. "There is no election in any of the large cities," he said, "without some previous calls upon the 'True-born sons of Ireland' to vote so or so."

In a similar fashion a German traveler of the period, Frederick von Raumer, reported that he heard no complaints against his own fellow-countrymen,—nothing but praise of them,—but as to the Irish, the reproaches cast upon them were loud and frequent. "The blending of this foreign stock with the Germanic," he wrote, "is in America as in England certainly very difficult." "But," he added, "when one considers what an immense leap it is from Irish bondage to American citizenship, one ought to hold them excusable, if in excess of joy at their newly acquired freedom they (the Irish-Americans) fall into a few errors and extravagances."

Scores of documents illustrating the alarmed state of public opinion during the "Native American" period might be read. The agitation died during the Mexican war only to blaze out again as the so-called "Know-Nothing" movement of the next decade, which ran its turbulent course until the shadow of the impending tragedy of our history—our American Civil War—fell upon all discussions of social questions.

I have called your attention to these earlier fears of the effect of a large immigration—and immigration was as large in proportion to our population during the Native American and Know-Nothing periods as it was in the decade before the Great War—I have called your attention to these misgivings because I believe we are all agreed now that it would have been a great national calamity if we had yielded to the ever increasing doubts and fears of those who were afraid of people from other lands. We should be today, as Lord Northcliffe said of Australia, "a handful of people flung across an empty continent," if we had not walked in faith when intolerance and suspicion were abroad in the land. The wise counselors then were the men of courage like Thurlow Weed and Ed-

ward Everett and Samuel Goodrich who said, "Let us receive the immigrants as our friends and give them welcome to our country. The harvest before us is great indeed and the laborers are few—come, go with us and we will do thee good."

But, my friends, let us be glad that the counsels of toleration prevailed, not only because they opened for us the doors of economic opportunity but because they preserved for us one of the greatest of our national traditions. Immigration made us rich and powerful, but it gave us something better than riches and power. It gave us a noble tradition of generosity and courage that has been handed down from generation to generation. The millions of poor and destitute people who fled from the poverty of Europe to the asylum of America did constitute a difficult problem of social readjustment, but are you sorry that our fathers had the courage to face this problem and make a brave attempt to solve it? Is there one among us who has not been taught to be proud that America has spelled liberty and freedom to the world and that the poet Lowell could describe our country as

> She that lifts up the manhood of the poor,
> She of the open soul and open door,
> With room about her hearth for all mankind.

It is true that many people who would like to cherish this tradition have been afraid since the armistice of a great influx of immigrants from a poverty-stricken and war-ravaged continent. But we have faced this difficulty before and faced it generously and successfully.

I should like to read a paragraph from an early German book in which the first mass migration of Germans to the United States after the Peace of 1815 is described. Franz Löher in his history of the German immigration of this period wrote as follows:

> As is usual after a great war, so after the close of the war with Napoleon, hunger and disease followed. The peasants in many parts of Germany had fared well during the war, for wheat was high and the harvests had been for the most part abundant. But soon after the peace a general scarcity set in, which extended even to severe famine. This first of all affected the small agricultural laborers and artisans who did not themselves own enough property. Business stagnated and loss of profits was general. Very severe weather for several winters one after another brought still greater suffering to the poor who saw themselves given up to certain misery. The taxes became greater in order to repair the war losses. In America, on the contrary, one heard that there was freedom and plenty, a mighty land that England herself could not conquer. Therefore, "To America! To America!" was the cry one heard throughout the whole land of Germany as soon as the warmth of spring melted away the snows from the roads. The emigrants were recruited as is usual in Germany largely among the young war veterans. The war had seized large numbers of young men who had grown accustomed to a restless life, and they found after their return home, heavy toil, hunger, and difficulties which they did not wish to take on themselves again.
>
> Already in the year 1816, therefore, the Dutch ports were filled with German emigrants, but early in the year 1817 there occurred throughout the Rhineland a kind of "folk migration." In a single fortnight in May, 5,517 emigrants passed through Mainz; 4,000 departed from Baden; Würtemberg alone furnished 16,000 emigrants that year. The roads along the Rhine were

covered with poor people who were carrying their goods with them or pushing them in carts. It was estimated that 30,000 of these poor people begged their way back from Holland in the most pitiable condition because they could not pay the cost of transportation.

Is it any wonder, my friends, that New Yorkers had honest doubts about the problem of assimilation? An early official report complained that poor foreigners were "arriving in New York from the four quarters of the world, brought thither by the four winds of heaven," and the fear was expressed that New York would "be devoured by swarms of people with whom she has no alliance either local or moral."

As social workers we may well be proud of the generous provision made by New York for the care of poor immigrants in the days before the Civil War. The first public welfare commission in the United States was the New York State Emigration Commission, established on the eve of the great Irish famine in 1847. You all know of the conditions in Ireland at the time of the Great Exodus; how in the autumn and winter of 1846 efforts were made to induce the British government to take an active part in assisting emigration to Canada and the United States. Early in the year 1847 the roads to the Irish seaports were thronged with families hastening to escape the evils which impended over their native land. The complaint in Ireland, at the time, was that those who went belonged to the best and most substantial class of the agricultural population. The complaint afterward in America was that those who came were the helpless and destitute. More than a million people during the so-called famine decade fled from Ireland to the United States and Canada. You know something of the history of that period. "They were strangers, and we took them in." Canada and the United States share together the honor and glory of it.

Now we are often told that the situation has been completely changed and that the conditions of the old and new migrations are entirely different. But I am going to ask you to listen to one more paragraph—an account, familar to many of you, written by a Russian Jewish girl who was educated in our public schools and who has described in what is almost an English classic the conditions under which she and her family came to the Promised Land:

Just at this time occurred one of the periodic anti-Semitic movements whereby government officials were wont to clear the forbidden cities of Jews, whom, in the intervals of slack administration of the law, they allowed to maintain an illegal residence in places outside the Pale, on payment of enormous bribes and at the cost of nameless risks and indignities.

It was a little before Passover that the cry of the hunted thrilled the Jewish world with the familiar fear. The wholesale expulsion of Jews from Moscow and its surrounding district at cruelly short notice was the name of this latest disaster. Where would the doom strike next? The Jews who lived illegally without the Pale turned their possessions into cash and slept in their clothes, ready for immediate flight. Those who lived in the comparative security of the Pale trembled for their brothers and sisters without, and opened wide their doors to afford refuge to the fugitives. And hundreds of fugitives, preceded by a wail of distress, flocked into the open district, bringing their trouble where trouble was never absent, mingling their tears with the

tears that never dried. . . . . Thus spread the disaster, ring beyond ring, from the stone thrown by a despotic official into the ever-full river of Jewish persecution.

Passover was celebrated in tears that year. In the story of the Exodus we would have read a chapter of current history, only for us there was no deliverer and no promised land.

But what said some of us at the end of the long service? Not "May we be next year in Jerusalem," but "Next year—in America—in America." So there was our promised land, and many faces were turned toward the West. And if the waters of the Atlantic did not part for them, the wanderers rode its bitter flood by a miracle as great as any the rod of Moses ever wrought.

Now I have called attention to these facts because I believe that a great national tradition is not lightly to be cast aside. A great nation is built up by noble and generous policies, not by small, mean, or selfish ones. It is true that our population has increased and our public domain has been largely occupied since the days of the old tradition. But we are still one of the thinly settled continents. In the United States we have approximately only 40 people per square mile, while Belgium has something like 650 people per square mile, Holland has 400, England has nearly 400, and Germany and Italy have more than 300. Have we no room for immigrants today? My friends, we hold this mighty continent in trust. It is not ours. It does not belong to those of us who happen to be here today to be exploited selfishly for what we consider our own immediate advantage.

I believe that every descendant of Irish, German, or Scandinavian immigrants—all of whom were attacked as unassimilable immigrants in an earlier generation—I believe that the descendants of these immigrants who were generously admitted by our fathers ought to be generous in their turn and help us to keep the way open for those who are knocking at the gates today.

Temporary suspension of immigration need not mean anything more than temporary suspension. We have had for all practical purposes a cessation of immigration at several earlier periods of our history, during our Revolutionary War, again during the Napoleonic War, and the War of 1812, and again during our Civil War. A period of temporary cessation of immigration today may be utilized to promote assimilation and to develop a new immigration policy.

Very briefly, what are the important changes that we as social workers may wish to have incorporated in future amendments of the immigration law?

First of all, we want our government to adopt a new policy of assisting the immigrant to adjust himself to the conditions of American life. A great program has already been outlined in that fine series of studies carried on at the close of the war by the Carnegie Corporation, under the direction of a former president of this conference, Mr. Allen T. Burns. Many of you, and I hope most of you, are already familiar with these volumes. But we have been so busy thinking about restriction that we have done nothing about this more important program that Mr. Burns and his associates have set forth for us. Our government has plenty of funds available for this purpose. On the basis of careful estimates, it is reported that we have collected something like $17,000,-

000 in head taxes over and above the cost of administering the immigration service. That money collected from the immigrants should be used for the benefit of immigrants.

As a second step in our program we should demand the carrying out of the recommendations made by the special official committee of the Department of Labor, of which our chairman of this section, Mr. Croxton, was chairman, and of which another former president of the Conference, Julia C. Lathrop, was a member. I don't know how it is in Canada, but in America we have a great way of encouraging social workers by asking them to prepare careful reports which can then be put in pigeonholes and conveniently forgotten—the hope being that the social workers will in the meantime find something else to worry about!

Well, we have not forgotten the things Mr. Croxton told us at Providence about our immigration service, and we still believe that this service must be made more humane as well as more efficient. I am speaking not only of buildings; I am speaking of people. Instead of leaving the care of immigrants arriving or immigrants who are to be deported, as at present, to a staff of inspectors all of whom are men, they should be in the hands of social workers, some of whom should be women. A great deal of work that is done by men inspectors at Ellis Island could be done better by women social workers. And this is true also of the stations at interior points.

As to the general provision of the law with regard to restriction, I do not believe that any of us wish to repeal the selective features of the old immigration law, those features of the law that provided for the exclusion of the mentally defective and the physically handicapped, of the sick and diseased who could not support themselves or who were for other reasons likely to prove undesirable citizens. Since 1882 we have had a selective immigration, and we have admitted only the strong and fit. This policy should be continued on the theory that every country should take care of its dependent members. But going beyond that, various questions may be raised, and we may not all of us wish to answer them in the same way. Speaking only for myself, I think we may well raise the question as to whether the literacy test has been worth what it has cost in human suffering. Many of us have been reading that very interesting book by Professor Michael Pupin called *From Immigrant to Inventor*. Michael Pupin, who is now professor of electrical engineering at Columbia University, would have been rejected at the gates of Castle Garden if our present immigration laws had been in force. Professor Pupin dwells, in the early chapters of this book, on the very beautiful character of his mother, an entirely illiterate Serbian peasant. And he also described the life in the Serbian village of the old Banat of the Austro-Hungarian frontier, where he was born and reared. They were illiterate, those Serbian peasants, but, my friends, character is more important than education, and they had character; and as they handed down the stories of their great Serb heroes in the village gatherings in the evening

twilight, they helped to develop the traditions of courage and honesty and generosity and self-sacrifice among their children.

I speak, perhaps, with some feeling on this subject, for I should be recreant indeed to all my family traditions and obligations if I did not protest against the so-called "literacy test," for my own first American ancestor was entirely illiterate. Her name was Mary Chilton, and she came to this country in 1620 in a ship called the Mayflower, but to the end of her life she was never able either to read or write. Her will is one of the few seventeenth-century wills preserved in the archives of Massachusetts, but that will is signed not by her name but by her mark.

And now, and finally, my friends, as to the quota policy: I do not need to go into details since this has already been so adequately discussed in our section meetings and at the very interesting luncheon of the Foreign Language Information Service. It is clear, I think, that we are all agreed that a substitute for the quota law can and should be found. If we cannot go back to the old days of free immigration of the physically and mentally fit, we can at least establish a more flexible and humane and generous policy of admission. Mr. Leiserson in the *Survey* a few years ago proposed that this subject should be placed under the control of a permanent regulative commission like the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and it is possible that some such method of control will ultimately be found. Certainly it is our duty as social workers to do all that we can to explain the cruelties, hardships, and inconsistencies of our present unwise, ungenerous, and un-American policy.

But when we consider changes in the law we must also remember that, in the past, immigration has always increased our social and political problems; has made life more difficult and complex. This will be true also in the future. No one wishes to deny that. But must we always sidestep the difficulties of life, or must we try to solve them? To admit strangers into your home, into your city, into your country, makes life more difficult, but life is only worth living when we can rise to face the difficulties that lie before us. It is not and should not be the tradition of our country to follow or adopt one policy because it is the easy way and reject another because it is the hard way. American life is not lived in the "gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat."

In the old Castle Garden days, an American poet wrote of our country,

> There's freedom at thy gates and rest
> For Earth's downtrodden and oppressed,
> A shelter for the hunted head,
> For the starved laborer toil and bread.

This, my friends, the great tradition of America through more than three centuries, is the tradition that we, the social workers of America, must help to revive and cherish.

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION AND ITS ADMINISTRATION AS IT BEARS UPON THE PROBLEM OF ASSIMILATION IN CANADA

J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., Winnipeg

It is a great pleasure to attend once more a conference of social workers. In more recent years I have been devoting my energies to the labor movement, especially in its political aspects. Dr. Devine assures me that this is a form of social work and I am glad that many of you take that position. In the old days we met as a conference of charities and corrections; as our vision enlarged we became a conference of social workers. One day perhaps we will regard ourselves and be recognized as proponents of a new type of politics—not partisan politics, not nationalistic politics—but politics founded on the attempt to legislate and administer our public affairs in the interests of all the people, and this with a clear recognition that the world has become a unity in which the welfare of each individual, or group, or nation is dependent upon that of all others. The subject, or its phrasing, is not mine so I must interpret it as best I may.

Though our problem is primarily that of assimilation we cannot avoid some study of the conditions of the admission of immigrants. The question of what we eat, and how we eat it, is closely related to the problems affecting digestion. Indeed, immigration legislation and its administration has been to a large extent limited to questions of admission.

In Canada, as the immigration policy and regulations are federal, the chief immigration activities are federal, though several of the provinces have joined in these activities even to the extent of maintaining agencies outside Canada. Since 1900 our immigration has been as follows: from the British Isles—1,475,-119; from the United States—1,446,924; from other countries, chiefly European—990,609; total—3,912,652. With our present population of only 9,000,000, in the last twenty-five years we have received 4,000,000 immigrants. Surely it is high time we considered problems of assimilation! Let us first of all deal with one group of immigrants, small in numbers, where assimilation has been vigorously discouraged. I refer to the Orientals—Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus.

The Chinese until last year were admitted on payment of a head-tax. Now they are excluded, with the exception of high government officials, children born in Canada of Chinese parents, and certain rigidly defined classes of merchants and students. Even the wives of the latter groups are denied admission. The immigration law has, however, been evaded recently by the department itself. On April 28 the following statement was given to the House of Commons by the Hon. J. A. Robb, Minister of Immigration:

> On the 3d instant a telegram was received by the Department of Immigration and Colonization from Mr. J. R. McIsaac of the Steel Corporation, stating that, owing to difficulty in

getting Canadian crews to remain with their steamers after signing up, it was proposed to bring Chinese from England, a number to sail on the Cedric on the 5th instant, and the remainder, about nine, to come forward by a later boat to complete a crew now on this side.

The corporation gave the assurance that, except in the case of one vessel, the Chinese were to be confined to employment as firemen and cooks and that it was hoped to secure white men for the other classes of work on their steamers. The Department consented to the request of the British Empire Steel Corporation on the understanding that arrangements were completed for guarding the Chinese and that the corporation would be responsible for all penalties under the Chinese Immigration Act until a bond, satisfactory to the Department, was furnished.

A bond for $105,000 has been deposited with the Department, this bond to cover 105 Chinese who are to be engaged on the steamships Rosecastle, Daghild, Wabana, Lingan, Hochelaga and Kamouraska, plying between the ports of Sydney, Louisburg, Halifax, St. John and Montreal. While the bond is for $105,000 it provides for a penalty of $1,000 in the case of each Chinaman engaged on the steamships mentioned. Only seventy-six Chinamen have come forward, or are coming forward under this arrangement with the Steel Corporation, the bond covering also the cases of twenty-nine Chinese who came forward last fall for employment on the Kamouraska. There are precedents in the Department for action of this nature.

These Chinese are regarded as non-immigrants and the bond deposited by the British Empire Steel Corporation will be retained until the Department is satisfied that all of the Chinese covered by the same have been checked out of Canada.

As to the Japanese, under a "gentleman's agreement," which has never been published (that seems to be the "gentleman's" end of it) a strictly limited number of certain classes of Japanese (now some 150 household servants and agricultural laborers) are admitted yearly to Canada. Their wives are also admitted. (See Hansard, p. 2862.) Owing to prejudice and alleged violations of the agreement there has been considerable agitation for absolute exclusion. This has been increased since the United States legislation and the reported assertions of Japanese repudiation of the Gentleman's Agreement.

Hindu immigration has been discouraged through the expedient of a regulation insisting on a continuous journey—that is, a journey on a through ticket. Wives and minor children are admitted.

There is no law to prevent naturalization of Chinese and Japanese (Hindus are, of course, British subjects), though few, as a matter of fact, are naturalized. One judge in Vancouver went so far as to refuse application on the grounds of nationality. If any have been naturalized under the old act they are now granted certificates under the new act. Other applications are being held. Further, the Department requires certificates of character and identity from three natural-born British subjects.

Admission, naturalization, the franchise are the three steps. The law denies the franchise even to naturalized or native-born British Orientals with the one exception of those who served during the war. According to the Dominion Election Act, "The qualifications necessary to entitle any person to vote at a Dominion election in any province shall, except as herein otherwise provided, be those established by the laws of that province as necessary to entitle such persons to vote in the same part of the province at a provincial election" (Revised Statutes of Canada, 1906, chap. 6, sec. 10).

Now there are few Orientals outside British Columbia. The Election Act of British Columbia provides: "No Chinaman, Japanese (and as amended, Hindu) or Indian shall have his name placed on the Register of Voters for any electoral district, or be entitled to vote at any election . . . ." (Revised Statutes of B.C., 1897, chap. 67, sec. 8).

The definitions are of interest. "The expression Chinaman shall mean any native of the Chinese Empire, or its dependencies, not born of British parents and shall include any person of the Chinese race, naturalized or not." So with the Japanese. "The expression 'Hindu' shall mean any native of India not born of Anglo-Saxon parents and shall include any such person whether a British subject or not" (Statutes, 1907, chap. 16, sec. 2).

Outside of Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus, no races are expressly debarred because of nationality. One religious sect, however, has been excluded by Order-in-Council since 1919—the Doukhobors. The order (P.C. 1204) reads:

> Whereas owing to conditions prevailing as the result of war, a widespread feeling exists throughout Canada, and more particularly in western Canada, that steps should be taken to prohibit the landing in Canada of immigrants deemed undesirable owing to their peculiar customs, habits, modes of living, and methods of holding property and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated, or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship, within a reasonable time after their entry. . . . . from and after the date hereof and until otherwise ordered, the landing in Canada shall be and the same is hereby prohibited of any immigrant of the Doukhobor class.

The Community Doukhobors, like the Old Colony Mennonites, because of their religious convictions exclude themselves from naturalization and the exercise of the franchise.

Orders-in-Council (see especially 182 and 183) regarding occupation and money qualifications enable the departmental officials to control the immigration from countries other than the British Isles and the United States. These regulations are designed to restrict or prevent the incoming of certain classes from Southeastern Europe and Western Asia, who are considered as undesirable. Considerable discretionary power is left to the department and a good deal of latitude has been exercised in the cases of certain classes of Hebrews who have been regarded as refugees, and on whose behalf has been exerted considerable political pressure.

Just here our attention should be called to the civil status of immigrants. No one born outside of Canada has a right to trial by jury. Amendment to the Immigration Act in 1919 provides for the deportation of certain undesirables:

> Whenever any person other than a Canadian citizen . . . . teaches the unlawful destruction of property, or shall by word or act create or attempt to create riot or public disorder in Canada, or shall by common repute belong to or be suspected of belonging to any secret society or organization that . . . . or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching disbelief in or opposition to organized government . . . . " (George V, 9–10).

The amendment to the Amendment (chap. 26) adds:

> or who without lawful authority assumes any powers of government . . . . such person for the purposes of this act shall be considered as belonging to the prohibited or undesirable classes, and shall be liable to deportation.

The Act further provides that "no person who belongs to the prohibited or undesirable classes within the meaning of section 41 of this Act shall be capable of acquiring Canadian domicile," and further, the amendment to the Amendment provides that proof that "any person belonging to the undesirable classes at any time since May 4, 1910, shall be deemed to establish prima facie that he still belongs to such classes."

In Canada we have now what is known as imperial naturalization. The conditions and qualifications include: (*a*) residence in Canada for not less than one year immediately preceding the application, and previous residence either in Canada or in some other part of His Majesty's Dominions for a period of four years within the last eight years before application; (*b*) good character; (*c*) an adequate knowledge of the English or French language; (*d*) an intention either to reside in His Majesty's Dominions or to enter or continue in the service of the crown. The wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject, and the wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien; this with certain provisos. In certain cases naturalization certificates may be revoked.

Speaking generally in contrast with the restrictive immigration policy of the United States and with the minor exceptions already noted, any immigrant of sound physique and good character is free to enter Canada. As one official said to me recently, "Regulations were never easier." The complaint of the social workers is that the doors are opened altogether too widely and that many physically and mentally unfit are admitted, also many who are quite unadapted to the only kinds of work available in this country. In this connection reference should be made to juvenile immigration. The Public Welfare Commission of Manitoba, as printed by order of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, in February, 1919, states:

> A careful study of the figures regarding the nationality of the various persons examined makes it more than evident that Canada has received an undue share of immigrants who, under a proper system of inspection, would not have been allowed to enter this country. Those familiar with social conditions among the defective classes realized that the welfare of the nation is seriously threatened by the influx of undesirables.

Dr. Eric K. Clarke, of the Canadian Committee on Mental Hygiene, says:

> It is a well-established fact that 75.3 per cent of the mentally defective children found in our public schools are there as a direct result of our lack of immigration inspectors. Of these children 27.9 per cent were born outside Canada, while the remaining 47.4 per cent were born in Canada of parents who arrived since the beginning of the present century. Only 24.7 per cent of our subnormal children can be truly classed as coming of Canadian stock.

At the last Child-Welfare Conference in Winnipeg the question was asked: "Is Great Britain unloading her child problems on Canada and being subsidized

$40 per child (a total of $80) by the respective governments under the Empire Settlement Scheme?" I think I might well read in this connection a paragraph published in the *Manchester Guardian* of April 11, 1923, by Henry Cotton, in which the following view is advanced. I am summarizing this as I proceed:

Child immigration originated in the desire on the part of the poor-law authorities in Great Britain to rid themselves of the responsibility of providing for the boys and girls in their charge, when they were prevented by law from working in the factories. Instead of adopting educational measures to meet the case, the authorities conceived the plan of shipping across the Atlantic as many boys and girls as they could persuade to go.

Another class of immigrants should be noted. Under what is known as the Empire Settlement Scheme, a limited number of immigrants are being assisted to emigrate to Canada. A departmental memo (May, 1924) outlines the scheme as it affects Canada:

As a part of this policy financial assistance is extended to three types of British emigrants: children, nominated persons, and female household workers. Under this plan persons who have been duly nominated for the purpose may receive assistance in the form of a loan not exceeding the total cost of transportation at lowest third-class rate from port of embarkation in the United Kingdom to rail destination in Canada. In the case of unmarried persons the loan is to be repaid within one year after arrival in Canada; married men have three years in which to repay the loan. No interest is charged. Children who have not reached their seventeenth birthday also receive assistance to the extent of their transportation, but in their case the assistance is given as an outright grant of which repayment is not required. In both cases assistance is strictly limited to those who have been approved by the department and who engage to settle upon the land.

Female household workers are also assisted by means of a loan not exceeding the amount of their transportation and they may engage in work on farms or elsewhere in Canada. As a special inducement to supply female household labor for the farm, those who engage in farm work for one year after arrival in Canada are allowed a refund of six pounds each provided they have in the meantime made satisfactory payments on their loan.

A new and important provision is that nominators of persons to be assisted under the Assisted-Passage Scheme need not be personally known by the nominator. Nominations may be made by British subjects already resident in Canada, by the Dominion Government or any of its agents, or by any provincial government in Canada or its agents.

Official efforts have been devoted largely to securing immigrants and providing for their care in transit; after that, despite protestations to the contrary, it has been a case of "sink or swim." Machinery for protecting immigrants has, undoubtedly, been greatly improved. The following note illustrates the care exercised:

USEFUL INFORMATION FOR SETTLERS

All trains arriving in Winnipeg at any station, at any hour of the night or day, bringing new settlers from overseas, are met by uniformed officers of the Dominion Department of Immigration and Colonization, who afford every assistance and advice as to continuation of journey, directions, accommodation, movement of luggage and such other aids as newcomers may stand in need of.

Recently, indeed within the past year, our Department of Immigration and Colonization has been making an effort to shift the emphasis from immigra-

tion to colonization. The superintendent of the Land Settlement Branch has kindly furnished the following statement:

Up to 1923 the federal Department of Immigration and Colonization functioned as an immigration agency only. It had no colonization service, and once an immigrant landed in the country gave the newcomer little attention or assistance.

The distinctive feature of Canada's experiment in soldier land-settlement was the creation of an intensive supervision service which assisted the new settler in locating his land, in buying at a reasonable cost, and in selecting the right livestock and machinery at proper prices. After settlement, the same service was at the disposal of the settler to assist him in his farming and marketing. One division known as the Home Branch, was placed at the disposal of the settler's wife and family for the purpose of assisting them in the new ways and methods current in this country.

In this supervision work there are employed approximately 150 field men. Their average age is thirty-seven years. All are experienced in farming; many are graduates of agricultural colleges as well. Each is provided with a Ford car and has his headquarters at some rural point as near the center as possible of a group of from 150 to 200 settlers, who are visited periodically. There are eleven women employed in the home-service work. These are domestic-science graduates and generally women born on farms and conversant with farm difficulties. They also travel around among the settlers.

Last year the Hon. Mr. Robb came to the conclusion that this service might be utilized to advantage as the colonization arm of his department, and a necessary service given to the newcomer which had previously been neglected. The soldier settlement organization was consequently transferred from the Interior ministry to that of Immigration and, so far as general colonization is concerned, was given the name of the Land Settlement Branch, and it is today functioning as the colonization arm of the department.

The work of the Branch is: (*a*) To safeguard the new settler in the selection of his land, livestock and machinery. (*b*) To assist him in becoming a part of the community life of the district in which he settles. (*c*) To make him familiar with proper local methods of farming and to save him, as far as possible, from errors due to special soil or climatic conditions. (*d*) To assist farm workers newly arriving in the country to secure farm employment under proper conditions, and especially to the end that the farm worker may become himself, in proper time, a farm owner.

Recently it has been making a very large number of investigations of those cases where application for the admission of various foreign workers has been made on the ground that they were going to specific farm jobs. In many cases, these farm jobs have been found to be non-existent, or living conditions impossible. Only an organization which is actually at work in the country districts can supply the required proof on these points.

A series of articles which appeared recently in the *New York Herald-Tribune* comments favorably on the new plan:

Close study of the Canadian immigration system in comparison with that of the United States discloses two vital points of difference, in which, it appears to this reporter, are contained the elements of the proved success of the Canadian method and the demonstrated shortcomings of our own. Canada selects at the source deliberately; the United States selects at the port of entry, arbitrarily; and Canada follows her immigrants into her interior spaces, placing them definitely in the environment chosen by experts as best suited to the requirements of each individual; while in this country, once our immigrant has passed Ellis Island he must do the best he can for himself.

Advice to immigrants—now advice to settlers during their initial farming operations—well and good. Canada is long on advice, short, however, on eco-

nomic adjustments which will enable the settler to remain permanently on the land.

In addition to federal legislation and administration there are provincial agencies which directly assist in the process of assimilation. First among these are our public schools which, in several provinces, have made special provision for the instruction of non-English-speaking children and adults. Through the provincial departments and universities considerable has been done in agricultural education, extension lectures, the establishment of women's institutes, boys' and girls' clubs, rural district nursing, etc.

Despite such provisions immigration has greatly increased the burden carried by the numerous minicipal and voluntary welfare-agencies. The fact is that immigration has been urged by transportation and land companies and promoters generally, who are more interested in exploiting the immigrant, or in immediate gain, than in building up a high type of citizenship. Let me illustrate by what I might term a "case record." In the case of two immigrants indicted for stealing a rifle, the presiding judge made the following notation:

I came from Glasgow, from a suburb called Millerston, about two miles from that city. My parents live there. I served in the royal navy during the war—able seaman. I was commissioned in H.M.S. "Ceres" and went out to the Mediterranean. I served two years in the Mediterranean and then returned to England. Altogether I served three and one-half years including nine months in H.M.S. "Powerful," a training ship at Devonport.

In 1920 when they were reducing the navy my father got me out. I got an honorable discharge from the navy. After this I went back to building-surveying. I had worked at this for two years with James Barr, West George Street, and returned to it after leaving the navy.

After I went to work at West George Street—it was only temporary—I went to find work, and through the Cunard office I got work on the C.P.R. liner "Marburn." I made two trips on this ship and I came to Glasgow in July and saw the poster asking for British harvesters in Canada. It said, "No experience required; wages about 16 shillings a day." After reading this I went home and talked it over with my parents, and my father thought it would be quite a good thing for me. He offered to assist me, which he did. I paid my passage from Glasgow to Liverpool and sailed on the Cunard liner "Cythia," paying my way. I read the poster in Williamson's shipping agency in Hope Street.

From Montreal I took train to Winnipeg and got a job right away—harvesting "stooking" wheat. Worked there six weeks, receiving $4.00 and board. Then I left there and went to Cutknife and worked with a farmer for about a month, and then when I wanted my money he could not pay me until the grain was sold. I waited three days and got my money. I went back to Saskatoon and took a holiday. I shipped from there to Ontario to work in bush. Worked for Keewatin Lumber Company. Worked for one month, cleared about $1.00 a day. Went to Kenora and hired out with contractor for cutting cord-wood at $2.00 a cord and boarded myself. I met with an accident—got cut in the face. Went back to Kenora and then to Winnipeg and reported to immigration office. I came with twenty-two others to British Columbia, to Wardner.

There was nothing told us about a strike. They said they wanted men to work in British Columbia bush. We came to Wardner having heard, about Lethbridge, that there was a strike on. When we got to Wardner we found a strike on, and a delegation waited on us asking us not to scab. Then twenty-one decided not to work. The strikers' union shipped us to Cranbrook and kept us there about three weeks. Whitely and I decided to leave and try and get work at Trail. I had $6.00 when I left Cranbrook, and Whitely had some but we spent it all

before we got to Kootenay Landing. We went from Creston to try and get into the States but could not get in, so came on.

We came to this house and went in to hunt for food. There was no food there so we took the rifle with intention of selling it for food. When we got to Castlegar we heard there was slim chance of our getting work at Trail so we walked from there to Corkendhail and got a bed and meal from section-man and got a freight train from there to Grand Forks.

The judge adds the following comment:

I am leaving the writing of this letter to go into the court-room to sentence the two lads —one from Halifax, England, and one from Glasgow, Scotland—for theft. They were enticed out here by the shipping agents of the Canadian railway companies. They paid about one hundred dollars to these shipping agents who get their rake-off and the rest goes into the coffers of the railway companies. These poor dupes who are being enticed out to Canada on false and misleading promises are victims of railway-corporation cupidity. These lads were eking out a precarious living in the bush of Ontario and the farms of the prairies until they had to take refuge with scores of others in the emigration sheds at Winnipeg. Then they were shipped out to take the place of strikers in the timber areas of East Kootenay; they were told by the emigration authorities (so they have stated to me) that there was no strike.

Reduced to starvation conditions these lads lifted a rifle from a shed to sell to get food. They must go to prison for this crime. I will impose a short sentence, but they have pleaded "guilty" and I cannot avoid sentencing them.

The railway companies and steamboat companies are agitating for more and more population. Not a thought as to the class, so long as they can get the passage money. Not a thought as to the future of these penniless lads, so long as their fares are paid and go into the "Receipts" column.

Now if, as we say in our parliamentary committees, I am not going outside the terms of reference, I should like at least to mention some of the broader aspects of the problem. Canada's boasted immigration policy has been a failure. At best it has resulted not in an increase in population, but in a substitution of British or foreign for native-born Canadian stock.

Last year in the House of Commons Mr. E. J. Garland presented the following statistics:

Population, census of 1901—5,371,315; natural increase, estimated—1901–10 inclusive—853,566; immigration in that period—1,715,326; total—7,940,207.

But the population census of 1911, shows 7,206,643, or a loss of 733,564, and it cost us $8,402,599 to lose them.

Population, census of 1911—7,206,643; natural increase, 1911 to 1921, inclusive, estimated —1,150,659; immigration in that period—1,812,836; total—10,170,148.

The census of 1921 showed that we had a population of only 8,788,483, or a loss through emigration of 1,381,665, and in that decade it cost this country $14,234,242 to lose them. . . . . In 1871 we had a population of 3,689,257, and if we had kept that population, and just added the immigration to it, we would have all the numbers that we have today, making no allowance for natural increase. Those facts are striking. The total that we have spent on immigration into this country is $30,207,894, and we have not a single soul to show for that.

What of the past year? Mr. C. Grant MacNeil, Dominion Secretary of the G.W.V.A., has recently been making public some significant facts regarding what he described as a "gigantic débâcle":

During 1923 we brought 137,320 people to Canada, but lost 182,369 to the United States. Each month we admitted an average of 11,443 people and chased out an average of 15,197

people to the United States. We presented the United States with a quota equivalent to our total immigration from all sources, and 4,500 of our resident citizens in addition. The expenditure on immigration for 1923 approximated three and a half millions of dollars, which was exactly the price we paid for our generous gift to the United States.

Mr. MacNeil estimates that about 100,000 of the men who served in the Great War are now resident in the United States. He also points out that the United States census of 1920 discloses that 1,117,878 persons of Canadian birth were residing in the United States (March 31, 1923). Out of a total of 63,057 pensioners, 4,434 were resident in the United States. Pension was being paid at that time (March 31, 1923) to 12,468 individuals not resident in Canada.

Side by side with these figures let me place a statement:

At a convention of land surveyors, held at the Chateau Laurier on February 5 and 6, 1924, Col. Dennis, Director of the Natural Resources, department of the Canadian Pacific Railway, stated that there are 63,000,000 acres of privately owned, unoccupied lands within fifteen miles of the railway in the west.

Thus it becomes apparent that the assimilation of immigrants is merged into the larger economic problems which confront Canada, and these, in turn, into world-problems.

In this connection I cannot do better than to quote from an excellent article on immigration which appears in the current number of *Queen's Quarterly* by one of our social workers, Miss Charlotte Whitten. Speaking of the encouragement of the immigration of industrial workers Miss Whitten says:

There is the additional fact that such a policy involves, almost inevitably, acceptance of a lower standard of living for the native-born industrial wage-earner. Any measure tending to a lowering of wage rates, unless simultaneously accompanied by a lowering of prices of food, clothing, etc., must result in a lower standard of living for the group affected. The argument that heavy industrial immigration means replacement of the lowest group of native workers by the immigrant group and the consequent emergence of the former to a higher scale, is not borne out by experience. It is a matter of industrial fact that the number of workers employed in any process diminishes in direct ratio with the higher grades of work involved. While some native-born workers may be thrust into a higher grade of employment by immigrant replacement, the number so affected is out of all proportion to the number actually replaced by immigrant competition. With an employment index of 89, with an immigration of 72,887, and an emigration to the United States of 117,000, it may be reasonably asserted that Canada is not in a position to absorb industrial or urban immigration. Since, however, it is agricultural immigration which Canada has always sought, discussion of the present factors of the immigration situation must concern itself more particularly with that aspect of the subject, rather than with the many economic principles involved in the relation of immigration and labor supply.

As to agricultural immigrants she concludes:

It would appear, therefore, that even to the optimist, Canadian agriculture would seem to afford small scope for the absorption of immigrants. As a matter of fact, at the moment, her power of actual absorption is very low. Her ultimate ability is unquestioned, particularly if she is prepared courageously to play her part as an agricultural country. Because, however, of certain negative conditions, she is not in a position to answer to her cue on destiny's stage. She can absorb at the present a large but not unlimited quantity of experienced agricultural

labor. But even so much of her program requires careful organization to provide for the seasonal lay-off in this group. Rugged experienced workers, capable of accepting work in the lumbering camps, or liking heavy winter-work, will find year-round employment. If possessed of some small means and granted a fair farm-wage they may easily take up land in certain of the provinces in the "off" season. Experienced domestic workers prepared to adapt themselves to the different conditions they will find in Canada, can be absorbed in considerable numbers. The strong, healthy girl accustomed to rural life, willing to assist her employer in the general heavy duties of the Canadian farm home, is eagerly sought by the Canadian Women's Immigration Division. The experienced farmer with some capital, who is prepared to face slow and small returns, but ultimate satisfaction, and certainly for his children an appreciably higher general scale of life than in his homeland, will find hard work and frequent discouragement, but in the end adequate returns from a Canadian investment.

In closing let me return for a moment to the special problem of what is termed "assimilation." Are we egotistical enough to really want the immigrants to be made like ourselves? Heaven forbid! In this connection let me reproduce a few paragraphs that I wrote some years ago. How little of what we write stands the test of the passing years!

Too often our "Canadianizing" efforts have contributed directly to the undermining of the foundations on which alone true character is built. Destroy filial respect and reverence and love of the homeland, and what have we to work on?

We have in practice taken for granted that our standards were the only and final standards. If the immigrant has not in all points measured up to our standards we have considered him as an inferior. We have then attempted either somewhat arrogantly to assert our own superiority or set about with missionary zeal to make him conform to our type.

Some of the immigrants have been more concerned in making homes than in making money and we have called them unambitious. Some have given considerable time to participating in musical and dramatic performances and we have called them shiftless and lazy. Some have clung to the religion of their fathers and to the associations of the homeland and we have called them superstitious and unpatriotic. Some have wished their children to retain a knowledge of their mother-tongue and we have denounced them as reactionary and un-British.

This attitude, which has too frequently characterized the patriotic and religious efforts which we have made on behalf of the immigrant, accounts in no small measure for our failures. Let those who set out to "Canadianize and Christianize" the immigrants remember that there is room for other and perhaps higher Canadian types than those which predominate either on our streets or in our houses of parliament; that there is reason, too, for other types of Christianity than those which prevail in Canada in this year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventeen.

"God has many bests," as a wise teacher once put the truth which we are emphasizing. In the garden of Allah grow many varieties of flowers—each perfect after its kind. All cannot be judged according to one standard. If ever we in Canada attain a national ideal, it must be big enough—catholic enough—to give a place to the highest and best which each class of immigrant brings to this country.

More than missionaries we need interpreters—those who can mediate between the Canadian and the newcomer, who can present to the newcomer in an attractive light the best which we have developed in our social and national life, and can, on the other hand, sympathetically present to the Canadian the needs and possibilities of those who are casting in their lot with us.

In our nation-building, plenty of good material lies ready to hand. We need the wise master-builders who, understanding the value of each class of material, can fit each piece into its place in the ever enlarging structure.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

Dr. Renè Sand, Secretary, League of Red Cross Societies, Paris

Some weeks ago, a celebrated London surgeon told me that when convalescent after a short illness, and chatting with his nurse, he tried on her the old question: "What has more eyes than a potato?" Straight as an arrow came the remarkable answer: "Matron." I wish I had as many eyes as that ubiquitous matron so that I would be able to enjoy seeing you all at the same time, the thousands of you to whom I am so deeply indebted for your never failing kindness, the thousands of you whom with joy and pride I call my friends, the thousands of you who have a record of magnificent achievements, and who are giving such a splendid inspiration not only to this continent but to the world.

I want to insist on that international aspect of your work. However lonesome and forgotten one may feel in a remote place or in a modest circle, what one thinks, what one does, what one strives for, in the long run always means something to the world. Nothing is ever lost among moral values any more than among physical forces. What we give of ourselves sooner or later penetrates into the universal conscience.

We can, however, make this penetration easier and quicker by multiplying international contacts. I hail with joy your decision to hold next year an international conference of social work, not only because it will allow of a general description, comparison, and discussion of the social work in the world, but also because it will develop opportunities for personal visits and exchanges of social workers which will be an ever increasing source of progress and better understanding everywhere.

International co-operation is still a very frail child, who needs a great deal of attention and care. Men began by fighting each other, then they traded with each other, and it is but very recently that they have attempted helping each other. When I say that commerce was the first agency making for international relations, I want you to remember that in the time of the cavemen trade already swept the continents, as is exemplified by a skeleton which you can see in the Brussels Museum; it belonged to a woman living something like twenty thousand years ago, in that part of Europe which is today called Belgium. Attached to this skeleton is a necklace made of graceful ornamental shells which then were to be found only in the region where Paris now stands. This shows that the far-away ancestors of the modern rue de la Paix jewelers had already at that time established a wide commercial reputation and set the fashion for Eve.

But international trade between individuals does not mean international co-operation between nations. Of this we see no trace until the last century. The Crusades could perhaps be cited as the first example of common action and the Church Councils as the first assemblies where representatives from various countries met together with equal rights: the bond, however, in these cases

was religious, not national, and the co-operation was more between selected groups than between countries as such.

In fact, the very word "international" was coined by Bentham 150 years ago, and the first really international meeting was a scientific conference held in Germany in 1828. None of the governments, however, decided for common action till 1864, when some of them agreed to create and support jointly an international institute for the exact measurement of the earth. We must allow full credit to science, as we did to trade, for the powerful impulse it gives to international relations. Is it not, however, a very remarkable fact that official co-operation between the nations did not begin by the fundamental questions which we would expect to bring the governments together, such as the maintenance of peace, the safeguarding of health, the interests of trade and the protection of the traveler? It would have seemed reasonable and logical to take these essentials first. I am afraid mankind is neither reasonable nor logical, and so international co-operation began in that apparently insignificant institution for measuring the earth. Moreover, I believe that if the men then in power could have foreseen that through the gate they had carelessly opened to a few harmless professors, the whole pageant of humanitarian and democratic aspirations would one day force its way, they would have let the earth stay unmeasured for eternity rather than commit themselves to such an imprudent action.

This fatal and happy mistake was committed exactly sixty years ago, and now the number of private and official international institutes and conferences is to be counted by hundreds. In the field which interests us here, we have first of all health and social welfare sections of the League of Nations, with consultative commissions on the opium traffic and on the white slave traffic, to which last commission our distinguished president is giving that kind of co-operation which you would expect from her.

This is a very happy correction indeed to the lack of political universality of the League of Nations that the United States, Germany, and even in one instance Soviet Russia are represented on the League's commissions dealing with technical or humanitarian work, which latter is now centered mainly, if we leave health and relief outside our present consideration, on the restriction of the consumption of narcotics, on the abolition of the white slave traffic, and on child welfare, three fields of action which we will consider in turn.

In 1909, the initiative of the United States brought together an international commission in Shanghai to consider the opium question, and the subsequent international conference held in the Hague in 1912 led to the adoption of an international opium convention, which the Opium Committee of the League of Nations is trying to put in application. It is based on a system of import and export certificates, and on the determination of the amount of narcotics, legitimately needed by each nation; this census of the drug traffic once being taken, it will be possible to restrict the importation so as to stop for the greatest

part the abuse of narcotics. The task is of course not easy on account of the efforts of the smugglers and of the opium ring, which works through underground channels in the whole world.

The International Bureau for the Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children, a voluntary association created in London in 1899, led to the official international conference in 1902, which resulted in the so-called international arrangement of 1904. This was completed in 1921 by an international convention concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, and the permanent commission appointed by the League on which the international women's organizations are represented, is undertaking, thanks to funds supplied from private American sources, a complete survey of the field. Most nations have recently passed laws which if really put in force would make the international traffic in women and children almost impossible.

This same section of the League of Nations will soon also consider the international aspects of child welfare.

The International Labor Organization, which is an autonomous part of the secretariat of the League of Nations, is devoting its strength to investigating and bettering labor conditions. The international labor conferences have drafted not less than sixteen conventions, twenty recommendations, and six resolutions bearing on almost every subject within the field of the workers' protection: the eight-hour day, the weekly rest, night work, the employment of women and children, social insurance, safety, labor inspection, emigration, the prevention of unemployment, of phosphorous poisoning, of lead poisoning, of anthrax, the protection of seamen, of agricultural workers, of commercial employees. If a limited number only of these acts have passed into the national statute books, the fact that after careful study and open discussion they have been officially approved by representatives of the governments, of the employers, and of the employees, give them a moral value which cannot fail to impress public opinion and to foster progress. After all, we do not aim at having things inscribed in laws, we aim at having them realized in practice, and the reform of public opinion is more important than legislative reform.

I mention only briefly the Pan-American Union as the third intergovernmental agency presently in existence, because you undoubtedly know much more about it than I do myself. It has a valuable record and will undoubtedly develop its activities in the field of social work.

The voluntary organizations have existed long before the official institutions which I have mentioned. The first to be created were the Red Cross and the Young Men's Christian Association. You all know how since its beginnings in 1863, when it limited itself to war work, the Red Cross expanded in the field of social work and health, its main permanent activities being relief to the victims of war, disaster relief, popular health education, public health nursing, and the Junior Red Cross, inculcating in the school children daily habits of health, of social work, and of international good will.

The Red Cross numbers today nine million adults and seven million children, these sixteen million being scattered in every country of the world irrespective of color, race, religion, and class. The Red Cross was instrumental in helping to start the International Save the Children Fund, created in 1920, out of which grew the International Movement of Youth in the aid of youth, which dates from 1922, and enlists the happier children in the help of suffering children. The International Save the Children Fund formulated in 1923 the declaration of the rights of children, which is now being adopted as the children's charter in the whole world.

I need not tell you about the international Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, and the Salvation Army. Every social worker knows these wonderful organizations, to which millions of young men and young women owe such a great debt. I cannot mention by name the forty-odd international associations, leagues, bureaus, and foundations which aim at protecting girls and women, assisting the foreigner, raising the standards of education, bettering the prison system, developing the settlements, administering relief, uniting the women of the world, striving for peace and liberty.

But I want to single out two fields in which international co-operation has brought epoch-making progress. It was about 1840 that the first anti-slave international congress met in London. The governments did not join hands until 1889, when the International Conference of Brussels created the Zanzibar and the Brussels bureaus, in order to stop the slave traffic. These bureaus have been closed because the slave traffic has gone. It is true that domestic slavery still exists in fact if not legally in many parts of Africa, which means that servants cannot leave their masters and that their children are born servants of the same masters. The liberation of these slaves, who are generally well treated, is a difficult economic and educational problem. At any rate, the raiding of villages and the wholesale killing and abduction of men, women, and children to be sold in far-away markets are now things of the past, and it is a powerful incentive for social workers to realize that mankind has been able to liberate itself from one at least of the evils which for scores of centuries had defied the most intimate feelings of heart and soul and stained the very name of man.

Another remarkable progress has been obtained through the International Abolitionist Federation, created in 1855 in Geneva. The men and women who demanded the repeal of the police regulations regarding prostitution were at first laughed at. Today the whole world is accepting their views: open dispensaries and educational institutions are replacing the prison-like hospitals in which these miserable haunted women were formerly locked.

The world moves forward, not so quickly as we would wish, and without hesitation, not without sometimes retracing its steps backward, but on the whole it moves. Think of the completely unorganized international relations

sixty years ago, and look at the net of institutions and conventions which now survey this field. Think of the total absence of legal international protection of the working man twenty years ago, and look at the growing number of international labor conventions now in application.

Think of the isolation of the humanitarians even in comparatively recent times, and look at the armies numbering millions and millions which now stride forward under the emblems of the Red Cross, of the Young Men's Christian Association, of the Young Women's Christian Association, of the international women's organizations.

Each time I have had the pleasure to come back to this continent—and I am now accustomed to consider myself as a commuter between America and Europe—I am more deeply impressed by the earnestness of your purpose, by the scientific character of your methods, by the flame of humanitarian faith which flows forth from your hearts. And may I especially mention my admiration for our sister social workers. I do so, not as a matter of tradition or courtesy, but because it is my firm conviction that in your generations of liberally educated women, to whom every freedom and opportunity have been granted, a type has been created which is nowhere equaled, not a superwoman—that I think no one desires—but just woman in its complete and harmonious development.

This explains why you have decided to add to these institutions one more organization, the International Conference of Social Work which will meet next year in Europe.

I want to express my utmost gratification for this decision and I hope to see very many of you in that assembly. I promise to spare no efforts so that your trip may be pleasant and worth while and above all I promise to neglect nothing which will make of that meeting a real contribution to the progress of the social welfare in the world.

Your mere presence alone would mean the greatest possible inspiration for the social workers on the other side, in less favorable circumstances. But it is not only on social work that your science, your experience, your devotion will tell. When the world's forum of social work will have been created, that will mean one link more between the nations, one new army raised against war, one new account opened on the credit of peace. Social work spells understanding, reconciliation, and co-operation among the ranks of the nation.

But you cannot enlist for mutual understanding and co-operation among social groups without working at the same time for understanding and co-operation among the nations. There is only one intolerance, be it religious, national, political, or social, and there is only one tolerance, one spirit of brotherhood and peace, which extends to every form of intercourse and common enterprise. Social work means peace and love, peace and love which are bred in our hearts, which are cultivated in our minds, which are spread in our every-

day work. And I do not know of any nobler title than that of "Social Worker," because every social worker is at the same time and all the time a peace worker.

Jane Addams, Chicago

It is a great pleasure for me to tell so many of my colleagues of the impressions one receives in regard to the international spirit in social work, as one encircles this strange old planet of ours. It is a striking impression of similarity because so many of the people engaged directly in social betterment have had their education on this continent. The first social worker I met in India had graduated from the School of Philanthropy in New York; he was proud of the fact and was constantly asking me to judge as to how nearly he was approaching the standards required by such schools. He invited me to address the Social Service League of Bombay composed of 1,500 members, the majority of them native men. It was at this meeting that I first received the impression that the social work in India had a certain political purpose. The meeting was held in the headquarters of the Servants of India; the members were trying to prove to all the world, and especially to their own country, that as citizens of India they had quite another notion of government than that which the native princes were supposed to hold during many centuries. They believed that self-government in India would carry on humanitarian efforts inaugurated by England toward making the land more fruitful and the population more healthy and that groups of young men were already trained to carry on such a governmental policy. They were using their philanthropy somewhat as a demonstration. I found this true over and over again in the social service leagues of India, that while they were doing their actual work in the same spirit we try to maintain here, under it all was a certain political intent; that the political activities we were sometimes shoved into (when forced to work for child labor legislation, for instance), they were doing understandingly, with their eyes wide open. Mr. Joshi, whom perhaps some of you remember when he was in Washington several years ago (perhaps he was also in Canada), represented this group in the Legislative Assembly in Delhi. He was asking for the regulation of the hours of labor in factories, for the protection of Indian immigrants, and for all sorts of social legislation which most Western countries already possess. The Social League in Bombay and in other cities supplied him with material, as they revealed the wretched conditions of the people at the bottom of society and gave him the ammunition with which to carry on his campaign. It was analogous to the situation in the United States in the decade beginning in 1890 or in the earlier decades in England when the material supplied by Charles Booth and others of East London conditions were immediately used upon the floor of the House of Commons. This present situation is intensified by the fact that there is very little organized labor in India to secure labor legislation,

or it may be that social workers in India feel they may do away with intermediate steps and at once gain their ends by legislative reforms. I was continually surprised to find social workers so alert, so well informed, so aware of the political situation, until I realized that a nationalistic effort was harnessed to genuine humanitarian feeling. But more than that, as we went from one city to another, I was convinced that this group was not only pushing forward a nationalistic movement but so modifying it that the movement itself became a different thing because of this social service effort. In Delhi, we found certain of the British government representatives saying, as many English people say today, that it is a much more interesting thing to be in the civil service of India now than it was twenty years ago because the problem now is not only to establish a capable and incorruptible colonial government, but to teach and help along the movement in India toward self-government, so that India will in time become a self-governing member of the British Empire. If such a movement succeeds there is no doubt that the activities on the part of social workers will be a great element in determining the type of government activities. We may illustrate from the health work at present carried on by the British government. The finest women's hospital I ever saw is in Delhi. It was founded by English women, doctors, and nurses, but is gradually being placed in the hands of native Indian physicians, all women who are working out a sound hospital technique which is really quite astonishing. I do not believe there is a social worker in this audience who has not at times longed to bundle the entire family into the hospital when the mother goes there, but I cannot imagine a social worker who would have the temerity to propose such a thing to a hospital management or the courage to meet the attitude of pained surprise. But in Delhi they have almost accomplished it. In the lying-in hospital the wards are built around a quadrangle, into which both the wards and private rooms open. Back of the private room is built a larger room opening into the street and forming the outside of the quadrangle. Into this large room, which is also equipped with a scullery for housekeeping purposes, come the husband, all the children, and the mother-in-law, and they live there as long as the mother stays in her room. They get on very well and I could not see that the hospital discipline was at all injured thereby. The members of the family are not allowed to come into the quadrangle, although they come and go freely into the patient's room. I naturally asked, "How did you bring it about?" And the answer was, "Because we could not get the women to come in any other way." I told them that at home we too had lots of women who would not come to a hospital in any other way and that they therefore stayed at home. They said, "The conditions in many homes are too unspeakable, the women cannot stay there, we had to have them and so we had to bring the entire family." We saw one of the little mothers, not more than sixteen, lying in bed with her second baby who was also the second daughter. The poor mother was in despair and had been weeping constantly for three days and nights. The doctors were alarmed,

saying that unless the hysteria was stopped the consequences might be grave. They had done everything possible to allay her grief, but in vain. She apparently preferred death to her disgrace. The whole situation of these women patients has to be considered *de novo*, so to speak, and as we went about the hospital and saw the various nurses caring for each patient according to her religious demands, we realized that the hospital had been humanized and adapted to a remarkable extent—one more example of the marvelous adaptability of the British colonial policy, although in this particular instance it was displayed in allowing the social workers to make their own adaptation.

In Ceylon and Burmah we found again that curious combination of social work and political acumen, sometimes getting near to statesmanship. The suggestion came to my mind over and over again that in the West the humanitarian measures had crept into government almost surreptitiously but in these new undertakings toward self-government such measures were going to be recognized as basic. There is a remarkable school in Ceylon, under the direction of a Scotchman, Alexander Frazier. One of his faculty who was killed in the war was much beloved throughout the length and breadth of Ceylon, and in his memory the graduates as well as the boys now in the school go out into the villages teaching organized athletics as far as the native children will accept them. The effort has resulted in what we of this country would call a promising playground movement. None of the playgrounds are well equipped but all of them represent in one way or another the latest spirit of rural community service and are conducted in co-operation with the village itself. As in India we saw the old plays which had been revived by Tagore and his people, so in Ceylon we heard a revival of old plays and old music which had been part of the background of the native life. One had the impression of social experiment coming about in this wonderful land which might suggest much to the rest of the world.

Something of that which makes India so interesting on the social service side one finds in other countries as well. In China they are trying to adopt a constitution which shall incorporate from the beginning measures and permission which we are securing with the utmost difficulty in the United States. Their constitution will reflect the social desires and impulses, at least in a measure, of those who know the lives of the very poor people. They have become impressed in those Eastern countries with some of the good things in the West which are in reality a combination of social service and governmental provision, and they are quite determined to have that type of governmental temper registered in their constitution. We were in China at the time of the great bandit outrage. I sat one day next to Admiral Tsai, who many years ago received his education at Yale. A great deal was being said about the outrage and it was intimated that if things of that kind kept on certainly Western nations would intervene. Admiral Tsai said, "You know, I was once bandited in the United States." That was a little hard to understand until he explained that he had

been one of the first students ever sent to the United States, that he had landed in San Francisco, and going across the plains had been held up by one named Jesse James and his brothers, who had robbed almost everybody on the train, although he escaped because owing to the complications of Chinese garments they had not been able to find his money. He said, "That was not so very long ago, as we count time in China, and perhaps you will have to give us more time. It took you thirteen years in the United States to secure your constitution. You made your Declaration of Independence in 1776 and adopted your constitution in 1789. We have been at ours only twelve years thus far and China is a big country and must move slowly." But the interesting part of the situation lay in the fact that the apology for this outbreak of violence was based upon the military governors who were more or less in command in all of the thirty-two provinces. The bandits were largely discharged and unpaid soldiers, too restless and disorganized to return to civil life. The Chinese were sure that when they got their constitution and an established civil government all such irregularities would be corrected. They were longing to reforest the mountains, to canalize the rivers, and begin other such necessary public works which the constitutional convention was discussing as possibilities. They were striving for the idea of the betterment of the people, an aim which they admired so much in the Western governments and of which they had had so little under the Manchus. They were making a tremendous effort at public education so that every adult would be taught a thousand characters, enabling him to read the newspapers. They were doing this with the illiterate adults, which I suppose is the hardest place in the world to begin—doing it with the conviction that they cannot get the government they want until the electorate is able to read.

Some of the industrial evils in China are being "tackled" by the English people and Americans who are living there. In Shanghai the head of the industrial department of the Young Women's Christian Association, Agatha Harrison, is a graduate of the Indian School of Economics and well equipped to cope with that tremendous problem of child labor. Shanghai is an international city, and it is hard to understand why it should not legislate for itself and abolish the work of children in the factories. Unhappily, it is possible to find very little children in many factories there. The English and Americans say that they can do nothing about it unless the Japanese employers do, and they in turn use others for an excuse and so they all go on. I never saw such little children in a factory as we saw making matches, and although China has a law preventing phossy jaw, it can easily be found. Miss Harrison and others are quite determined that this sort of thing must be stopped, at least in the city of Shanghai, also that schools must be established for the children who may be turned out of the factories. The Americans, the Japanese, the French, and other manufacturers, if they owned mills on their home territories would be obliged to pay taxes for the education of children living in those territories. They should, of course, do the same thing in Shanghai, but it is a long, hard,

slow process to bring it about even in a city with an international government of its own which could so easily be a model to all the rest of China. In describing industrial conditions in Shanghai one should always mention the child labor reforms inaugurated in one large factory belonging to a Chinese native Christian who is taking his religion seriously and is quite convinced of the wrong, as he expressed it, of injuring the spiritual welfare of little children.

Most of the social workers here doubtless know of the comprehensive survey made of the city of Peking by two Americans, Messrs. Burgess and Gamble, which is forming the basis of several needed reforms in the industrial civilization taken over so bodily from the West and which often fits in so badly with the old industrial conditions. Mr. Burgess, who is in charge of the industrial section of the Y.M.C.A., has established the beginnings of a school of social work and is planning to carry out the Peking project on the lines of social service with technical skill and with a city-wide co-operation.

One aspect of child labor amelioration in Peking is being undertaken by the Methodist mission there, said to be one of the largest missions inclosed in one compound in any part of the world. They are much distressed over the condition of little children who make Chinese rugs from the time they are nine or ten years old until they are eleven or twelve. They are paid no wages beyond "board and keep," because they are apprenticed to learn a trade. But when they have learned to make the rugs they are turned out because the manufacturers do not wish to pay them permanent wages, and a new set of children is taken on. As a result there are many men in Peking who know how to make rugs but the rugs supplied to the market are actually made by little children under twelve. The Methodist missionaries in their efforts to change the method say that this is not the Western way and again the Chinese are getting a conception of what is "decent" from the missionary and from the social worker, who combine a governmental and humanitarian standpoint. Near Peking is maintained a remarkable George Junior Republic, made up of children saved from the great famine. There is one for boys and one for girls, where is carried out what they hope will be a real training for citizenship in the new self-governing republic which they are establishing. These little girls, so untrammeled and so intelligent, always recall a certain impression that I believe it is perhaps well for some of us who are growing older to remember: namely, that in China, as perhaps in some other countries, the great factor against reform seems to be the old women. There is no doubt that the Chinese would stop binding their children's feet if the old women would permit it. It is against the law. The men do not want it because women with bound feet are not so useful in the new type of society which is developing, the younger women do not want it (some of the more progressive ones are wearing stuffed shoes to hide the fact that their feet have been bound) but the old women say that feet always have been bound and therefore always must be bound, and there we are, the custom still prevailing.

In Japan, the finest piece of social work which I saw is being carried on by Caroline MacDonald, a graduate of the University of Toronto, whose walls are sheltering us tonight. Her house in Tokio is filled with a spirit of which we should all be proud could we create it in our houses. She began by taking in boys who had been arrested for trivial offenses, whom the judges were more and more willing to turn over to her on a sort of probation, and from that has grown a very genuine and understanding relationship with much of the criminal population of the city. In her book, *A Gentleman in Prison*, which is not a good title, to my mind, for although the man was a remarkable person he was not a gentleman in any sense, we get a certain revelation of the entire prison system in Japan and of the social work which Miss MacDonald has established. Her house was shaken down by the earthquake, but although she may be living in a shed at the moment, I am willing to venture the opinion that she is doing a fine quality of work.

The prefectures everywhere in Japan have established departments of social welfare, and the cities as well have their departments of social welfare, both of them aiming at methods they have seen practiced in the West. They test them out in a frank and remarkable way. The prefecture of Osaka, when we visited there, had just refused a gift of ten million yen, offered by a money-lender to found a children's home. The social welfare department reported that he was evidently self-seeking and wished to advertise himself and his family and they did not consider it for the best interests of the social life of Osaka to receive this money. In this refusal of about five million dollars they did not imitate us, did they? The commander of the Salvation Army in Japan is an unusual scholar, educated in the United States, who is carrying on with remarkable ability certain necessary reforms which the Salvation Army advocate throughout the island. The W.C.T.U. in Japan has been perfectly valiant in its stand against the old custom of keeping defenseless women in a fenced portion of the city, so that even during the earthquake they were not able to escape and probably no one will ever know how many of them perished. These groups of Japanese are trying to control and eliminate that kind of primitive evil through legislative enactment.

A novelist of note has opened a settlement in the most crowded part of one of the new Western cities in Japan. What he wrote and said took me back to the early days of the settlements in England and the United States, although the plea he made for the betterment of human life through an interpretation and understanding of the oppressed and overburdened was more ably put than most of us had been able to do it. He made a distinction between understanding and social sympathy which reminded me of a story about my colleague and friend, Mary McDowell, which perhaps you will permit me to relate here and now. Many years ago, when the City Club was first built in Chicago, all sorts of organizations used to meet there; we took to it all our causes and talked them over at lunch. One day as I entered the elevator, the boy, who knew me quite

well, said quite casually, "What are you eating with today? With garbage or the social evil?" I said, "With garbage," and so he deposited me on the fourth floor where I found Mary McDowell pinning on the wall blueprints of a certain garbage reduction plan. I had been a little disturbed by my conversation in the elevator and so I said, "Isn't it remarkable the way we eat and at the same time talk about these disagreeable subjects?" She went on pinning up her blueprints as she replied: "If you lived near Bubbly Creek, into which the five largest stockyards in the world discharge their refuse, you would be so interested in garbage that you would talk about it at lunch or at any other time." I assured her that I was interested in garbage, and instanced the fact that I had once been a garbage inspector myself. "Yes," she said, "you are interested, but you are not really sympathetic."

I should be very grateful if at the end of this speech I could feel that my audience had not only understood but had also become sympathetic with this world-wide effort which in my opinion is being made to give our professional interests a certain governmental status and expression in the vast nations of the East. If we have any interpretive capacity, any power for generalizing our experience and making it available for world purposes, then this is the hour to be of use to the millions of poverty-stricken people whose deep oblivion is being penetrated for the first time. If the little group of social workers in the East, so undaunted and valiant, are willing to make the attempt, certainly we ought to co-operate with understanding and sympathy.

We have all been interested in what Dr. Renè Sand has just told us of an international gathering of social workers which is planned for next year. I sincerely hope that among the nations represented there will be those of the Orient, by social workers who are characterized by that peculiar seriousness and devotion belonging to the pioneers in any movement. They are still close to the mystery of life, not yet lost in their cases, but realizing as perhaps few of us do, the great burden and social consequence of their daily living.

I have said nothing of the Philippines, of Korea, and of half a dozen other countries in which I might have found illustrations, but even with this meager material I wish I might make you feel that we belong to a great body representing a vast fund of moral energy which rightly directed may make over some of the saddest features of this old globe, so long populated with those oppressed by disease, poverty, and ignorance.

B. DIVISION MEETINGS

I. CHILDREN

A REVALUATION OF METHODS OF CHILD CARE

THE CARE OF CHILDREN IN THEIR OWN HOMES

A. P. Paget, Secretary, Manitoba Mothers' Allowance Commission, Winnipeg

The dominating factor in our present standard of child welfare, taking it for granted that the family is the unit of our community life, is in line with "a place for everything, and everything in its place," which, when applied to our subject, suggests a normal home for every child and every normal child in its own home. As a plant, subjected to intelligent care in its natural sphere will approximate perfection, so, a child, under considerate treatment and intelligent direction in an atmosphere of affection, will meet its normal obligations in life.

Is it not a fact that some so-called social workers willingly pass on to an institution the problems which should have been worked out in the child's own home? The technique of case work for dependent children involves co-operation with the protective and all other necessary agencies, together with the judge of the juvenile court and the probation officer, in order to keep the child in its own home.

Every child should be considered an "open" case. Homes which seem hopeless sometimes readjust themselves so that a child may be returned under careful supervision.

The normal child finds expression in its own home for a deep, permanent, emotionally satisfying love for parents and family. He feels the excitement of economic competition, the warmth and stir of personal courage and independence in relation to the community. In such an atmosphere individuality and initiative are more readily fostered, the which is practically impossible in most institutions.

I presume no one will hesitate to subscribe to the five points and the preamble of the Children's Charter as the required minimum, which is set forth in the Declaration of Geneva. These might be recast as follows:

By the present declaration of the rights of the child, men and women of all nations, recognizing that mankind owes to the child the best that it has to give, declare and accept it as their duty that, beyond all considerations of race, nationality, and creed: first, every child's right must be protected; second, the problem child must have his needs supplied; third, the claims of the child take priority over all other claims; fourth, the child must be given every opportunity to make good as an individual; fifth, the child must be trained in idealism.

Will anyone question its provisions as too idealistic? I submit they are sane and practical. Laymen may assert that the normal family unit is no concern of the social worker, that their services are only required when a social ailment is discovered, which may be purely local. If social work were solely remedial or curative such an assertion might be more acceptable. Social work is fundamentally preventive, whereas the layman is very human and mainly concerned in thrusting forward social maladjustments for the social worker's attention, too often to the loss of time which should be devoted to scientific study and research leading to preventive measures.

So we would wish to introduce the social worker into our discussion as a social engineer, one who must be expertly trained, as in any other profession. His most potent qualifications are his tactful approach and poise in action, while dealing with the complexities of family life in connection with the welfare of the child.

Qualities which distinguish one parent from another are so varied that disruption often occurs even among the best types and character failing may show itself where least expected, heredity playing its subtle part, the parent being responsible for perpetuating the faults of his type. Thus we have the social worker more or less capable of diagnosing and the parent more or less disposed to accept such diagnosis, with its appropriate treatment or advice. Does it not appear incongruous that in the business of child-rearing, which is fundamental to our community life, parents know so little and practice less of the ordinary and common principles of good and healthy living, and that the social worker should have to patch up, more or less effectively, faulty education in this regard?

Character failing was referred to as only one of many causes for disruption within the family circle. A large group is thus accounted for, but sickness and labor and wage conditions constitute possibly the major cause of dependency. Apart from such there is the loss of parental care or control through desertion and death. Another group stands out prominently, because of the dire and distressing conditions which it reveals, the mentally defective. Taking these groups as a field of operation for the social worker and the parent, the welfare of the child can be considered from the standpoint of adverse living conditions.

Labor and wage conditions, which are so often the forerunners of sickness and character failing, demand of the social worker, who is called upon to enter the home to justify relief and often to advise, a wide knowledge of industrial and economic conditions. In coping with such problems, while helping to find a job for the father, the child in the home is in need of special care. Through unemployment or under-employment he is possibly exposed to the effects of insufficient food, clothing, and shelter. Hence the child grows up in a relationship that is fitting him for the real battle of life, provided, however, the relief and advice is adequate and intelligently applied under the social worker's supervision. Such experience is foreign to an institutional child and both he

and society are losers thereby. While the contact is between the social worker and the parent, the main consideration is admittedly the welfare of the child.

Another effective training-ground for the child is where sickness is in the home. Some of the finest traits of character are developed under stress at such times, provided again that succor is not too long delayed and that the experience is wisely reviewed. The social worker and the parent are so brought into intimate relationship that the welfare of the child again becomes the main consideration. Many an institutional child missing this peculiar discipline is bound to be found lacking in this side of his nature when he comes to take his place in organized family life.

In dealing with widowhood, the death of the breadwinner does not suggest replacement to the social worker, but the development of characteristics which are generally unappreciated by the average housewife. An amputated limb cannot be replaced but the remaining members of the body may assume added responsibility and mitigate its loss. So the severity of the loss of the father is tempered by the extra concentration necessary for the proper care of the children by the widow, single-handed. The fine type of widowhood now developing under mothers' allowance legislation in this and other countries, where case work is attainable, would appear fully to justify expenditure of the amount of public monies involved in caring for the child in the home.

In most reports and surveys reviewing mothers' allowance legislation the factors emphasized are: first, adequate allowances, and second, adequate supervision. The definition of the adjective may be given as, first, enough of the necessities of life to conserve a healthy mind and body. Dependent upon the sources from which such adequate allowance comes, first and foremost must be reckoned all the resources of the family, including the earnings of both mother and children. Then the difference should be made up to the amount of the family budget, and by state funds if necessary. The conservation of family thrift is imperative. Second, oversight commensurate with the type of family to be supervised and proportionate to its needs.

While not wishing unduly to discuss the need of "an adequate allowance" where the child is concerned, the main points may be noted. To provide for the necessities of life does not tend to pauperization in that it removes the need for mendicancy in the majority of families where the allowance is deemed adequate. It also tends to reduce the period in which aid is necessary. Given wise supervision an adequate allowance promotes self-respect and consequently self-support. For a social worker to try to supervise the rehabilitation of a family receiving an inadequate allowance is synonymous with an attempt to adjust the hairspring of a watch with a crowbar. The child is vitally affected and citizenship values are at stake.

Supervision, which is the factor so little understood outside of the social worker group, requires a social worker whose personality and training are such as to engender the maximum confidence in the mind of the parent and child,

not forgetting that the qualifications for parenthood are found in variable quantity and quality.

Assuming then that the social worker must be duly qualified, it is realized the children are in the care of a parent who may be (*a*) intelligent, cultured, and independent; (*b*) of average intelligence, but emotional and fond of children; (*c*) a poor manager; (*d*) ignorant and without any knowledge of dietetics; (*e*) selfish—self and home may appear ideal on the surface but with children neglected.

While the ability and character of the mother is important, a study by the social worker of the individual child is imperative, and the various agencies concerned must be enjoined to contribute their quota: health services, educational advantages, church and club affiliations, and the service of the juvenile court, as the new approach to our work becomes better established, that of social justice in lieu of legal procedure. The service of the friendly visitor in close co-operation with the social worker is a valuable asset. Special training for voluntary child welfare workers is deemed expedient.

In considering group (*a*), anything less than an adequate allowance will endanger any hope of rehabilitation, but, given a sufficient amount on which to plan toward independence the response is most often encouraging. The finest characteristics are conserved and the element of material relief covers a comparatively shorter period than in either of the other groups mentioned. Especially is this the case where the older children are permitted to continue their education and thereby become capable of earning a larger wage. The inculcation of home responsibility is readily accepted by them. It appeals to them at an idealistic age and the ideals fostered by wholesome home training are always a force for good in the community. By the time they want to and should marry the younger children are ready to take their place. This group can be relied upon to carry the burden of civilization.

The other groups follow down the scale to more or less permanent dependency if not delinquency. Instead of the mother being able to manage and pay for her June supplies in June, they are paid the following month and the benefit of the cash and carry system is lost. Then follow continuous importunities on the part of the social worker in an endeavor to keep the family on an even keel. As the hope of the mother's becoming thrifty wanes, the children can often be influenced to improve the situation and develop some responsibility. The influence of the church and school or settlement can be solicited in this connection.

In conclusion, the wise selection and use of present methods, rather than encouraging the multiplicity of child welfare agencies, should be sought. The child welfare workers should be released from their present heavy case load if they are successfully to plan the lives of families under their care. It is now fairly well established that the state is the ultimate parent of all minors and it has the right to step in wherever failure is present. The recognition of the

family as the basic unit of society demands that the state should provide every possible means to keep normal children in good homes, even though this may require their support from public funds. This presupposes the supervision of a child's life from before birth to the age of self-dependence. Following out the principle that the family home is the proper place for every normal child, the care of normal children in institutions should be prohibited.

HOW FOSTER CHILDREN TURN OUT

Sophie Van Senden Theis, Superintendent, Child Placing, State Charities Aid Association, New York

How foster children turn out is a question which has been asked by social workers, scientists, and everyone interested in dependent children. What are these children who are adopted in babyhood like, later in life? How do the children and foster-parents who have gone through periods of difficult adjustments feel when the children have grown up? What do they think about it? Is the effort which goes into giving the children who start life handicapped and have difficulties of temperament and behavior which sometimes seem insuperable, worth while?

Thus, the primary object of our critical study and analysis was to find out what had become of a group of such children; into what sort of adults they had developed, and to what extent they had adapted themselves to the good standards of the communities in which they were living. The group which was studied intensively consisted of 910 individuals, all those of the 3,600 placed in free foster homes by the State Charities Aid Association since 1898, who on January 1, 1922, were eighteen years of age or more and who had been under the care of the Association for a minimum period of one year.

It is essential to describe briefly this group of 910 children who were placed in foster homes. There are about 150 more girls than boys in the study group. Thirty-four per cent were under five years of age at placement in their first foster homes, 21 per cent between five and ten, and 45 per cent over ten years of age; in other words, a little more than half were under ten, and slightly less than half over ten years of age when first placed. Practically all of the children were American born, and relatively few had foreign parents.

About a fourth of them were foundlings—babies picked up in hallways or from park benches, whose own families and homes were entirely unknown. For 149 other children there was not enough information on which to base a judgment of the intelligence, health, habits, or occupation of the parents. There was, however, available enough information about the homes and family background of 544 children to make some classification possible. Our analysis of these showed that approximately 80 per cent of the children came from a background which in so far as known was predominantly bad, about 8 per cent from

predominantly good, and 12 per cent from a mixed background. The classifications were based on the plain man's opinion about family background; that is, the original recording of information and the basis of classification were made from a human and social point of view and not from any one specialist's angle. The findings regarding the family background became more significant when considered in relation to the length of time that the children lived in the environment created by their families. Nearly one-half of the 910 children stayed with their own families for five years or more.

Slightly more than 1,600 homes were used for these 910 children in the process of fitting together the right child and right home. Our analysis of these foster homes showed that the great majority—73 per cent of them—belonged to the average middle group; they were the people of moderate income, offering homes of average comfort—the self-respecting, self-supporting, kindly families who make up the large part of every community. About 15 per cent of the families offered opportunities above the average, mostly in the way of unusual cultural and educational advantages. About 12 per cent were distinctly mediocre, that is, people of very limited intelligence and moderate ability, offering very few opportunities. A minimum standard was required of all homes. The families had to have an income adequate to maintain the family with an additional member, healthful living conditions, moral character above reproach, and good reputation. The child taken into the household had to be regarded as a member of the family.

We have told briefly something of the children and something of the foster homes and what they offered. That serves as a background. The objective of our study was an analysis of the present situation of these 910 children who have reached an age of maturity. This was the primary purpose of our inquiry. First—where are they? Thirty-five per cent of those whose present situation is known are still in their foster homes; 31 per cent are married and have their own homes; 24 per cent are working away from home; 25 of them are now living with their own relatives; 22 are in institutions receiving correctional physical or mental treatment or custodial care, and 28 are dead.

But more important than this external fact of where these children are, is the question: "Did these 910 subjects succeed or fail in meeting the responsibilities of adult life?" Success and failure are obviously relative and hard to define, but clearly some standard of measurement had to be applied. "Is the subject capable of managing himself and his affairs with ordinary prudence?" was the question which served as a means of judging the subject's adaptation to life. Rated by this standard it was found that 615 subjects are law-abiding and manage their affairs with good sense; are capable of self-support, and are living in accordance with the good moral standards of their communities. Of those who were rated as "incapable," 89 are irresponsible or shiftless persons of limited capacity or inferior character, or are partially incapacitated mentally or physically; 26 are persons who because of some previous offense against society still need supervision, and their future develop-

ment is uncertain; 20 are in correctional or custodial institutions, and 47 are definitely harmful, that is, in conflict with accepted standards of morality or law. Thus we found 77.2 per cent of the subjects decent, law-abiding citizens, respected in their communities; 22.8 per cent ranging from those who are harmless to those actively harmful, incapable of meeting the ordinary demands of self-support and personal and community obligations.

The question which arises is: Why did these particular 615 subjects succeed and the 182 fail in the ordeal of adjusting to life? Were there any common elements running through one group distinguishing it from the other group, which might explain why one group was more successful in development than the other? The family background of the children is very much the same for the two groups. The incapable children did not come in a significantly larger proportion from bad backgrounds. Our classifications showed no difference in the types of foster homes used for the two groups. The proportion of superior, good, and mediocre foster homes in which the children who proved to be incapable were placed was almost identically the same as that of the capable group. It was in the age at which the child was placed in his foster home where the most significant difference was found. Throughout our whole study it was clear that children placed when less than five years of age showed a marked superiority in development over the group older at placement. A large proportion of the younger group have proved to be competent, well-adapted, happy individuals. They are in a larger proportion law-abiding and steady. They were given a better education and had the advantage of more sympathetic and understanding care from their foster parents.

The facts considered in determining a subject's capability or incapability of managing himself and his affairs with ordinary prudence were his personal characteristics and traits and habits, his health, his occupation, his degree of self-support, school and work record, and his general reputation, and place in his family and community. These topics were carefully and separately studied, but there is no time to give a detailed report on our findings. It will have to suffice here to state that the schooling received by these foster children compares favorably with that given the children of the general population. There is no outstanding observation to report about their occupations, their health, their degree of adaptation, their habits and behavior, unless the fact that there is no outstanding observation to report is in itself significant. The majority are working steadily at the kind of jobs which keep most people busy. In so far as it was possible to tell by lay judgments, the group showed no prevalence of any special type of disease or physical defect. How these children compare with the average population we do not know. Too little is known about human beings and their development and the "average" population to tell with any exactness how this group compares with them.

It seemed to us that the human relationship which developed between individuals mattered far more than the material surroundings in which the child was placed. It is impossible to express anything so subtle as human relation-

ships in terms of statistics with any degree of mathematical accuracy. Because of this our classifications should be taken as suggestive only. About 60 per cent of the children had a satisfactory relationship with their foster parents and formed a tie which was firm and lasting. In many instances, particularly in the case of the child who was placed young, the relationship appeared to be a complete substitution for the natural parent-child relationship. For 25 per cent the relationship was temporarily satisfactory; that is, the children were reasonably contented while they were in their foster homes, and their foster parents were reasonably satisfied with them. For 15 per cent the foster home offered little more than food and shelter, and in some instances aroused in the children antagonism and a spirit of rebellion.

We pass now to the consideration of clarifying the theory and harmonizing the practice of child-placing agencies. This must start with such societies as are represented at this Conference, which realize that the science of adoption is thus far a very inexact one. Most of the theories and conclusions in this field are assumptions.

Our study as a whole, our analysis of special groups, and perhaps even more strikingly, our study of individual children, gave us the distinct impression that an immense power of growth and adaptation was shown among these 910 children. A consideration of this group gave one the sense that there are latent powers within individuals awaiting development, and that under favorable conditions these powers may be developed and directed toward accomplishment. We would not say that anything could be made of any child, but rather that there are potentialities which may be developed and directed, and that these potentialities appear to reveal themselves only under certain conditions.

Our findings and impressions should be taken as showing tendencies rather than as conclusions, for all but 150 of the group are as yet less than twenty-five years old. Nevertheless, there is unquestionably real significance in the fact that up to this time so large a proportion of the children have "made good." It is of positive value to us social workers to know that so many of these dependent children, without homes of their own, who started life seriously handicapped, have found in their foster families the close human relationships which have satisfied one of their deepest human needs. The majority of them are reasonably happy, are maintaining themselves well, and are taking in an adequate way their share of the community's work. The foster parents, according to their own testimony, have gained, and in so far as every decent, self-sustaining citizen is an asset to society, the community has gained. It seems to us that we have reason to believe that social work in behalf of these 910 children has been worth while.

THE CARE OF CHILDREN IN FOSTER HOMES

Ruth Taylor, Deputy Commissioner of Public Welfare, Westchester County, New York

An inquiry into the work of child-placing agencies seems to indicate, as to the types of children now actually receiving free or boarding-home care: first, that in some localities, and with a number of agencies, an attempt is made to furnish foster home care to every type of dependent child, no special group being selected; second, that a number of organizations and agencies now specialize in furnishing foster home care to certain types of children, often limiting their service to a highly selected group.

Our present view of the advantages of foster home care is best shown, perhaps, by our idea as to what children most need it. While we all agree that family home life is desirable for all normal, well-adjusted children, the special suitability of the method is suggested for individuals—not groups as a whole—falling within the following classifications: first, the conduct problem, including the child with anti-social or asocial traits; second, the problem of mental or emotional maladjustment, including the mental conflict case, the neurotic or psychotic child, the timid child that does not easily adjust to life with a group, the intensely individualistic child with a tendency to resist authority; third, the problem of special physical care not needing hospitalization, such as babies, certain medical cases, and cripples of certain types; fourth, the talented child and the child of superior intelligence; fifth, the child of low, dull, normal, or borderline intelligence who has not yet been given an opportunity to develop to his maximum; sixth, the neglected child and the child that has never had the experience of real home life; seventh, the child of the widower, and other children who while unable to receive physical care from their families should be separated from them as little as possible; eighth, the child needing long-time care for whom only a congregate institution is otherwise available; ninth, for permanent free home care, the orphan or other child with no chance, now or in the future, for a suitable home with his own relatives.

Moreover, I would suggest that throughout the country placing-out agencies not already doing so extend their interests to include not only the destitute children needing their services, but also the children of those above the dependency line, who now when they need boarding-home care are so often left to the mercies of well-meaning but very unskilled friends or relatives.

On the other side of the question, what children should not have foster home care? Here again, as in the whole field of child care, children must be dealt with as individuals, not as groups or types. It is not possible to state that any one type of child should not have foster home care, but merely that certain individuals should be otherwise handled. Among these may be the following: first, as in other methods of care, the child who should remain with his own family, distinctly including that family which with sufficient effort

can be made fit for him. Not for a free foster home any more than for institutional care should a child be deprived of life with his own people.

Second, there are those cases of physical ailment definitely needing hospital care. Here lie most contagious and infectious diseases, including various skin diseases, and many cases of venereal disease.

Third, there is general agreement among most placing-out agencies that the definitely feebleminded child does not belong in a foster home; he is better cared for in a special institution. This also applies to the insane child, and to most epileptic children.

Fourth, certain delinquent children, of a group as yet ill-defined. Among them are those children who are spoken of as having "criminal tendencies," the youngsters who after repeated trials in the community fail to conform; some of the chronic runaways; other children whose conduct difficulties are such that they prove a definite menace at school or at play.

Fifth, those children whose conduct or other difficulties are such that they are apt to require transfer constantly from one foster home to another, with serious injury to the child's own development and progress.

Sixth, certain children with special physical disabilities of a chronic nature, including probably certain types of crippled children, and certain blind and deaf children, at least for periods of special training.

Seventh, possibly an occasional child whose emotional problem or makeup is such that he is helped to adjust by group life and institution régime and discipline, or by a certain sense of security and protection the institution's size or very walls afford.

Eighth, and lastly, those children who need especial protection from their own parents or from publicity or notoriety in a court or other case.

We know now that the placing of children in foster homes is a much more delicate, skilled task than its earliest supporters thought it was. What do we today consider the danger points, the greatest disadvantages, and the practical limitations of the foster home method? Common to the institution method, but perhaps more inexcusable in the family home field, where a placing-out system exists, we face the danger of the use of the foster home as the line of least resistance, when the child's own home could and should be maintained.

Akin to this danger of the too easy separation of a child from his family, is the danger that after a necessary separation the agency grows to think of the child too much as apart from his family. This, of course, is common to the institution method. Probably the most clearly recognized and often discussed danger points in the whole field of foster home work are those of inadequate investigation, study, and classification of homes before using—we often seem to know our children so much better than our homes—and of inadequate, untrained, and insufficient supervision. The poorly investigated foster home, the haphazard placement, and the unequipped, overworked visiting agent are still doing much to deprive children of the opportunity for family home life.

Lastly, and more serious than all the danger points in this method of work when used by our most conscientious and scientific agencies, is the ease with which this method of child care may be taken up and used by individuals and agencies with no knowledge or equipment whatever. To place a child in an institution, at least an institution must exist; to place out a baby in a foster home only a newspaper advertisement and an oral or written offer of a home is sometimes needed.

What do child-placing agencies consider among the greatest problems facing them today? There is no unanimity among them, but certain answers stand out frequently enough to be worth noting. The early claim of the child-placing advocates, that it would be easy to find good family homes for all needy children has not proved true; a great problem facing most child-placing agencies today is to find enough good foster homes and enough good foster parents. This is especially true since the use of the boarding-home for special problem cases has been developed. Some agencies now face the need of maintaining ready for use at all times homes for all kinds of special physical and mental needs, for children from courts and hospitals, for children of both sexes and various religious faiths. As our work grows finer and more discriminating, good homes grow harder to find. It is possible that this difficulty will be somewhat met by a greater appreciation of the really professional services a good boarding-mother renders, and hence a more adequate money return for those services.

There is constant need for more well-trained workers in this field, workers with training not only in caring for children away from their families but in keeping them with their families or returning them to rehabilitated homes. There is great need for better salaries for straight case workers, so that people trained in this field may be enabled to remain in it.

There is continued need for the education of the general public to an understanding and appreciation of this method of child care. This is necessary in order to secure more offers of the higher grade type of home, to secure additional funds with which to pay higher salaries and higher rates of board, to discourage the building of the large and obsolete type of institution, and to make it less possible for agencies and individuals to do poor grade work in this field.

Among more local problems, we should mention the need for further study as to the best working relationship of the functions of home finding and supervision; the problem of the concentration of homes in a small area; in places, the hostile attitude of public schools and the general community toward the placed-out child, especially the problem case.

More fundamental than all, we need in this field as in other fields of social welfare, more scientific research into the entire question, that we may know a little better how truly we are working, and therefore what our future efforts should be.

THE CARE OF CHILDREN IN INSTITUTIONS

Elsa Ueland, President, Carson College for Orphan Girls, Flourtown, Pa.

Traditional standards of child care in institutions, as debated and urged by committees and conferences, have been largely custodial and material standards. But today, we are more and more evaluating our work in terms of non-material and teaching standards. We are thinking less of our front lawns and bronze gateways—thinking less even of our standards of infirmary equipment—and more of the subtler, non-material, emotional needs of children. And these fundamental needs are the same for all children, rich or poor, handicapped or favored, normal or defective. So that we are considering all kinds of institutions and all kinds of homes for all kinds of children. Once recognizing children's needs, our work is measured and evaluated by the degree to which those needs are met.

A similar change in emphasis is apparent also in child-placing work. Our mental hygiene friends no longer let us rest content with the "perfect home" of the real estate agent. That is obvious. The same is true of institutions. The most perfect accounting system, the newest fire-escape, a clean towel every day, even a fine gymnasium, do not mean that conditions are right for the children living there. For today we are increasingly realizing that children do not live by bread alone.

There are three great inclusive fundamental needs of children. They are all obvious, all platitudinous, and all violated by scores of institutions. The first is a need for home, which means to the child, security and rest and special understanding; which means for him an emotional "center of gravity." Every child first of all must have a chance to be rooted in the living warm affection of a person who is "mother" or who takes the place of "mother"; rooted also in a place that, peculiarly to himself, is a background that feels right. Perhaps a child is "rooted" in his own family, but needs temporary care. In this case the institution called upon should aim to supply what a good camp or good boarding-school gives to children who are better off. But it must not destroy the roots which are the foundation of that child's healthy life. It must not destroy for the boy or girl the meaning and value of the family he has.

The second great fundamental need of children is for success; for a measure of real success in their interests and activities outside the family as well as within the circle of the home. We all know children who are silent and day-dreaming, or who are embittered, or fearful, or sneaky, or bullying. They are all children who do not know success. They have not experienced the glow and self-respect which comes from accomplishment recognized by their peers.

The third fundamental need or right of children, is for a measure of experience in the world as it is. Children need experience with money, real money; with neighbors, friends, community life. Orphanage or dependency in itself

is sufficiently abnormal. Children with this background, all the more need normal activities, normal interests, normal experiences, in the world as it is. Children learn by living, and by living today. Let us not measure our work in terms of preparing to get ready to begin.

"Shall this child be sent to an institution, or shall he be placed in a foster home?" It is an ever recurring question which must be decided over and over again by social workers in the children's field. What generalizations as to policy can help us decide wisely? Miss Taylor has given with clarity and precision the ever widening scope of foster home service, showing how, with discrimination, such special problems can be met and solved, that the question of this audience must be: "What is the place of the institution, if any? What service can an institution perform, if any, with any advantage over a foster home?"

There is at least one kind of generalization we will not make, and I hope we shall cease to hear it at future conferences on social work. This is the type of statement, too often repeated, that "high-grade children should be sent to foster homes, and low-grade children to institutions"; or "normal children should be placed in foster homes and abnormal children sent to institutions." Sometimes we hear the obverse: "Only normal children should be placed in institutions; difficult children should be placed in foster homes." All of these statements are fallacious and misguiding because undiscriminating.

Two generalizations can be made, however, the first bearing upon the limitations of group living from the point of view of the individual who is too different; and the second bearing upon certain advantages in group living from the point of view of group spirit.

Children who, in physical and nervous endowment, are too different (not a little different but too different) from the group, should not be subjected to too close group living. This does not apply to most behavior difficulties; because most "badnesses" are due to children's warped experiences, not to lacks in physical and nervous endowment. These unfortunate patterns of behavior have been learned and they can be unlearned—or rather new and better ways of behaving can be found and made habitual. But a child threatened with St. Vitus' Dance, for example, has a better chance in the less stimulating atmosphere of a small home without other children near his own age, than even in the smallest cottage home provided by an institution. His actual nervous strength is too limited to stand the competition of other children.

Similarly a child may be by mental endowment too different from the group, too far below its average perhaps, for group living to be advantageous. It is true that good teaching and a fine school spirit should make it possible for children widely differing in background and ability and interests, to work and play together so that all gain by the experience. But there is a point beyond which a child seems to be too different.

On the other hand, there are educational opportunities wherever children who can take some real part in group life are gathered together; and wherever

their activities are stimulated and somewhat understood by a teaching spirit. Children learn from each other. They catch the attitudes of their fellows almost unconsciously. We all know what a fine summer camp can do for a temperamentally difficult boy or girl. Children's notions disappear when they are eating and working and playing with other children. Neurotic children, spoiled children, and this often means children with tempers and tantrums, often gain poise and sanity more easily and quickly through group living with other children very close, than they could from a foster home with fewer possibilities for a contagious fine group spirit. These two generalizations bearing upon institution or foster home placement may contribute something to discriminating decision.

But the answer to the recurrent question: "Where shall this particular child be placed?" is another question! "What does he need most?" And the three fundamental non-material needs outlined above should all be kept in mind as each youngster's problem is being thought out.

First, has he already a real home background in which his growth can be permanently rooted, so that what must be found is temporary care and a situation that will be sympathetic to the family he has? Or do circumstances call for permanent transplanting? If the latter, let us bear in mind that no mere "good school" or mere "good institution" (so called because material needs are efficiently met) will meet this first fundamental need of the boy or girl in question. There must be a person reasonably permanent who can take the place of mother, and a place, also reasonably permanent, that actually feels like home.

Second, where can he find a measure of success in his interests and activities? And if we keep this essential need of every boy and girl in mind, we will be helped not to add to the school failures and work failures and social failures constantly in our outer offices.

Third, where can he find sufficient actual experience in the world as it is, and as he will find it in his maturity, so that he can easily be a normal helpful member of his own community, not too queer, or marked, or set apart from his fellows? And consideration of this right or need of every boy and girl will keep us from placing active temperaments within convent-like walls; of placing gregarious and social children on too remote and lonely farms.

Platitudinous they may be, but these three non-material standards will help us to think with discrimination in regard to every child who must be placed. They are also standards to repair to in our own work of institution planning and administration. Whether there is a place or no for institutions in the future perfect social state, is not the question for discussion here. Institutions exist and will exist for years, by the score and by the hundred. But if we re-evaluate our work in terms of these fundamental needs of children, we will be helped not to warp and limit human lives; but to use our institutional resources increasingly, whether as homes or as laboratories or as special schools, to make better children's lives.

THE PROPER RELATIONSHIP OF AGENCIES DEALING WITH CHILDREN

SPECIALIZATION IN CHILD WELFARE CASE WORK

Alfred T. Whitman, Secretary, Children's Aid Society, Boston

Miss Richmond in one of her chapters in "What Is Social Case Work?" quotes the following: "Sainte Beuve tells of the surgeon in the time of Louis XIV who once said to his chancellor that he wished to see an impassable wall of separation erected between surgery and medicine. The chancellor replied, 'But, Monsieur, on which side of the wall will you place the patient?' "

Those of you who are on the staff of a family welfare or child welfare society will recognize the Toronto revision of the French chancellor's question which I may state thus: "Will the disadvantaged child get better treatment when case work is done by a child-caring agency than it would if such service were rendered by a family welfare organization performing all the miscellaneous services needed by various members of the family?"

The question is not altogether academic and is being raised in a number of communities in the country where the combination of services exists, and in others where it is contemplated. In some cities there never has been a separation, while in others combinations have been effected after a period of separate operation.

There are various ways and degrees in which the two forms of work may be combined. At one extreme is the family welfare society in which all sorts of tasks are assigned to one worker, and at the other end is the family welfare society in which there is a separate department for child care with control of its own policies, with its own staff, trained supervisor, and advisory committee.

Child care does not consist in the placing of a number of dependent children in institutions or in family homes, the supply of which is fairly regular or easily secured. It is not a cold-storage to be used on short notice as an adjunct or convenience to some other plan for a family, but is a technical field so highly specialized that in some instances a worker will spend several weeks trying to find just the right home for a difficult boy, and many full days and nights in close succession in trying to keep him in it. The child-workers in this meeting know that it is not possible to keep on tap a supply of homes, and also know how difficult and at the same time how necessary it is to fit the home to the child, rather than the child to the home.

Specialized service must be rendered by specialized agencies. A worker from either of the two fields under consideration ought to be enough of a general practitioner and diagnostician to recognize that there is need of a particular service which can be rendered by a specialist whom she will summon. Social work is becoming more and more varied. There is no inference that the family welfare work is not as specialized and subtle as children's work. In fact it may

be more so. If so, is not this fact, coupled with similar specialization in the children's field, good reason for keeping the two separate?

Before considering other reasons that have been advanced on either side of this question, I suggest that it is a healthy challenge for us, especially the child welfare workers, to ask ourselves this question: "To what extent is a separate operation to which we have been accustomed merely traditional or accidental, and how far in our convictions are we merely selfishly defending the régime under which we have learned social work and into which we have snugly fitted ourselves?"

It has been pointed out by those in favor of the joining of the work that under one organization there would be a greater smoothness in the operation of the whole plan; that if it were necessary to remove a child temporarily, the stage would be set for a continuous, quick, intelligent service to the family preparatory to his return. Careful supervision would be given after his return, and possibly the right case work by a family agency prior to the point at which he was taken might have rendered such removal unnecessary. If the work of a general family welfare organization (and note that I make a distinction between general family work, of which I think child welfare work is a part, and particular family work), if such work were organized so that one worker could continue the problem, the above continuity would be secured; but in all probability it would not be possible to have the matter in the hands of one worker.

It is also contended that many things needed by the child or family will be rendered by the family welfare society, needs that might not be recognized by the child-worker. While the children's aid workers are expected to see all needs of the family, I am afraid many which would be recognized by the family welfare worker are overlooked. On the other hand, it is more than likely that the family welfare worker would overlook some of the needs of the individual child. The honors are therefore easy. There is no doubt at present a lack of complete co-ordination and many things fall through the cracks of our scaffolding.

I believe there is justification for combining the public work under one general department with each sub-department properly organized for its specialty. Proper organization within the department, and steering devices will eliminate the confusion that may arise in the mind of the citizen or official.

It is said that to subject a family to frequent change of visitor is not good and would be eliminated if one worker did the family welfare and the child welfare work. Very true. But not necessarily a virtue. While there is no uniformity among the children's societies it is my belief that the two kinds of work common to most of them are so different in character that a higher grade and larger volume of work is turned out when one worker does one kind only.

If the general family work were organized in one society I suspect that it would not be long before there would be irresistible recommendation that all investigation, whether for family problems or for conduct problems of children,

be done in one department. To those interested in dollar economy this would have certain earmarks of efficiency but it operates against continuity of service, for which the family workers contend, and does not follow the right alignment, if a division must be made.

The secretary in one city tells me that concentration of all case work within the family welfare organization has been urged by the Council of Social Agencies, and the Financial Federation, the theory with them being that case work is essentially the same no matter what the approach. The tendency has been to reduce the number of agencies rather than to organize new ones.

Is it not significant in this statement that all kinds of case work are considered the same, and does not belief in this suggest the probability that the finer and more subtle points of social work may be lost sight of? Even if a worker is trained in several kinds of work she will find it difficult to do several kinds at the same time.

Social work should be constantly educating. In our children's field, we in the East and many of the organizations in other parts of the country are believing more and more strongly that boarding-home care is the best treatment for the disadvantaged child whether she be dependent or of the problem type. It is being found very difficult to convince the people of the land that this is the best plan. The psychological appeal of the large plant with its splendid equipment has a powerful grip on this country, to such an extent that it is very difficult to give many intelligent people a real conception of what the family treatment in children's work means.

An organization can champion one issue with far greater chance of success than it can a variety. Because of its case work experience it speaks as one having authority. In addition to a decisive stand for the placing-out plan, children's societies have successfully crusaded in behalf of preventive health work and for the elimination of houses of detention for delinquent children.

Social work will frequently be beset with the urge from those who see its mechanics and who do not understand its spirit, its objectives, and its methods, to turn away from social specialization or in any event to follow a form of organization which operates against specialization. Such people will be interested in the refinements of administration. They may be board members, contributors, and more than likely the pressure may come from a budget committee of financial federation, members of which in some cities have already shown this tendency. In child welfare work as in all social work, it is not always good economy to save dollars. Social work cannot be produced in efficiency units. Business control wants quantity and has less interest in quality. It preaches fabrication rather than craftsmanship. It will never see that the case of a child or any difficult social problem is a retail job rather than wholesale.

In Indianapolis, where several kinds of work are combined in the family welfare organization, I am told that two whole departments have been suspended because the drive of the community chest did not yield enough money

for the organization to support all of its work. I suspect that had these departments been operating separately a way would have been found to keep them going even at a reduced budget.

As a matter of fact is there in any community any serious difficulty in the co-ordination of the two fields? While here and there there may be loss of speed or a few squeaks of the dry machinery, is not the general experience like that of one large federation city from which the family welfare secretary wrote me that the relations were so close and cordial that no controversy or difficulty arises? Because we are bound to believe that it would not be tolerated over a period of years if it were not efficient, is not co-operation, worked out so well in a city dominated by strong federation, a pretty good index of the efficiency of the plan? Here may I suggest that in cities where there is a financial federation or council of social agencies, surely in a city having the latter, there is no excuse for improper functioning of the work of the two fields. The council of social agencies, without forcing the two to combine, will see to it that there is a proper allocation of function.

It would be dogmatic for one giving a paper in this Conference to prescribe for cities which he has never seen nor studied, for what may work in one community cannot be worked in another. There are all sorts of local conditions to be met. In some communities it might be that no worth-while children's work would be done if it were not carried on by an organization which specializes in some other form of work. Speaking generally I should say that it might be the function of the family welfare society to undertake this work for a while, but with a genuine intention to organize a separate group in the community to do it as soon as the work and the community and the financial support will justify.

While I recognize that to some extent I am defending separation because it is with me a *status quo*, I believe that social work is a profession, and as a service to children and families, will be served best if we arrange our task in such a way that we encourage specialization, pioneering, and the subtle phases of it which come from careful intensive treatment, and that it can be done most effectively through separate organizations.

THE NEXT STEPS IN THE WORK OF CHILD PROTECTION

C. C. Carstens, Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York

Origin of the movement.—The early history of the children's protective movement is more than usually worth noting, because it gave a trend to its development which has not been materially changed with the passage of time and the changing social conditions.

The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which was the first of that group of agencies to be organized, built its program of child protection upon the analogy of similarity with the work in the protection of

animals, for its proponents and incorporators were prominent, or at least interested, in the earlier society of a similar name for animals. Soon a considerable number of children's societies of a similar name were organized in other states and cities, mostly in the East, but where humane societies already existed it was natural that the protection of children should be added to the program of these agencies which already had the protection of animals as the principal part of their work. This combination of functions in one society was perhaps entirely logical so long as the punishment of the offender was the principal aim, both in child and animal protection. The analogy between these two services perhaps might be carried one step farther, for if the cruelty were serious the child or animal must be removed from his previous custodians, and if either were physically hurt must have proper medical care. But beyond this the analogy cannot be made to go, and we at once recognize that in view of the modern developments in child care it does not go very far.

This combination of interests in humane societies through which formal child protection has been principally expressed has therefore been most unfortunate. While at the beginning these interests were in some measure parallel they are now wholly divergent unless their programs shall continue to be built upon the old analogy.

The development of the movement.—There is a limited group of vigorous children's protective agencies, but the humane movement as a whole is in a strange situation at the present time. By adding to their earlier programs the field of child protection, the humane societies which make up the largest group in the movement obtained a new impetus and new supporters, often men and women of the greatest philanthropic interest of their respective communities. With enthusiasm in many places much active work in child protection was undertaken. But with the new emphasis and the modern methods in children's work which came in the last decade of the nineteenth century and particularly in the first two decades of the twentieth, these societies did not keep pace. In a few instances only have they been leaders in their respective communities in the general development of a program of child protection and care; generally they have been followers, and often they have stood still.

Meanwhile children's protective work has not been waiting entirely upon a hope for stimulation into activity of a national children's protective movement to be brought about either by galvanizing the programs of the older agencies into new life, or by starting new children's protective societies. Much children's protective work has been undertaken by the other agencies which had mostly been started since the children's protective agencies were first organized, and this work has become more or less a formal and recognized part of the programs of these agencies. The work is being done in a variety of ways:

First, in many communities children's aid or children's home societies have undertaken children's protective work, often because the children's protective agency could not be depended upon to undertake it, or if it could, it would be a

"case-grabber" and not be willing to "play the game" in which each organization would have its part in a well-thought-out program in behalf of the family; sometimes because no children's protective work was organized in that area, and the children's aid was thought to include the children's protective function.

Second, juvenile protective societies have gotten under way in some cities because the children's protective work in at least some of those communities did not extend its programs to include newer menaces to children, and they have in large measure supplanted the older children's protective work in those cities. The most flagrant and most complicated cases in child protection are doubtless those involving assault or rape of young girls and sex practices of or upon young children of either sex. A few communities of the United States have equipped themselves with suitable police and court personnel for these cases, and besides are having their laws so wisely administered that not only the culprits' rights are safeguarded but also the young prosecuting witnesses are protected from humiliation and degradation. All too frequently still the man in a rape case "gets off easily," but the young girl has lost the last shreds of modesty when the case is over. Or else the prosecution is not attempted because of fear of just these consequences. The children's protective work of this nature is on the whole badly done, and mostly for the reason that the punishment of the offender has been the principal consideration and not the safety and well-being of the child. Juvenile protective associations have called attention to a need of protection in these cases and have rendered valuable assistance.

Third, in other places the family welfare society, instead of turning to the humane society which it has tried and found wanting, would undertake family reconstruction and court work itself in cases that it is advantageous to turn over to a children's protective agency when it has a skilled staff.

Fourth, the juvenile court has become the active children's protective agency, even where there is a humane society. The children's protective functions of a juvenile court are inherent in its very structure and organization. In many instances it is doubtless the best instrument to use, and in flagrant instances family reconstruction and child protection are impossible without recourse to some court. There are, however, many instances in which child life is menaced which would either not be reported to a court or which can be adjusted best without a court being drawn in. It is the experience of active children's agencies that to every case requiring court intervention there are four or five that had best not go to court at all.

Fifth, there have also come into existence services which are in the nature of supplements and enrichments of the programs of children's protective societies rather than their substitutes. I refer to the health and recreation agencies. These play a very large part in children's protection in all of our communities, for they may be both preventive and remedial.

Health agencies, public and private, have saved the lives of untold thousands. Likewise, recreation agencies, through group and character-building

service, save many thousands from degraded lives because they have provided normal interests that are educational, stimulating, and protective.

Noticeable tendencies of the present.—In this unsatisfactory stage of the children's protective movement there are certain noticeable trends:

First, the children's protective and children's aid functions are being combined under one society, as for example the Cleveland Humane Society, the Buffalo Children's Aid and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children of Erie County, the New Hampshire Children's Aid and Protective Society, the Minneapolis Children's Protective Society, etc. The last was organized out of a combination of the children's department of the humane society and a juvenile protective society.

Second, public departments have been given the power and to some extent the equipment to take over the whole of the children's protective service, as for example, the provincial boards of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba, county child welfare boards of Minnesota, the county boards of public welfare of North Carolina, State Board of Children's Guardians of West Virginia, the Board of Children's Guardians of the District of Columbia, and the county boards of children's guardians of Indiana, etc. In many parts of these states the service is yet quite undeveloped.

Third, juvenile courts have assumed to provide the service both in investigation of complaints and in taking the necessary action, either with or without the use of the court. This service is widespread, but it is "spread thin" and well organized in a few places only.

Fourth, new agencies for child protection have been organized, such as juvenile protective agencies in various cities, that combine the rooting out of bad conditions with the protection of children. An increase in this group may be looked for.

Fifth, the assumption, by agencies having other purposes, of the functions of a children's protective agency without equipping themselves specifically for that purpose, is also observed. Usually this work is incidental to case problems that come up in the regular part of their program, and because of lack of any children's protective agency or any effective work by an existing one, it undertakes the work itself.

Children's aid or children's home societies are most numerous in this group. Inevitably their agents become familiar with the laws relating to children and they render more or less expert service in the children's field. But family welfare societies, health agencies, relief societies, and many other kinds of agencies, and even settlements in flagrant situations take the initiative, largely because the situation is serious, the work needs to be done, and there is no one else to do it.

This raises the question inevitably in many communities whether perhaps it would not be well to have each social agency finding a children's protective task to undertake it instead of turning it over to a specialized agency. This is

now the case in some communities where neglect problems come up, especially when they are not very flagrant. Are these agencies satisfied with the results they have attained? Or does it require special skill to sift and marshal evidence, to use the technicalities of the law for a social purpose, to use the knowledge of the domestic relations and children's laws for disciplining neglectful parents and stiffening the fiber of the home life of neglectful families without recourse to court? These questions can be answered as easily by the citizen who is not a social worker or by the social worker who is not a children's protective worker as by the one that is.

A program for the future.—First we are going to assume that there is a special children's protective function, with not much fear of finding it eliminated in the near future.

Second, the combination of children's protective and animal protective work is not economical because it is not effective. The same agents cannot do both well. The functions should be separated.

Third, the humane society should devote its energies to its older program, namely, animal protection. The members of the board of directors rarely are interested in children's work. Animal protection has a separate clientèle and generally obtains ample support.

Fourth, in all but the largest cities the children's work of a humane society should be combined with the work of any other children's agency serving children in their own homes, and this agency might well be called a Children's Aid and Protective Society, so that it may be descriptive of both functions and may add friends of both services to its clientèle.

Fifth, in cities of a half-million or more population the work of a children's protective society is likely to be so extensive as to make a combination with a children's aid society unwise. Either one is likely to be an economical unit of service in itself.

Sixth, the services of both are not incompatible. They supplement each other well. The disadvantages which at an earlier stage were believed to arise when court prosecution and children's placement work were combined have in practice not been found to exist in large enough measure to count.

Seventh, every city, county, and state will in the proper development of its service for children require a public agency that shall serve them, as far as these services cannot be provided for by the various private agencies.

Eighth, the children's protective function is a fundamental public service toward its children, and each community should equip itself to serve such as are not properly cared for by their own families or by other agencies. This can be done best through state children's bureaus and county or city units coordinate with it.

Ninth, the relationship of such a public agency toward a private children's protective society is the same as that of a public child-caring agency toward a private children's aid society. The private agency can more easily become an

educational, experimental, and flexible agency in its work. The public agency for all the children of the area will be able to render such service as has been recognized as needful by the community.

Tenth, the community in its private capacity is constantly discovering possible new services in child protection which the private agency may try out. It should also seek by educational work to make a community sensitive to all of the needs of its children. And as a fearless but friendly critic it also has work of great importance.

Eleventh, the private children's protective agency should not be deprived of an opportunity to serve the court in cases it may undertake; otherwise much of its usefulness is gone. It should, however, in general, attempt to take up the earlier, less flagrant, and more hopeful cases in the protection of children. The juvenile court is an important adjunct in child protection, but all of the services of a children's protective agency cannot advantageously be left to the court.

Twelfth, a children's protective agency, whether public or private, must so co-ordinate its work with the other social agencies of a community that it can take advantage of the valuable lessons that have been learned in psychiatry and psychology, preventive medicine, habit clinics, adaptive placement, and family rehabilitation, and while finding its special place in the community's plan utilize the many other agencies in the complete protection of children.

INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDREN—THEIR RELATION TO OTHER AGENCIES

Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, Director, Division of Children, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York

Our homes are only substitutes for the medium of care instituted by God—a child's own family. They are established to care for little ones whose families have been broken by death, disease, sin or misfortune. . . . . Children should be admitted to them only after it has been clearly proven that they cannot be properly cared for in their own homes.

These words of the *Program for Catholic Child-Caring Homes*, formulated by the sisterhoods of the United States, trace a very definite connection between the child-caring institution and the various influences in the world about us which make for the upbuilding or the breaking down of family life.

But a few decades ago, child-caring institutions were regarded as self-sufficient entities, the activities of which were circumscribed almost entirely by their walls. With the broadening concept of child welfare, however, the modern child-caring institution has come to realize that its work is very closely connected with the work of other social agencies, and that to do full justice to the children under its care, it must secure the co-operation of these agencies.

It is no longer considered a thing set apart, but rather as an integral part of a closely knit system of charitable works intended to prevent and relieve distress, and to encourage the development of the individuals and families who go to make up society.

The *Program for Catholic Child-Caring Homes*—a publication which sets practical standards for every department of child-caring institution—in stating the primary principles governing the admission of children says:

> No one can dispute that the best guardians and moulders of a child's life are its own parents when faithful in their duties. . . . . We should, therefore, make every effort to keep children in their own homes when these are normal and happy or when they can be made so by financial assistance or efficient family welfare work. Therefore, before accepting a child, every child-caring home should require a thorough study of family conditions.
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> The investigation should be undertaken with a view to finding out what is necessary to build up the family life. Where conditions can be improved by the rendering of material assistance, employment or medical service, these should be supplied.

When, however, it becomes evident that the best interests of the child require separation from his home, at least temporarily, then the application for admission should be accompanied with the full facts as to the history and condition of the parents and relatives, and the school, health, and religious record of the child.

The *Program* goes on to state that while the child is in the institution, an effort should be made to help the family to rehabilitate itself so that the child may return home as soon as possible. A case should not be closed when the child is admitted. Periodical visitation of the parents and relatives, and the tender of advice and assistance will serve to prevent a permanent severing of the tie between them and their children, and will make them realize that they have not been freed from responsibility.

Some institutions, realizing the need of this process of investigation and rehabilitation, have employed a special worker to look into all applications. In communities where social work has not been developed, this may be the only practical solution of the problem. But in cities where there are many institutions, the hiring of workers by each institution results in duplication of work for cases applying to more than one, and in loss of time and inefficiency for both applicants and social agencies.

Wherever possible, therefore, a third method of dealing with admissions should be adopted. All applications for foster care, whether institutional or in families, should be made to a family welfare agency, and the children's bureau, agency, or institution should consider only those cases which have been approved by the family agency. This is the course of action followed by the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York. Every application for child care coming to this organization or to individual institutions is referred to the Family Division. The workers of that division go out from the central office or from one of the eleven district offices to study the application as a family problem. Every effort is made to make the child's own home a fit place for him. It is

only when the efforts of these family workers have failed that arrangements for foster care are made by the Children's Division acting as a central office for all Catholic child-caring institutions and agencies. This division, on the basis of the facts submitted, arranges with the proper agency for boarding or permanent family care, or secures admission to a child-caring institution. The Family Division still keeps the case open and continues to work for the rehabilitation of the home and the restoration of the child.

Since the welfare of children is so intimately connected with the welfare of their families, the progressive child-caring institution has a very real interest in all agencies established to preserve family life and keep children with worthy parents. It is interested in the establishment of proper temporary shelters and boarding-homes where children may be cared for in an emergency and then returned to their family as soon as the emergency has passed. It is interested in properly conducted day nurseries which make it possible for a deserted wife or husband, and for widows or widowers to keep together their own homes and to enjoy the companionship of their children. And it is interested, moreover, in the provision and administration of public mothers' allowances intended to provide adequately for the support of children with their needy mothers. After the admission of the child, the modern superintendent will find that its proper care involves active co-operation with many agencies.

Agencies.—The attending physician is responsible for the initial examination and the regular re-examination and treatment of the children. Many child-caring homes, however, have reaped great benefits from periodical examinations given by the public health authorities. Public health officials can do much to aid the work of an institution by tactful inspection and suggestion concerning matters of hygiene and sanitation; by the provision of such tests as those of Wasserman and Schick and the treatment following thereafter. The modern institution also makes use of the hospitals of the community for children suffering from contagious diseases, for the observation and diagnosis of illnesses which puzzle the attending physician, and for operations for such ailments as appendicitis or diseased tonsils and adenoids. It can promote health education by inviting lecturers on general and special health topics, and showing motion pictures which illustrate their talks.

Without exploiting the children committed to its care, the institution offers a field for important research work on the health of children. In recent years Catholic institutions have co-operated in expert studies on diets, posture, heights and weights, and orthopedic defects. It is important to have a contact with a specialist or a clinic for the treatment of nervous and mental disorders. Since the establishment of the Catholic Charities Mental Clinic two years ago, many troublesome cases applying to our institutions or already admitted have been examined and treated, and the plans for their future worked out through conferences of the director of the Mental Clinic with the superintendent of the institution and the visitors of Catholic Charities.

Educational agencies.—A number of the children coming to institutions are retarded in school because of parental neglect or adverse home conditions. Their minds and wills need the very best training that an educational system can offer. Hence the school work of the institution ought to be in constant touch with the best developments in the field of education. Some provide for this by securing teachers from the public school system who carry into the institution the progressive achievements of other schools in the community. Others seek the same end by sending their children out to neighboring public or parochial schools, and others still by sending the older children to the high school of the community.

If the institution conducts its own school, the curriculum laid down by the state department of education should be followed diligently, and the grade examinations prepared by the state should be given. This makes it necessary for the teacher to cover the prescribed subjects in a careful manner and gives to the children the assurance that their training is on a par with that received by children in other schools. Where the institution is located close to or within a city, it is very helpful to have the children visit neighboring libraries and museums or listen to lecturers provided by the city department of education.

As in health work, so in educational work, an institution is specially fitted to try out various methods of instruction and to carefully observe the results. Recently, very interesting results have been obtained by the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society at Pleasantville, following the introduction of the new Dalton system of education, a system which seeks to promote individual instruction and to encourage progress according to ability. A psychological study made of the grading of the children of this institution also affords abundant material for reflection.

Recreational agencies.—The resourceful superintendent finds many opportunities for his children to take part in the social life of the community. The organization of Girl Scout and Boy Scout troops under the leadership of visiting captains and scout masters, the participation of the band, and the other children in parades and public ceremonies, the visiting of city theaters and the circus, and competitions in baseball and track athletics with other institutions or schools, all go to build up the spirit of the home and to bring the children into contact with the outside world.

Legal contacts.—Most institutions recognize the necessity of securing the legal custody of children accepted from unstable and neglectful parents. It is not fair to ask all such parents for a complete surrender of their children, as is done in some places. The very hope of having them again is an incentive to rehabilitate their homes. To remove this incentive wipes out the hope. On the other hand, it is with a sore heart that many superintendents are forced to return children to unfit parents merely because arrangements were made privately with the parents, and the institution has no legal hold on the children.

Commitment of such neglected children by a children's court removes this danger, and makes it necessary for the parents to prove their fitness before receiving their children again. No unfair barrier can be raised against these parents if the law provides, as in New York State, that they can at any time ask for a hearing before the children's court to request the return of their children. The commitment papers received from courts and public departments should be accompanied by the social, school, religious, and physical history.

The laws of various states differ in their provisions for the supervision of children's institutions by state authorities. The state has a responsibility to see that the children within its borders, especially the dependent children, are properly cared for. In New York State, the law very wisely provides that every charitable or correctional institution or agency accepting a child must report that fact to the State Board of Charities, together with such further information as the board may require. It is further provided that all commitments of children by courts or public officials must be made to an authorized agency or institution, that is, one submitting to the approval, visitation, inspection, and supervision of the State Board of Charities. In addition, this authorized agency must be under the control of persons of the same religious faith as the child.

Children's agencies.—Few contacts are more important to the institution than its contacts with children's agencies. Recognizing the advantages of permanent care in a good foster family, the superintendent should periodically go over his records to ascertain who are eligible for placing out. Not infrequently, the observant superintendent will also find children who would thrive much better in a specially adapted boarding home.

Child-placing is a serious task, requiring painstaking and conscientious work continued over many years. If possible, therefore, the services of a competent child-placing agency should be secured for this work. When a case is referred to it, definite information should also be forwarded concerning the child's family history, and his school, health, and religious record, both before coming to the institution and during his stay there. No child should be referred for permanent placement unless such action has been definitely authorized either by the courts or through a voluntary surrender by the parents under the existing laws of the state.

However earnest the efforts of the institution at the time of admission and during the child's stay, they may still result in failure unless provision is made for competent after-care. Every conscientious superintendent must see to it that before children leave the home, the family conditions into which they are to go have been thoroughly investigated, and that afterward supervision and visitation is kept up for two or three years or until the child is well established in his new home. Only too often have boys and girls been released to uncles and aunts who tired of them within a few months and then sent them adrift into the

dangers which beset the way of the unguarded. The lack of proper after-care in years gone by was responsible more than anything else for the sad occurrences which have helped to give many false impressions of institutional care.

The adolescent period is one of danger and likewise one of opportunity. Child-placing agencies have been accustomed to redouble their efforts during this stage of the child's career. The institution must also follow up its children in a practical, systematic manner. A mere perfunctory visit or letter is of little avail. Thorough after-care includes periodical visitation, assistance in time of unemployment or sickness, encouragement to take up courses of study, the inculcation of thrift and ambition, and contacts with employment bureaus, medical and dental clinics, and decent boarding places.

The resources, location, and size of each home will determine what means are to be used for this after-care work. Where there are several homes in a district it may be more practicable to have one central after-care agency for several institutions, as we have in the Archdiocese of New York. Otherwise this work ought to be intrusted to special workers or to social agencies in nearby communities.

To summarize, let me say that the modern institution for children cannot rightfully be isolated from other social agencies. In planning for its own development and in deciding on admissions and discharges, it needs the co-operation of courts, public departments, and private social agencies. In its care of the child it does well to utilize the health, the educational, and the social resources of the community. No good can come from distrust or bickering. Only by an intelligent and sympathetic spirit of co-operation on the part of both social agencies and children's institutions can full justice and service be secured for the children and their families.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS RELATED TO ILLEGITIMACY

SAFEGUARDING ADOPTIONS, LEGALLY AND SOCIALLY

A. H. Stoneman, Superintendent, Michigan Children's Aid Society, Lansing

In the field of child placing it is emphatically true that the foolish and incompetent rush in where the wiser and more competent hesitate to tread. For some years there has been accumulating among social agencies the conviction that adoption work must be put on a higher plane; that the policy in regard to adoptions should have as much scientific basis for control as any other phase of social welfare activity—yes, even more perhaps than any other, because its results are so permanent in their nature and its mistakes so irretrievable.

Our consideration of the subject at this time will be directed along three lines, under three sub-topics, as follows: first, the rectification of public senti-

ment on the matter of adoption; second, standardizing progressively upward the state laws affecting adoptions; third, clarifying the theory and harmonizing the practice of child-placing agencies in their adoption work.

First, then, we are to consider the importance of building up right public sentiment on the subject of adoption. Until a sane view of this subject is taken by the public, better laws of the state will be difficult to make effective and child-placing agencies with high ideals will work at an almost hopeless disadvantage.

A significant fact in this connection is that agencies can be regulated much more easily in their giving and receiving children for adoption than can individuals. It is a practicable undertaking to control the character of home used for placing a child, and the quality of the child offered for adoption, where the state is dealing with corporations, institutions, and other agencies. Far more difficult is it to prevent private individuals from unwisely giving away or unwisely receiving for adoption some particular child in which they are personally interested. Emotional sentiment enters in and crowds out the applications of principles. Inasmuch then as a very large proportion of the giving and taking of children for adoption is done by individuals outside of the standardized agencies, the necessity of educating the public on this matter is evident.

Again, since a large percentage of adoptions are of children of illegitimate parentage, and since this situation gives the greatest incentive to hurry-up procedure, to conceal the facts, and to act under the stress of emotion, it is of superlative importance that the public be forewarned.

There is no homeless child, no matter how bad his family history, but that some good man and woman will take him into their home and make him joint heir with their natural children without any question of future developments, if a certain sort of emotional appeal is sent out. What children's agencies need to realize is that an equally strong emotional appeal can be presented on behalf of right homefinding methods. Innumerable stories have been written and printed telling of the happy results of the adoption of a child, in many cases the lucky outcome of a reckless adoption. It is time the public should hear about some of the unhappy developments of just such placements, and why. Especially is it desirable that stories be told of the exceedingly happy results which are coming from the more scientific procedure of the best adoption agencies which base their procedure upon thorough knowledge of the child and of the home where it is placed.

The child-placing agencies of this Conference should, in an organized way through farm journals, trade papers, Sunday supplements, and the popular magazines, send out stories which will reach the hearts of the American public and so eventually rectify the present misguided sentiment in regard to the adoption of children.

The second division of our discussion has to do with laws of the state and rules of state departments. We have said that state laws ought to be stand-

ardized progressively upward. In the past there has been the greatest diversity of state regulation on this subject. For the sake of the welfare of the children of America there should be some general and even unified policy in regard to the disposition of homeless children by adoption, just as surely as there should be a national policy in regard to health, education, and child labor.

As to procedure, we think at once of the analogous situation relating to illegitimacy. Regional conferences were held for discussion and the working out of methods based on social workers' experience. Then came the checking up of the social worker by the lawyer, through the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. Through it all was the guiding hand of the United States Children's Bureau. In working out a unified program for better adoption laws, we should accept the services of these same organizations. In addition we now have available the new department on child welfare legislation created by the Russell Sage Foundation.

Our logical procedure then would be, first, to promote in state conferences of social work, in regional child welfare conferences, and in all the inter-city groups on illegitimacy, a discussion of state laws on adoption. This campaign should include especially a study of the laws of those states where certain steps in advance have been taken. Perhaps a dozen states include practically all the material that is most worth studying, namely, Arizona, Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Fortunately the federal children's bureau is about to publish a study which will include the context together with a discussion of the most significant state laws regulating adoptions. This pamphlet will afford excellent textbook material for the study groups above mentioned. The director of the new department of the Russell Sage Foundation has issued a pamphlet on recent child welfare legislation including several papers on child welfare commissions, which will be valuable in a similar way.

To illustrate the kind of thing which will have to be done, we shall now set up certain proposed requirements as a minimum standard for the adoption laws of a state. To this minimum we shall most of us wish to add other regulations which probably cannot be included in the minimum but belong to the more ideal provision for safeguarding adoption work, toward which every state should be progressing. Our proposed minimum standard will include: first, a state department having authority to inspect, license, and regulate the activities of all persons and agencies engaged in adoption work; second, investigation and approval of every prospective foster home by state department before child is placed; third, subsequent supervision of foster family up to time of full legal adoption, and definite recommendation of proposed adoption by state department, before the decree is granted; fourth, private release of child by parent or guardian to be executed before a judge or register of probate court (or corresponding court of whatever name) and the effect of the release explained to

parent before the release is signed; fifth, guardian *ad litem* to be appointed by the court in cases in which the natural parents are not of legal age, who shall investigate and advise the parent, and make recommendation to the court before adoption decree is granted; sixth, records of adoption to be sealed and accessible only to parties in interest.

Other desirable provisions regulating adoption work should be: the state department, to include a children's bureau with a qualified executive in charge; a permissive law providing for county welfare boards (or child welfare boards) operating under the general supervision of the state department (or children's bureau), with a qualified social worker as executive; this county worker to be, presumably, the representative of the state department having supervision of foster homes; a trial period of at least six months, preferably one year, to lapse between the placement of the child and the granting of the adoption decree; supervision during trial period to include visits four times a year as a minimum; children born of unmarried parents not to be removed from mother until three months (preferably six months) after birth, excepting by special order of state department upon recommendation of two physicians of good and regular standing (this might to advantage be made applicable to all children); children of unmarried parents automatically to become wards of the state department; use of word "illegitimate" to be abolished; prohibition of any person's assuming the permanent care and custody of a child under fourteen years, unless a parent or relative within the third degree, except by order of the court; restrictions put on advertising or publicly offering through the press a child for adoption or indenture; notice to be given state department by any person receiving a child for adoption or for the purpose of giving it for adoption; a considerable length of time to elapse between petition for adoption and granting of decree; the child-placing agency, having received complete release of child from natural parent, to be competent to consent to adoption instead of the said parent; the possibility of annulment of adoption decree, under certain conditions.

The agencies represented here are surrounded by innumerable relatively irresponsible persons and agencies placing children for adoption according to a different policy from ours. The National Conference type of social worker views these others with alarm, and also with condescension, because, forsooth, these others are assuming, for example, that it is always best that the child of an unmarried mother be placed out for adoption. We say, perhaps, on the contrary, that whenever practicable it is best that the child be kept with its mother. Is it possible that we are making more assumptions than are these others? It is certainly true that they have vastly more material from which to draw conclusions than have we. They have thousands of cases in which results seem to have justified their method. We have a scattered few. They are able to trace developments for twenty, thirty, or forty years; we have a much shorter period through which to trace the developments and actual benefits which have come to those children who were kept with their mothers. To be sure the

records of these other agencies may be exceedingly defective as to details which ought to be known. Yet, all in all, we have pitifully little evidence to offer in arguing our side of the case—we self-styled scientific social workers. What, then? We must proceed to get facts and consequent enlightenment.

The treatment of children of unmarried parents is selected merely as one illustration, perhaps the most outstanding, to indicate the immature character of the science of social work as applied to adoptions.

Recently, in order to find some common ground and secure a starting-point for future discussions of the social safeguarding of adoptions, four questions were sent to some twenty agencies of the Child Welfare League of America. The questions covered the following points:

1. What things are being taken into consideration in deciding whether or not a child shall be offered for adoption?

2. How is the selection being made of the foster home for this child?

3. How long and how thoroughly is the foster home supervised, and what kind of records are kept?

4. To what extent is adoption work concerned with the children of unmarried parents?

Judging by the standards of these twenty organizations which represent the most respectable types of agencies in this field, it may be said in a tentative way that the best practice in adoption work includes the following:

1. (*a*) Children are not received for the purpose of adoption if it is possible for the agency itself or through reference of the case to some other suitable agency, to enable the children to be properly cared for by their own people. (*b*) A second alternative to be given preference over taking a child for adoption is the temporary boarding of a child for his own parents. (*c*) A third basis for barring a child is the personal unsuitability of the child, whether on account of family background, physical condition, or mental defect. It is only after this threefold sifting process that children are considered eligible to be offered for adoption.

2. Having reached by the process of elimination the decision that a certain child should be offered for adoption, the safeguarding procedure enters its second stage, namely, preparing and introducing him to the right family home. Our agencies recognize that even among usable homes there is an unlimited variety, not all being suitable for the same types of children. The home-finder's task offers opportunity for the widest differences in quality of placements, ranging through all degrees of failure and success according to the carefulness and skill with which the child and foster family are adapted to each other. To safeguard adoption work at this stage, our agencies are insisting on great detail of investigation, including heredity of the prospective father and mother, material resources, intellectual, cultural, and spiritual environment; and especially the personality make-up of all members of the family. When the two

parties to the new situation are found and made ready, the right person is needed to escort the new member to his prospective adoption home.

3. Even then, however, this is a trial adoption home, and there is a further stage of safeguarding necessary to insure that the placement shall prove to be finally successful. This is the period of supervision. If thoroughness and perspicacity on the part of the social worker are needed for the selection of the right home, something in addition to this, and even more rare, is essential during this later period of visitation. The demand here is for a personal friend to child and foster parents, able to win and keep their confidence, competent to adjust differences and clear up misunderstandings, often to interpret child to parent, and parent to child—or if the placement has been unwise, to discover that fact and decide upon the return of the child for replacement.

Most of our selected agencies agree that a year is the minimum trial period for the supervision of a child in a foster home before adoption is completed. A number of the executives have come to recognize the inadequacy of the old-style "question-and-answer" type of visitor's report, and are substituting for it or supplementing it with a more informal but more enlightening report by the visitor, of the real atmosphere of the home and the personal relationships between the members of the family. The time is ripe for the acceptance by these societies of helpful suggestions from the Child Welfare League or the schools of social work, on the matter of visitors' reports and record keeping on adoption homes.

There seems to be something of a change of front on the part of some of the children's aid societies regarding supervision, or some kind of record, of a foster home and child after adoption. In the opinion of the writer, there is bound to be some more record keeping, through tactful friendly contacts with these homes, in order to make possible research work in the future, with some dependable facts upon which to base conclusions about the adopted child.

4. Reports from the twenty agencies to which reference has been made, show that fully 50 per cent of all children adopted out by them are from unmarried parents. If we could get the facts connected with the innumerable agencies over the land hastily and ignorantly placing children for adoption, undoubtedly we should find that an overwhelming majority of their children are of illegitimate birth. The writer was surprised to be told by a large majority of the executives of these selected agencies from the Child Welfare League that their policy in dealing with children of unmarried parents and with children of married parents was the same. This leads us to present for discussion the following two queries: first, in the light of the laws and conventions of present American civilization, and in order actually to serve the best interests of the children involved, is illegitimacy as an element in a case a sufficiently peculiar factor to warrant the social worker in choosing a peculiar treatment or procedure? Second, assuming adequate provision to be made for the physical health of the infant, and assum-

ing normal mentality, should there be a presumption in favor of offering for adoption a child of unmarried parents, more than a child of married parents? These two questions deserve frank discussion by children's workers, without fear of heresy.

Finally, our conclusions. There are three starting points: first, we have found a need for rectifying public sentiment on the matter of adoptions, and the possible accomplishment of this not so much by argument or statistics as by appealing to the emotions and making this appeal in story form. Second, we have presented a minimum standard of some half-dozen legislative requirements which the people of any state should insist on as a legal control of adoptions; and in addition to these, a dozen desirable provisions which should be added as fast as public sentiment can be prepared for such development. Third, we have learned the present practice of representative child-placing agencies for socially safeguarding all parties involved in adoption proceedings, which goes beyond the reach of legislative control. Assuming this as a minimum standard of child-placing procedure, we face the necessity of checking up on our past and present assumptions by ascertaining more of the facts. We need to verify the truth of our supposedly successful placements, and get the facts about our failures and the reasons for them. That will lead us to scrutinizing our past visitors' reports and discover just how much our records really tell us.

All of our conclusions, or starting points, call for a getting together by those who have had experience in adoption work and who are earnestly willing to learn. We must not too easily accept traditions. We must drop the cant that is sometimes heard in public meetings even of social workers. Finally, we must be willing to settle down to a ten-year job of quietly collecting information.

THE CHILDREN OF UNMARRIED PARENTS

Mrs. J. B. McGregor, Toronto

As this title affords considerable latitude and it is necessary to keep the discussion within reasonable bounds it has been limited to a description of public opinion in Canada on the problem of illegitimacy as it has been expressed, first, by legislation and, second, by the treatment of mother and child.

Without attempting an historical review of the legal aspect of the subject it might be helpful to hold before our vision for a few moments something which represents the essence of our original Canadian law, merely as a background against which to throw a picture of our present-day legislation.

This matter has always been under provincial jurisdiction, all of the provinces inheriting the principle of the old English common law which was originally designed not to benefit the mother or child but merely to protect the titles and rights of propertied classes. At a later period the principle of making a claim

on the father was introduced on the complaint of certain poor-law officials of the heavy drain the support of these children made on the public funds.

With the exception of Quebec, where there seems to be no definite statute on the subject, this old law formed the basis of all the early legislation, with slight variations, in the different provinces, usually under the objectionable title "The Bastardy Act," also inherited from England. In every case the emphasis was on the reimbursement of funds and not on the maintenance of the child and the only remedy to enforce it was a suit brought against the father by anyone who had furnished the necessities of life for the child.

The inadequacy of these old acts is illustrated by a study made of the cases handled by one Toronto organization in 1920. It was found that in less than 10 per cent of the cases had the father made any contribution toward the expenses of the mother or child even to the extent of a few dollars and less than 1 per cent were making any attempt to maintain the child.

These facts taken in conjunction with the approximate annual illegitimate birth-rate of 1,000 in Toronto alone would indicate the enormous burden which was being carried by public and private charity and often by incompetent mothers hardly capable of properly supporting themselves, while so many of the fathers were entirely relieved of all responsibility. But the fact that the death-rate among illegitimate children was more than twice as high as that of normal children, and many other significant facts, furnish abundant proof that the burden was ultimately and inevitably borne by the innocent child. It meant that all his life, in addition to the stigma of his birth, he must carry a frail body and weakened constitution.

As far as legislation to remedy this injustice is concerned there was no evidence of any righteous indignation on the part of the public for a great many years except that the liability for admitted responsibility was increased from time to time in certain provinces where a stated amount was named. Then, in 1920, Saskatchewan and Prince Edward Island passed acts legitimating the child by the subsequent marriage of the parents, which had previously applied only in Quebec. Similar acts are now on the statute books of all of the nine provinces. But the principle of demanding permanent and adequate maintenance of an illegitimate child by its father was first introduced into Canadian law in the Act for the Protection of Children of Unmarried Parents passed in Ontario in 1921. Similar legislation has subsequently been passed in four other provinces and is under serious consideration in at least three of the others.

As the Ontario act has been in force a little longer than the others it forms the best basis of study and we shall consider it in detail, remembering that it is now law also in Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island. This act deals entirely with the economic aspect of the question and is not in any way punitory. The moral or immoral behavior of the parents is not considered at all except in as much as it constitutes evidence of paternity or disqualifies the mother as a proper guardian of her child.

The act provides for an officer known as the provincial officer to have charge of its administration, and provision is made for the division registrar to report to him all illegitimate children registered under the Vital Statistics Act and every birth so registered as to suggest that the parents were not married. The mother may apply to the provincial officer for advice or assistance or he may take the initiative and institute proceedings as he thinks necessary in the interest of the child. The provincial officer may himself be appointed guardian of the child either alone or with the mother and at any time has power to deal with the child as a neglected child under the Children's Protection Act.

Affiliation proceedings may be started by the mother or anyone acting in her interest, and during the lifetime of the father. The time limit is within a year of the birth of the child, or within a year of the doing of any act on the part of the putative father which constitutes evidence of paternity, or, if he has been absent, within a year of his return to the province.

Material evidence is necessary to corroborate that of the mother and upon sufficient evidence the judge makes an order on the father in accordance with his ability to provide. The order having been made, the father may be required to furnish security, and upon his failure to do so he may be committed for contempt of court.

The liability of the father covers the confinement expenses of the mother, her expenses for three months preceding the child's birth and as long after as is considered advisable in the interest of the child. It covers the maintenance of the child for sixteen years and may also include the burial expenses of the mother should her death result from childbirth, or the expenses of the burial of the child. In case of the death of the father after an order has been made, such an order shall bind his estate, but provision is made to protect first the interest of the legitimate wife and children.

The expenses of the administration and enforcement of the act are paid out of the revenue of the province. All litigation arising out of the act shall be tried by a judge of the county or district court, including a police magistrate, or a judge of the juvenile court, and all hearings are "in *camera*."

For the most part these acts have passed with the strong support of the entire thinking public and there has been little demand for any change in principle. It is very generally realized, however, that uniformity in these laws is something very much to be desired and also some reciprocal arrangement between the provinces for bringing the absconding parent to justice.

Prince Edward Island is the only province so far that has succeeded in passing the dual paternity clause. This provides that where there are two or more possible fathers the responsibility shall be divided among them, and is valuable not so much for the extra money that might be secured in this way but because it meets the defense so often made by the man, of promiscuity on the part of the woman. It is to be hoped that this clause will ultimately be embodied in the laws of all the provinces. Likewise the provision in the Mani-

toba act for the reporting direct to the provincial officer by maternity hospitals any births which appear to be illegitimate.

This legislation has not been long enough in operation to furnish any material for an exhaustive study, but the provincial office in Ontario and some of the organizations handling the greatest number of cases have provided some interesting statistics. Since the act came into force over $100,000 has been collected, and of this over $60,000 was during the last year. Over 1,000 children are now benefiting under the act by regular payments of $20 to $25 a month.

With regard to the disposition of the children dealt with, 4 to 5 per cent have died, 4 per cent have been legally adopted, 2 per cent placed in temporary foster homes, 4 per cent wards of the Children's Aid Society, and 83 per cent are with the mother. Of the cases closed without a financial adjustment being made, 19 per cent dismissed for lack of corroborative evidence, in 10 per cent the couples married, and in 42 per cent the man disappeared. Several organizations report that the payments are about equally divided between the lump sum and the weekly payment basis and that the average lump sum payment is about $300.

We all realize that the success of this act depends largely on the administration, and as the act becomes better understood and the authorities administering it are better equipped, we hope to be able to make a better showing than this. Some of these figures are significant in illustrating the difficulties of administering legislation of this kind when for the most part we are working with such very poor human material. But generally speaking the act is benefiting the girl who most needs it, that is, the girl who is willing and able to care for her own child and who is without other resources. Furthermore, we are confident that many cases are now coming to light which would otherwise have remained hidden, and that the children are receiving better care.

Coincident with these changes in legislation we find the same gradual development toward improved methods of care adopted by those dealing with the unmarried mother and child. In all stages and phases of this work in the past the disapprobation of society has been manifested by more or less harsh punishment and relentless ostracism.

Passing over the period in which the unmarried mother was subjected to aggressive public humiliation we shall begin with a consideration of the first attempt at handling the problem in a more or less humane way. We find that this has usually taken the form of the establishment of the old-fashioned maternity home. Most of us have become only too familiar with this type of institution, not from our own experience, but perhaps from our memories or the memories of our parents.

We know the large prison-like building surrounded by the high wall and the "Rescue Home for Fallen Women" or some such damning appellation emblazoned in large letters over the door, the degrading uniforms and the smell of laundry and disinfectant, the herding together of the innocent young girl

and the hardened prostitute, the healthy in mind and body with the diseased and feebleminded. The practice was often common of having every new applicant paraded before the board and made to tell her story under a grueling examination. The only relief from constant drudgery would be religious meetings of a very emotional nature where the girl's sin was kept ever before her. For a whole year she would live in an atmosphere calculated to rob her of her self-respect, the very basis of regeneration. Then, without her baby, separation from her child being the reward she has won, she is sent out and forgotten, her last state infinitely worse than her first.

Part of the work of many of these institutions consisted in the running of a baby farm on a large scale, which often developed into a profiteering scheme of the worst sort. Wealthy families would pay to have babies taken and no questions asked. Payments were often made also by adopting parents who would take the attractive children. The fate of the other children would be explained by the enormous death-rate, a death not only countenanced but often augmented by deliberate neglect.

It is difficult to understand how such a hideous system could be conceived by kindly and well-meaning people but no doubt it was an improvement on what had prevailed before, and even such an attitude is certainly preferable to that which prevails among many people today who prudishly refuse to recognize the existence of the problem because the subject is objectionable to them. Progress can come only through education which is a result of an intimate knowledge of the subject and in many cases we find some of the chief supporters of the old scheme among the instigators of something far better.

For the sake of contrast, let us consider the spirit which has created one of our most modern maternity homes, a homelike building, beautifully situated, with a capacity for twenty selected girls. Under a name that carries no stigma it was dedicated within the last few weeks and described as "A rest home for the help and recovery of God's children in need, where young women who have suffered wrong may receive strength, friendship, and refreshment." That description with all that it implies is not overestimating what the girls do actually receive while under that roof, and long after they leave it.

Between these extreme types we find in different parts of the country maternity homes in every stage of development. Unfortunately many of the evils represented by the former still exist in our midst in some modified form.

The first step in their reform came with the rigid enforcement of public health laws. With this came the greater appreciation of the sacredness of human life and was expressed in such advanced methods as the placing of children in private boarding-homes, the keeping of young babies with their mothers, and the employment of trained case workers.

But the organizations that have had the best opportunity of practicing modern methods are those that have been recently organized apart from any institution. Of these the Women's Directory of Montreal is typical. Such

organizations have been best able to develop the technique of their work unfettered by the prejudices and complications that grow up with most institutions. During the last few years there has been a very general realization of the necessity of more individuality in treatment, and a consequent improvement in all phases of the work.

In discussing methods it is impossible to deal with more than one aspect of the question, so we shall confine ourselves to the one which always seems the most acute—the question of the separation or the keeping together of the mother and child.

As applied to the nursing period, practically all workers are now unanimous in theory as in practice that the separation should take place only in very exceptional cases. The principal opposition to this comes from the occasional family physician of the old school, but as it is generally realized that the doctors in such cases are not aiming to benefit either the mother or child, but merely to please the person who pays his bill, usually the girl's father, his point of view is hardly worth considering.

There is more difference of opinion regarding the permanent problem after the nursing period is over. Many of us, who may at one time have had in the back of our minds the idea that, given adequate financial support, it was a comparatively simple undertaking for an unmarried mother to keep her child, now realize that it is never simple, always difficult, and often very dangerous. While we realize that every case must be decided on its own merits, there are certain fundamental considerations which apply to all.

Here again we shall have to be limited and shall deal only with the girl who is capable and desirous of being a good mother to her child, and who is assured of permanent and adequate financial support.

We feel that it is a mistake to assume that there is necessarily a clash of interest between the mother and child and that the interest of one must be sacrificed for the other. In the very nature of things they are so a part of each other that there is always something very sacred and fundamental violated in their separation. This is realized by the mother from the very beginning but not always by the child until maturity, but then with increasing intensity as the years pass. In the final analysis the mother and child can give to each other something that no one else in the world can give to either of them. It is therefore with a very great sense of responsibility that the social worker approaches the difficult task of trying to advise the mother in making this great decision.

The good worker will not look on her client as something foreign to herself, whose perplexities she cannot understand, but will try to meet her on some common ground. We must know that, whatever her decision, she has a very hard road to travel and that no matter how carefully supervised, she must, like all of us, fight her worst battles alone, her only defense being the strength of character that has been built up within herself. If we feel that one's powers of resistance are strengthened not by shirking one's responsibilities, but by accept-

ing them, particularly those that are the natural consequence of one's own actions, are we helping the girl by urging her to give up her child?

In some cases it may be so, but then we must realize that the girl must be fortified in some other way. Furthermore, we must realize that the biggest thing in her life, that intense passionate human affection, cannot be suddenly withdrawn without creating a vacuum which must be filled by something else either helpful or otherwise. Failure to realize these needs has constituted one of the greatest weaknesses in our case work. If, on the other hand, the girl decides to keep her baby we must not underestimate the difficulties in her way. Time will permit merely the suggestion of some of the most obvious of these.

First, with regard to the girl who has her baby with her, it is inevitable that she should suffer, more or less, from what psychologists might call a complex of inferiority. She always feels that she is scorned by her friends and associates and it is hard for her to rise above that and be her best. Then the presence of the child seems to brand her as a target for the compromising approaches of unscrupulous men, such insults often coming from quarters where she should be considered safest from that sort of thing. This danger is accentuated by the fact that she almost invariably has a desperate desire for marriage on almost any terms as her only means of gaining respectability.

Another hardship of which the married mother knows nothing is the fact that she is constantly haunted by the horror of the stigma being attached to her child. This thought brings to my mind the image of one of these girls who, in fighting her battle against fearful odds, incurred the displeasure of a neighbor. The neighbor retaliated by calling her baby a "bastard," and the expression of anguish on that mother's face is something that, once having seen it, one can never forget. Sometimes a successful plan is arranged whereby the girl's family absorbs the child and moves to a strange place. Or the girl may masquerade as a married woman, but although this is not illegal and may not be unethical in itself, it seldom seems to work out satisfactorily as a permanent arrangement. It usually develops into an elaborate system of deception which is psychologically bad for all concerned.

The plan which most workers find most satisfactory is the boarding of the baby apart from the mother. The principal difficulty here is found in the jealousy which arises between the mother and the foster mother. The child naturally becomes fonder of the one who cares for him constantly, and the bond between mother and child often becomes loosened in this way.

But to come back to public opinion, with regard to the mother, we feel that when she has been a good mother, with all that that involves in view of these monstrous handicaps, we must demand that she be accorded the respect and dignity that are her due. Has she not retrieved the past and is that not the attitude that should be expected from a Christian people? But we have every evidence that it is a very far cry from the attitude that actually does prevail

among most people today. It can only be brought about by a long, careful process of intensive education.

From the standpoint of the child, what we have to consider in his separation or non-separation from his mother is the harm that may come to him with the knowledge of his illegal birth, but we must remember that this is not always overcome by adoption. What we have to cope with is the stigma as attached to the child. This seems to be founded on the principle of heredity and our best way of overcoming it is to give these children equal opportunities with other children and prove that under these circumstances they can make equally good citizens.

In the past much of our work with the children of unmarried parents has savored too much of an unqualified acceptance of the law that the sins of the fathers must inevitably be visited on the children. But that commandment has a saving clause of mercy. What a different meaning it conveys when taken in its context, "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God visiting the sins of the fathers on the children . . . . and showing mercy unto thousands." Today we feel that we have made a beginning in the right direction by bringing more of the spirit of mercy into our work by affording better social and legal protection.

In the future all that we can picture in our imagination for these children is expressed in the terms of the covenant made 1,900 years ago, "That they may have life and have it more abundantly."

THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

BOY GUIDANCE—THE NEW PROFESSION

Brother Barnabas, F.S.C., Executive Secretary, Boy Life Bureau, Knights of Columbus

The human family is entering upon a new era. Different needs are manifest at different epochs in the world's development, and the requirements of today are different from those of yesterday. The physical business of living is easier, and a great deal of leisure time has been wrung from this business of living.

It is this leisure time that, while it enriches our lives, makes them more complex. Our recreations include ten activities where our grandfathers knew one. Necessarily this affects the youth of the nation. Necessarily this complex life affects the characters of our boys.

The boy has a simple soul. He needs not a complexity of activities, but simpler ones. He is as elemental as a savage; he wants a simple environment, not the multiplicity of activities that surround him on every side. His nervous organism becomes over-developed.

The members of the family until some fifty years ago spent their lives together. Father and the boys worked together in the fields; together they built the barns and cared for the stock; together they planned and saved for the future; together they found amusement and relaxation. As the development of rural life gives way to cities, and social and industrial changes appear, the parents are now too occupied in making a living to educate the boy properly. Women have entered the ranks of industry in growing numbers. In the social classes where actual wage earning on the part of the mother is not necessary, there are numerous activities that prevent the former close and intimate family life. During this time of transition a third agency in the education of the boy was developed—the school. For over a century these three agencies, the school, the church, and the home, have been working together to develop and train the boy for citizenship.

But this is a new epoch upon which we are entering. There is nothing to be regretted in the change from old customs, but we must recognize the fact that a change has come, and we must prepare to meet the new conditions if we are to save the manhood of the world.

Now the boy in his teens is as sensitive as a young plant, and as plastic as a piece of clay. He needs the companionship, craves the friendship of a man. That his home does not supply it, that his school fails him and his church cannot meet his needs, does not change his nature. Companionship he must have, and he gets it where he can—in the street and up the alley.

By the design of God there is a particular time in a boy's life when he seeks a man upon whom to mold his character. In the past, as has been noted, there was his father, his close companion, his ideal. With the passing of rural conditions, the schoolmaster supplied this need to a great extent. He knew little about the science of pedagogy and his instruction perhaps made up in force what it lacked in finish. But he did enter vividly into the lives of the boys in his schoolroom; he was a vital factor in the community and a force in building its character. The community apparently underrated the type of his leadership, however. They paid the teacher so poorly that the young men felt they could not afford to go into the profession. They left the ranks of teachers, and the job of educating our boyhood has been turned over largely to women. Now, in many respects, I believe that women are better fitted to teach than men; and they are possessed of a sublime patience, and a sympathetic understanding. But these qualities do not alter the fact that during his impressionable years the boy craves and needs the companionship and friendship of an adult of his own sex.

Between the ages of twelve and eighteen is the most important period of a boy's life. It is then that his ideals are acquired, his character formed. In these years, he needs the leadership of a man of high principles. He needs an ideal on whom he may model his own character. Psychologists tell us that the vital influence in our lives is not what is preached at us, not what is taught to us,

but the human influence, the personal reaction on the part of those around us to this situation and to that. Every boy needs a hero to worship. The largest part of a boy's daily life is spent not merely without proper adult companionship. It is spent with practically no guidance whatever. Even though the boy be one of the lucky minority that are attending school; even though he belongs to the still smaller number that attend a religious school also, an examination of his time reveals that the greatest part of it is undirected by either of these institutions.

The boy is a human dynamo. Going, doing—it is as easy to dam Niagara as to check the activity of a healthy youth in his teens. The wind will blow and the water will dash along, do what we will. But the wind which played havoc in the garden turns the windmill industriously, and the power of the water which upset the boat may be harnessed to run an engine. The boy's restless energy, if directed, may be guided to useful pursuits and wholesome ideals. One boy out of every fourteen is haled into court for delinquency. Delinquency is largely misdirected energy. After leaving a boy's natural instincts entirely unguided, we arrest and penalize him for exercising his God-given energy!

Two things are needed: a program of directed activity for the boy's leisure time, and men trained professionally for his leisure-time leadership, just as teachers are trained to direct his mind, and doctors to care for his body. It is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of this type of leadership. Many of our movements that are dealing with leisure-time programs have drawn up definite standards of training for their professional workers. They feel that a four-year course at some accredited college followed by a period of intensive graduate study is not too heavy a requirement.

Recreational leadership is still at its beginning. Shall we demand lower qualifications of those who are going to form the characters of the boyhood of the nation than we do of the man who conserves our forests or fills our teeth?

The agencies that are working upon this problem—the Young Men's Christian Association, the Boy Scouts of America, the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Boys' Club Federation—are striving to fill their ranks. There is no doubt that boys want and need a program of directed activity. The great need is for leadership. Yes, that is the very heart and soul of such work. But back of the volunteer leader, encouraging him, directing him, guiding him, is needed the trained worker.

Let us not repeat the costly mistake we made in the teaching profession. High standards of character, ability, and training are necessary for this vocation and they must meet a commensurate reward. No other profession takes so much time to master, no other is so vital to the life of the nation. The young men who enter its ranks should not feel anxiety about their compensation. They should be able to put their whole lives into their profession. Circumstances have produced the demand for this new profession—boy guidance. It is essential that we do not allow it to suffer as we did the profession of teaching.

We must so emphasize its importance that men of the highest type will recognize that they may render the highest service through this means; that they may have the conscious conviction that it is worth-while work and that at the end of his career such a leader may look back and see the impress he has made upon the citizenship of his time in service to his country.

To contribute to welfare work in North America, the Knights of Columbus felt, after careful investigation, that they could give no greater benefit than to establish a school for training such leaders, and work out such a curriculum as would be accepted by authorities as meeting the highest academic standards. After consultation with prominent educational and social leaders, such a course has been established. It is a two-year graduate course leading to the degree of Master of Arts. The students are preparing themselves for leadership in some form of free-time boy work.

This course has been established at the University of Notre Dame, at South Bend, Indiana. The curriculum is recognized as being equal to that required for law, medicine, or any similar specialized course. The authorities feel that if only the energy which is put into the problem of juvenile delinquency were expended in constructive work, in playgrounds, and leadership, there would not be the same necessity for juvenile courts and probation officers.

There are in North America alone some eight million boys between the ages of eight and seventeen. Probably not two million of them are definitely reached by any leisure-time program. The volunteer leader is essential to spreading the influence of the program among the other six million. He is the one who comes directly into the life of the boy and develops in him the highest type of manhood. But if these six millions of boys in North America, and uncounted millions of boys the world over, are to have the benefits of a recreation program, back of the volunteer leader must stand the trained boy worker. He it is who directs the program, who encourages and trains the volunteer; who, from his superior knowledge of boy psychology, is able to maintain proper contact between the boys and the volunteer worker. No standards are too high for leadership of this type. These leaders are building the character of the world of tomorrow. The lives of your children's children are in their hands.

THE DELINQUENT ATTITUDE—A STUDY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

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The importance of attitude is a rediscovery, and its modern recognition is about to mark the threshold of an entirely new approach to delinquency, vice, and crime. Attitude may be defined as the deep, intrinsic response the personality makes as a matter of course in a given situation.

We sit on the clear grass in an enclosed space and let the solid massed outlines of this beautiful university sink into our perception. The rugged towers

bring peace, the alcoves suggest meditation, the leaded window-panes, a fine regard for privacy, the isolation and quiet, the opportunity for learning. We draw a reminiscent breath and assume an attitude of peaceful respect and contemplation.

Suppose, however, a courteous Toronto policeman should tap one on the shoulder, and say: "Lady—you can't sit here; this is the dominion prison yard."

Instantly, if the glandular physiologists are right, adrenalin or other biochemical products shoot their message, and our entire emotional set is altered; the inclosed space becomes a restricted, barren area, the massive walls become somber and menacing, the towers are monuments erected to delinquency and its repression, the alcoves suggest horrid opportunities for tyranny and violence, the leaded windows become bars, the quiet is offensive, the trees and other projections give excellent images of summary executions. We arise with a shudder and say, "When Dean Kirchwey's delinquency program is completed, we will build no more of these damp, medieval prisons."

Our attitude is changed in a twinkling. The word "prison" has transformed our perceptions instantaneously—the original response is gone beyond recall. It is a matter of attitude. Our preconceived ideas, set off by our total emotional response, determine our attitude.

The introspective psychologists have shown how the approach to every problem in life is modified by the *einstellung*, or the attitude assumed. "Not life that matters, but the courage one brings to it." If, for courage, we read emotional response, we have in this phrase of Hugh Walpole's the key to every situation. With these general considerations of attitude in mind, let us consider the problem of delinquency in its simplest terms. Is Havelock Ellis right? Is delinquency an indispensable concomitant of a high degree of civilization: the more specialized our culture, the more crime? Perhaps. It depends on the kind of human relationship built up within that civilization.

Delinquency has passed through various phases of research and speculation. In recent times, the Lombroso school, to name an exceptionally picturesque period, occupied the center of the arena. The offender was pictured as an anomalous, atavistic person, frequently tattooed, and of well-marked body-traits which distinguished him from the normal person. His sensitivity to pain was less, his skull showed abnormalities, his ears were likely to be misshapen, he had defective muscular co-ordination, particularly as to those finer muscles which, as Stanley Hall used to say, were used to wag the tongue, and pen. These so-called stigmata of degeneracy attracted widespread attention among the students of criminology of the period, and they were found, it is quite true, in varying degrees of combination in the thief, assassin, and prostitute of the Italian prisons. How fascinating was this theory of diagnostic signals! How easy, systematic, and efficient! If there had been social workers then, their appropriate attitude to delinquency would have been the attempt to record the

criminalistic earmarks in their case histories and to place the labeled article in its proper pigeonhole. Treatment of a congenital anatomical condition was of course impossible. There was no human obligation to a sub-human species.

All went well until the English Galton began measuring and inspecting the crania of the men of Oxford University, and man for man they showed pretty much the same ratio of these stigmata of degeneracy as did the prisoners. The theory had to be hastily abandoned.

Then came a less materialistic concept. It might be the mentality of the offenders that was at fault. Very briefly summing up the results of a vast mass of research, we find within very recent years a prevalent conviction that from 10 per cent to 80 per cent of our offenders are of defective intelligence. Undoubtedly the view would have been accepted that there exists a causal relation between feeblemindedness and delinquency if masses of men had not been subjected to intelligence tests during the war. And again it was found that a large proportion of the population may remain at a low level of intelligence, and yet lead useful lives without crime in the community. Feebleminded individuals are found in so many callings and positions of life, and the principle of relativity operates so largely, that judging from the performance in the legislatures of many of our states "across the line," it would seem that a feebleminded person has as much chance of getting into the state or federal legislature as into prison.

Then came an intense application of social and economic explorations. The broken home, divorce, poverty, industrial and community conditions were blamed. As to the broken home, there is some indication that a cross section of the lives of our best students in our colleges and of boys in our navy would reveal a large percentage of unhappiness in the home background of their childhood.

All that these researches, physical, mental, and social, really mean, reduced to their most simple significance, is that among those who challenge our behavior codes, or fail to conform to them, are found the sick and the healthy, the dull and the brilliant, the defective and the accelerated, the under-protected and the over-protected.

It is a gigantic folly and indeed a travesty of the human spirit to imagine that merely untoward environmental conditions produce delinquency. They produce suffering, but when the suffering child or adult becomes delinquent, an entirely new element has come into the current. Research now points to the genesis of delinquency in the emotional responses of little children to the human relationships that surround them, particularly that of father and mother and teacher.

What this paper would like to make clear is the very simple way these responses of childhood, always conditioned as they are by the emotions and the attitudes of adults, may gradually develop delinquency in the child.

The attitude of adults to the offending child holds the key to the situation. The first challenge to parental authority is in effect a declaration of war, or an

antagonistic affirmation of personality. The usual method of meeting this is a counter declaration, by means of force, of the personality of the parent, the attitude of warfare. The first lie, the first theft, the first rebellion, usually is met by parents with some act or attitude of violence. I do not refer to corporal punishment alone, but to that far more prevalent use of subtle force, a moral disapproval which tends to isolate the offending child. The Quakers had a phrase in their code to the effect that the offender was to be "tenderly admonished." The truth is that the behavior code of civilized adults ought to be as it is among primitive peoples, a code of such dignity, simplicity, and strength that it stands of itself, so that its attempted violation by a little child would not require a tense, harsh, fearful response on the part of adults. It is the adults who lack a sense of security.

The use of the third degree by policemen is universally condemned by social workers. What is the third degree but an application of early parental attempts to force upon a helpless individual a confession of being in the wrong? On the one hand we place the principle of authority, and all the vast organization of compelling; on the outside of the circle we place the child in an attitude of isolation and of struggle.

Adults are often shocked at the behavior of adolescents in court. The girl especially often displays an attitude, a compound of insolence, bravado, deep scorn, poise, wit, youthful cunning, and resourcefulness in lying impossible to describe unless witnessed. This attitude is seen to best advantage in police courts, in juvenile courts where procedure is like the criminal court, and in some juvenile reformatories where smoldering feuds break out on occasion into riots. "Hardness," flippancy, world-weariness, and fearless disrespect are seen so frequently in our morals courts that it scarcely needs comment. Sheriffs who have handled riots in girls' correctional schools testify that the foul language, obscenity, violence, and sheer wickedness of these girls who sometimes demolish whole buildings, set fire to institutions, maim or kill employees, is beyond imagination. This is true. Youth in conflict has capacity for untold damage. But this attitude is the end-result. It has been built up of trifles. These same boys and girls in a riot can be stilled by the presence of one calm spirit, whereas a company of deputy sheriffs could easily cause a new outbreak. As in the management of the insane, attendants who show tranquillity of mind and a little skill in personality successfully manage the most obstreperous, so with young delinquents, the apparently violent and dangerous yield almost without a struggle to the simple approach of a human being without fear, prejudice, or hatred.

When the child goes to school, he enters either an arena or a co-operative community. The attitude of the teacher toward the child's failure or inattention, to his first lie, truancy, theft, or trouble-making is of supreme importance. In this critical period we look for guidance to young women still struggling to emancipate themselves from the authority of parents, college professors, school

boards, and false behavior codes. The girl who has an illicit sex experience arouses all the forces of horror and antagonism in her teachers, unless they happen to be exceptional. Picture the scene, the tense emotional attitude of the group in the principal's office; the struggle to get a confession, the reiterated accusation, the breaking down of subtle reserves, finally the shameful admission. The disciplinary approach to behavior problems in home and school has failed to bring about any lasting contribution to their solution. Exhortation, moralizing opinion, or any other hostile approach has as little effect in combating delinquency as they have in a case of pneumonia. They succeed only in building up defense reaction, and in increasing the distance between the child and his human group.

The great conversions of the church have never come about by means of the disciplinary approach, but from within. A hard-wrung confession of guilt and inferiority is not the proper foundation for that tremendous release of the spirit which results in true repentance. Repentance, socially considered, is just another name for intense yearning to be one with one's fellow-man, to return to a relationship in which one feels confidence, security, and response.

When the child of offending habits comes at last to the attention of a social agency there may be merely a continuation of the treatment given formerly by parents and school. The social worker has in mind certain labels, and has established certain attitudes for delinquency, defectiveness, and criminality. Unless he sheds most of them the pre-court child will become the court child, and the court child the crook.

We often engage in discussion as to which agency, court, school, or protective society shall care for the young offender. It does not really matter. The essential thing is that the person in charge assume the attitude of humble understanding and of constructive guidance. The policeman on the beat may bring far more understanding to the case than a member of the American Association of Social Workers who unconsciously uses the method of the detective, the third degree, and the house of correction. A teacher may assume all the vices of a justice of the peace. The label has been of untold service in getting rid of the sentimentalist and the muddleheaded, but it also has run into the danger of creating an obstructive attitude toward the one labeled.

When we reverse the process and trace the steps by which delinquents have been restored, we find striking proof of the way in which true delinquents are made. All methods of successful probation, or agency or institution care, wherever found, and in spite of the greatest diversity of training, equipment, political, and financial situation, have a common basis. They rely on something the plain man calls self-respect. Somehow they restore in the offender his sense of personal worth, and his generically human traits. Then they make him feel kinship with his immediate group. In short, the whole treatment from first to last is the development of personality and the forming of new, significant social relationships. Or, to express it differently, they cure the isolation which

innumerable petty acts and attitudes of aggression, from the cradle to the docket, have built up in him. This process may forever have to be carried on, for some individuals, behind institution or colony walls; but that makes no essential difference. The thing which damages society is not so much the delinquent's overt acts, as it is his persistent, relentless hostility to the behavior codes and attitudes which protect our present civilization.

It is the responsibility of parents, teachers, social workers, courts, and laboratories so to treat the offender that he has the right attitude of mind toward his acts, and toward the rest of us who have managed, God knows how, to keep out of jail!

To sum up: in any society there are certain individuals whose sense of human relationship is undeveloped, and who tend to offend against and to challenge the prevailing standards of conduct. The number of these individuals vastly increases with civilization. They are recruited from every intelligence level and every social position. Some are strong and well, others weak and handicapped. They agree on one thing only—that it is useless, impossible, or foolish for them to do as their neighbors do in respect to authority, property, industry, chastity, or team-play. The kind of response they will make to ultimate demands of the community very largely depends on the emotional attitude they assume. This attitude is very early conditioned by the emotional attitude of the parents, the school, shall we say, also, the church, the social agencies, and the juvenile courts. Bad methods produce the attitude of delinquency.

Youth is in conflict today very largely because the demands of our modern life are inappropriate to childhood. The only possible approach that a social worker is justified in taking toward delinquency is the approach that one should make to normal childhood. Everything should be done to create the sense of human relationship, and the feeling of isolation should never be permanently fixed in any offender.

I cannot refrain from repeating the profound saying of Santayana in describing fanatics. Are we not ourselves, in this delinquency business, something of fanatics? "Fanatics," says Santayana, "are those who redouble their efforts—when they have forgotten their aim."

RURAL SOCIAL WORK IN RELATION TO CHILD WELFARE

THE MODERN PROGRAM OF RURAL SOCIAL WORK AS IT AFFECTS CHILDREN

Elizabeth Yerxa, Case Supervisor, Children's Bureau, State Board of Control, St. Paul

First, let me explain what I mean by rural. I mean communities where the population of an entire county is only about twenty-five thousand; where there are no cities of more than ten thousand and most of the towns have a population of from two hundred to not more than three thousand; where the distances are great; where there are no street cars—in fact, where the roads are impassable part of each year; where the people live on small clearings or farms often miles apart, or in small villages of only two hundred or three hundred inhabitants; where there are only one or two trains a day; where the nearest large city is from fifty to two hundred miles away.

Again, by rural I mean where there are no relief-giving agencies; where there are no free beds in hospitals or free laboratories or dispensaries or where free medical service is not available; where many of the physicians are either men of the old school who scorn modern medical social service or younger men often too busy to give much attention to the social problems of their community or, if interested, lack the facilities for giving adequate medical examinations and treatment.

If we are to make the picture of this side of rural life a true portrayal we must dwell for a few moments on the home and social life of these rural communities. City people are apt to think the crowded home life is only in the cities, but I can tell you of many shacks containing only one or two rooms in which nine and ten people—in one case thirteen—in the family were living in one room. The most serious criticism against the family life is that the parents and children do not understand each other; the parents do not know whom the children have as friends, do not know where they are when away from home, and do not know the meaning or necessity of chaperoning their young people. There is little in the way of recreation for the young that is good and wholesome. Again, notice must be given to the fact that ambitious young people, because there are no opportunities for education and for the most satisfying kind of employment, leave the country and go to the big cities. The rural communities are therefore the poorer. We must also realize that people know each other's business and private family affairs and weaknesses only too well in the country. In one way there is too much neighborliness. To end this part of the discussion, let me add that naturally there are no case working agencies and few social workers doing case work, especially as it is understood by city social workers, and a very little comprehension of the need for such a worker on the part of even most of the intelligent people.

Let us now turn to another picture—one much more thrilling and one exactly as truthful. One cannot be too enthusiastic over the conditions which are in the country and which will make for wonderful social work in the future. Whether one is thinking of the churches, schools, health work, public officials, or the people at large, he must realize that perhaps the distinctive characteristic of country life is more poise, less nervous strain, calmer vision, slower movements than in the city; a nearness of nature and a greater realization of the spiritual. There is so much that is fine and strong in rural life that I can only begin to enumerate a few of the influences which must be appreciated in considering the modern program for children in the rural communities.

There is a complete rural school system under the state department of education with a big program for the advancement of the child's education and with at least the ideal that each child shall be reached by the school until he is sixteen years old or through the eighth grade.

I hardly know how to pay a big enough tribute to the country physicians and nurses who are giving of their time under such fearful odds. There are physicians at the heads of hospitals, physicians holding clinics, physicians traveling miles each day as they go from one isolated farmhouse to another. There are school nurses, tuberculosis nurses, county and visiting nurses, infant welfare nurses, and representatives of the state board of health.

Again, at least in Minnesota, there are many public officials such as county commissioners, justices of peace, probate judges, county attorneys, district judges, and private attorneys who are men of the highest ideals, unselfish, well trained in law, giving their entire time to the highest of their profession and thinking always of the welfare of the child. Social work for children could not develop without the wise guidance of men such as these. Leading and helping in every way possible, are to be found, in most out of the way, unexpected places, priests and ministers of all denominations who are practically carrying out the commands of the Great Savior of children. In addition to this big group of professionals, educators, attorneys, and ministers are the men and women with big hearts and intelligent sympathy who are willing to make untold sacrifices of time, money, and self for the welfare of the children who need care. This group, in Minnesota, could be named by the hundreds and I know can be found in every rural community in the United States if an effort is made to find them. They are in every village and every county. A modern program of any kind of social welfare, either for the children or adults, cannot be put into practice without them for they are the first volunteers, the big sisters and big brothers, the actual doers and later the directors and executives. As they go deeper into the spirit of the program a loyalty to the cause is aroused—they show marvelous ability and wonderful courage—for it takes real courage in a modern community to be a true neighbor and friend of the dependent, defective, delinquent, and neglected child.

Let us turn for a moment to see what are some of the children's problems in a rural community which must be solved if the children are rightly cared for.

Take, for example, a family of little children whose father died a short time ago leaving no property or insurance, whose relatives cannot help, but whose mother is a good woman and fond of her children. These children should remain with their mother. But how can they? The county commissioners of the county in which they have lived for years do not believe in county allowances and cannot be persuaded to give a mother's pension and will not continue to give poor-relief. There is no place the mother can work with her children—there is no family welfare society nor church organization that can help her. What else is there, one asks, for these children but to be taken into court by a broken-hearted mother so that they may be committed to a child-placing agency and be placed out in homes for adoption?

There is the child whose father and mother are ignorant and shiftless—whose home is dirty and forlorn. What is there in the community to help this child? There is not a visiting housekeeper, there is not a clinic or a physician to whom the mother and father can be taken for examination. There is not a psychiatrist who can study them and perhaps find out the reasons for conduct of the parents. There is no Americanization worker to teach them how to be good citizens and parents. There is no one to go in day by day, month in and month out to inspire them to make a better home for the child.

There is the problem child who has been placed perhaps in a good home by a child-placing agency with poor standards. The family with whom the child has been placed does not know how to handle him.

There is the average normal child placed in a home by a child-placing agency with low standards. Such a child may have been placed in a home where the family has questionable morals. What can be done for such a child? How are untrained people going to solve the problems regarding these children?

There is the family of children who live on a farm in a section of the country where the crops have been poor, where the banks have failed—where the father cannot raise enough on his land to support his family adequately, and where there is no employment to be found for miles around. What is to be done for this family? Shall the children be left there with little clothing, little fuel, little food, gradually becoming malnourished and sickly children with discouraged parents? Again there is no poor-relief for such a family. The county commissioners say they have no funds for such a purpose. There is no associated charities as such. Shall these children be taken from the parents?

In every part of the country is found the unmarried mother and father and the illegitimate child. In most instances they are scorned, looked down upon, and neglected. The rural mind does not look for the social causes, nor appreciate the human weaknesses and tragedies involved, nor realize what should be done either for the protection of these three or for the community.

Perhaps today the biggest problem is the seemingly delinquent boy or girl. A case to illustrate the apparently delinquent child is as follows: In May, 1923, four boys aged 13, 13, 15, and 16 were brought before the juvenile court judge

and were committed to the guardianship of the board of control as delinquent. They lived in a little village of about one thousand inhabitants, in a farming community in western Minnesota. One was in the sixth grade, one in the seventh, another a sophomore in high school, and the fourth a junior in high school. They were all bright boys but none of them had been doing good work in school for some months. The reason for the commitment of the four boys at the one time to the board of control was that they had broken into a clothing store during the night and had stolen a large amount of clothing which they had hid away. After receiving the commitment papers it was almost six weeks before a representative from the children's bureau of the state board of control could reach that part of the state. Each boy was interviewed. The first one was found to be a bright boy but very easily led by the leader of the gang. He was doing poor work in school, smoked, and boasted of his delinquencies. It was found that his mother was a weak, silly woman who would not believe that her boy could do any wrong. His father was a day laborer and was indifferent toward his boy. After the investigation, an uncle who lived in a big city was found who had a good reputation and was really interested in boys. He was persuaded to be responsible for the boy's care. Through his efforts the family moved from the village to the city near him. The parents became aroused through the work of a Big Brother. The boy joined the Boy Scouts and had new companions. He was given a full physical examination and it was found necessary to perform two slight operations.

The second boy was the sophomore in high school and the ringleader. He was responsible for the crime which had brought the four boys into court. He was interested only in smoking, dancing, and moving picture shows. The father is a traveling salesman in South Dakota and is seldom at home; the home was very run down and the mother was busy with household cares. The boy was placed on a farm for the summer, many miles from home, with a good farmer. After this he was sent to an aunt in another town. Later he was put on probation to his brother-in-law. He is now making good and is doing excellent work in school.

The third boy was very bright—really the most hopeful of the four boys. He stayed out late at night and played cards for money with the leader of the gang, but was interested in basket-ball and had no other bad habits. He saved his money and gave it to his family. The parents were hard-working but poor and ignorant. The father had never felt his responsibility toward the boy. They were not church people. The father was not seen, but letters were written to him and he was made to feel that much depended on him. He was told that the boy was not to be on the street evenings, he was to work on his uncle's farm in summer and do good work in school. He was to go to Sunday school and his father was to know his friends. The mother was to know where he was spending his time and the boy was not to be out after ten o'clock. He was put on probation to a fine man in the community who agreed to act as Big Brother. The

boy said he had learned his lesson, that he was sorry and was going to do better. He is now doing excellent work and is looking forward to the university.

The fourth boy is one of the thirteen-year-old boys. He was on the street a great deal evenings. He was a likable boy and his attitude both in and out of school was good. He had no bad habits but was said to be somewhat sneaky and was easily led by other boys of the gang. He had a good home and a quiet, pleasant mother, but his father was a salesman and away from home much of the time. The father was made to feel his responsibility and was told if he did not make the boy behave he (the boy) would be sent to the training school. A long letter was written to the father. His answer was, "I will do all in my power to help him." He now takes his son with him on week-end trips and is a real companion to him. The boy has just graduated from the eighth grade and has an excellent record in the school and community.

IS THE USE OF CHILDREN IN AGRICULTURE A CHILD WELFARE PROBLEM?

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Put in a little different way, the question is, "Is the use of children in agriculture a matter to which social workers especially interested in the welfare of children should give immediate consideration?" The emphasis is upon the word "immediate."

Those who have given anything more than a mere casual notice to child labor matters in the United States have, I am sure, been impressed with two outstanding facts. One is, that everyone who expresses any opinion upon the subject at all says that he is opposed to child labor. Everybody is against it. At least, nobody is willing to be quoted as favoring it. The other outstanding fact is that work on farms and around the house is not held to be child labor. The presumption that everything is well with the child in agriculture runs so strong that any inquiry into the use of children there is held by some not only useless but almost improper.

Child labor is perhaps deplored by some of the fastidious because of the sound of it. It does sound bad. It is condemned by the thoughtful because of its effects upon children and society. It is now generally believed that the employment of young children for long hours in mines and mills prevents their full physical development, undermines their health, interferes with their schooling, and therefore retards their mental growth, robs them of play and other rights of childhood, and, as a result of all this and more, places handicaps upon them for life.

What is it that takes the work of children just as young, for hours just as long in the fields, out of this general classification? Is it that work by children on the farms or around the house is never really work but always play? Cer-

tainly not. Is it that farm work never exhausts a child, never interferes in the least with his physical development, never does injury to his health? No one familiar with farm folk or farm work would say that it is. Is it that so few children are employed in agriculture that the problem, if in fact there be any, is negligible? There are about three-quarters of a million agricultural child workers in the United States.

Is it that in the rural districts all live under such excellent conditions that the children can well afford to do, and society can well afford to have them do, the work for the privilege of living as they live? In thousands of cases the living conditions are not only not good, but bad. Or, is it that the amount of work done by children is so small that it is not worth talking about? Anyone at all acquainted with the production of either cotton or sugar beets knows that this is not true. Or, is it that rural parents have a greater affection for their children and are more considerate of them than urban parents? I do not believe it. Or, is it that rural children usually work with their parents as helpers rather than as hired hands and that this insures adequate protection for the children? There is much to be said on this score, but I doubt that it is a complete answer. Is it that no child who works in the field or at home ever loses any of the play, social privileges, or enjoyments that ought to be the right of every child? No. Or, is it that farm work never interferes with school attendance? No.

There is an advantage in being out in the open, in the fresh air and sunshine, but before we decide that the mere fact of being out in the open either prevents any loss or compensates for whatever there may be, as many seem to think, we had better examine into the matter. It is possible to injure young mules by working them too early and too much even though all the pulling is out in the open. It may be possible with children. The physical appearance of many rural children and reports of physical examinations of many of them are sufficient to put all social workers on notice.

For a number of years the National Child Labor Committee, through its agents, has been trying to learn how children who do farm work live. We have seen a great deal, much of it not good; but, except as to schooling, we are not prepared to say that child labor was the proximate cause of all or even the greater part of what was not good. As a matter of fact, all our agents, I think, hold child labor as only one of the incidents of the rural child's life, and as such it will have to be approached and solved.

The employment of children on farms does interfere with their school attendance. So far as our studies have gone it causes more absences than anything else. The effect of this is shown in retardation. Work is preventing thousands of rural children from getting even a very reasonable amount of schooling.

Children have helped in the fields and about the house as long as fields have been tilled and houses built. In early times the home and the fields about

it was the school and in many respects a very good school it was. Its teachers were appointed by nature and led by her to love the pupils. As a rule, parents have always been considerate of their children. In that school play moved through play-at-work up to work. The children learned to do by doing, to live by living.

As time elapsed and man advanced the school became an institution separate and apart from the home; but this caused no serious wrench in the order of things as they were, for only the children of a certain select few went to the separate schools. The children of slaves, serfs, and underlings continued in the home school and continued to help with the work. Schools as separate institutions were for a few, not for all of the children. Agriculture felt no loss of any of its workers, for those who went to the separate schools would not have worked if they had stayed at home. Slaves accompanied them to school.

In the course of time man moved on and a new force got loose in the earth—democracy. Slavery was abolished, serfdom passed, in part at least, and the underlings began to be restless. As the late distinguished Walter Page, when hardly more than grown, said, the bottom rail began to think and finally out of it all came a widespread and abiding conviction that every child is entitled to a certain, though not as yet very definite, minimum of training in the separate school. That is why we had first public schools, and later compulsory school attendance laws.

This is what brought the problem. A child can't attend school and pull fodder at the same time. Neither can the ordinary child do reasonably well at school if he does three or four hours' work daily at home. There is a limit to the strength of even children to endure.

Agriculture surrenders a part of its working force no more willingly than any other industry. The compulsory school attendance laws of many states would, if strictly enforced, fail to insure sufficient schooling for all the children. As a matter of fact, the laws are frequently not enforced, so frequently that they seem to have been passed to be read by the curious only. Often the direct mandate of the law is ignored by common consent. The result of this is absence from school, and the direct result of continued absence from school is retardation of the children.

The states that have the highest percentages of agricultural child workers have the highest percentages in illiteracy. If we should measure by the completion of any definite grade above the third the showing against the states using the highest percentages of agricultural child workers would be very much worse. Child labor and illiteracy are close akin if indeed not sisters of darkness. The use of children in agriculture is the direct cause of the fact that thousands of rural boys and girls enter the race of life hamstrung by a lack of education. They lose in childhood because of work and that loss hangs to them through life. Forget if you will, if you can, all other sides of the question—this alone ought to make the use of children in agriculture a matter for the serious and immediate consideration of all persons interested in the welfare of children or of society.

NEGRO CHILD LIFE IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

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Discussion of the problems of Negro child life in rural communities must deal largely with an account of conditions as they exist in the southern section of the United States, since the Negroes who form a part of the population in other sections, live for the most part in the large industrial centers; or, if driven to smaller communities because of lack of housing facilities and superior industrial conditions, find such opportunities for social development as are common in the cities. When we think of the Negro child in the rural community, our minds invariably dwell upon that child born and reared in the great agricultural section of the southland, where for centuries the thought uppermost in the mind of the stronger race which profited by the labor of the Negro has been to give him barely sufficient opportunity to live and grow to the point where he would be of economic benefit to his owner or landlord.

To those who have had the pleasure of travel through the southern states of the United States, it is not hard to recall to their minds the picture of the little, dark, dingy huts which dotted the roadside, out of whose heavy wooden shutters peered half-clad black boys and girls, their faces wreathed in smiles that showed their beautiful pearly teeth as they enjoyed the only real sport of their little lives—the opportunity to wave at the passing trains which rolled swiftly by, leaving them again to their lonely isolation. That these children live and develop strong, powerful bodies with such life as they experience is only another of the evidences of God's care for those of his creatures who know not how to care for themselves.

Denied the advantage of contact with the refining influences of life, thousands of Negro children are ushered each year into a world where they have not half a chance to measure up to the standards of a normal life. The mother and father, direct sufferers from the ills of human slavery, know little of what a true family life consists of, and so cannot be censured for the incorrect standards of living in their ofttimes dirty, unattractive, but happy homes. With no knowledge of food elements and the part each plays in the development of the human body, the children soon show signs of such ailments as come from need of a balanced ration, while facilities are everywhere to be seen for the production of such foodstuffs as would guarantee them perfect physical development.

The country school, almost invariably of the one-teacher type and operated either in the village churches or some deserted shanty as little fitted for school purposes as the huts in which they live are suitable for homes, has a term of from two to six months, according to the attitude of the county school officer toward Negro education, or to the convenience of the well-to-do farmers or landlords who may desire to avail themselves of the opportunity for cheap labor in the production and harvesting of their crops. In many instances the term of the Negro rural school in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, or other southern states, extends from June 15 to September 1, when the heat is so intense that concen-

tration is impossible, this arrangement being made to meet the demands of the planters. Indifferent as to the quality of work done in these schools, little care is exercised in the selection of teachers, the chief aim being that of providing barely enough school opportunity for the Negro child to report something done each year in that direction.

Aside from the privilege of donning his "Sunday" clothes and going many miles away perhaps to hear the parson preach, there are no recreational advantages whatever for the average Negro child in the southern rural community center. The church is the community center and the weekly meeting of friends at that point is the one social event to which the families look forward with fond anticipation. These children marry young, settle often on the same plantation or nearby, and on and on goes the endless throng of underprivileged Negro children, whose very souls cry out to our American civilization for a chance!

But the cloud is turning itself about so that one gets a peep at the silver lining. The South, already bowed low beneath the heritage of its long indulgence in human slavery, is awakening more and more to the fact that as the whole nation could not endure half slave and half free, the South cannot endure with one part of its population enlightened and one part ignorant, with one part healthy and one part diseased, with one part contented and happy and another restless and ill at ease. Nothing has done more to help the Negro child in the South than the migration of nearly a million Negroes northward during the past eight or ten years. For while the opportunity to market his labor at a better price in the big northern centers has been a strong stimulant to the migration, the Negro's yearning to rear his child in an environment where he might breathe free air and have the advantages necessary to make him a useful citizen has been by far the stronger motive impelling so many to leave the warm, congenial southern clime and brave the hardships of life in the new, untried, chilly North. Told that he would die of pneumonia and tuberculosis in Ohio or Pennsylvania or Michigan, the Negro has, in the spirit of Patrick Henry, rebelled against southern tyranny and re-proclaimed, "Give me liberty or give me death"—death rather than ignominious life. The cotton fields deserted for want of labor, the sugar mills silent because of the scarcity of sugar-cane production, it has been made easy for the Negro leader of the South to get at an audience with even the hitherto unapproachable landlord and to have him lend an interested if not sympathetic ear to the story of the Negro's yearning—to know, to know! As the result of such conferences, more money is being provided by public taxation for Negro education throughout the South; good schoolhouses are being built, capable teachers are being trained in normal schools provided from state funds, school terms are being lengthened, and the Negro child in the rural district sees over the hill-top far away the dawn of a new day.

The extension division of the department of agriculture is employing hundreds of skilled Negro farm and home demonstration agents who are raising the

standards of home life, on the one hand, and encouraging farm ownership on the other. The dirty hut by the roadside is being replaced in many cases by the neat little painted cottage around which flowers bloom and on whose grounds play well-dressed, intelligent boys and girls. Through the assistance of the demonstration agents the mothers have learned to "take what they have and make what they want"; the fathers have learned to have a good, pure-bred cow to furnish milk for his children, and aside from his staple crop of cotton or corn to have a garden that furnishes the variety of vegetable foods for the family table, while his storehouse smells of savory meats grown and cured by the family.

The Anna T. Jeanes Fund is supplementing local funds for the employment of Jeanes Fund supervisors who teach vocational work in the schools and "tie up" the school work with the home life of the rural people.

The Rosenwald schools, made possible by the generosity of Julius Rosenwald, are supplying Negro children in many rural sections with a chance to enjoy the benefits of a modern, well-equipped school building, a community center school. Parents contribute personally to the fund for the erection of these Rosenwald schools, the county appropriating a certain amount, and the Rosenwald Fund making up the balance necessary to insure a model school. The lesson of self-help taught the patrons of these schools is a distinct contribution to the development of the race.

In the Rosenwald school auditorium the young people of the community have their concerts and entertainments, the women's clubs have their meetings, and the community problems are worked out, while the well-kept grounds supply the playground for the children.

II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

THE ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN CANADA

Emily F. Murphy, Judge of Magistrate's Court, Edmonton, Canada

It is fitting that the subject of justice as administered in the United States and Canada should be discussed in the same session of this great parliament of social work in that the legal procedure of both countries had origin in Magna Charta, signed at Runnymede in June, 1215, by King John of England.

In recognition of this fact the International Magna Charta Day Association has been formed to set apart a "Liberty Day," wherein, once a year, the seven English-speaking nations may consider the necessity of their standing together to uphold the principles set forth in the Great Charter.

The seven nations specified are: the British Isles, the United States, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Newfoundland, and Canada.

While in Canada we are truly "a people of inheritance," yet being a self-governing colony, we frame our own statutes and ordinances, these, however, requiring the assent of the governor-general, as respresenting the crown, before they come into temporary operation. Indeed, all prosecution in our criminal courts is made in the name of the king, although this is also a recognition of the interests of the people as represented by the sovereign.

While in every land the criminal law is a target for shafts, yet, in this Dominion, we have fair reason for pride in that somewhat ponderous compilation of laws entitled "The Criminal Code." We have also reason for pride in our impartial tribunals. Justice is well and truly administered by experienced and high-minded judges who hold their positions for life except under impeachment for improper conduct. And it is of the utmost importance that the judiciary should be men of the best quality in that the fair administration of justice is more dependent upon the judge than upon the law, by reason of the fact that the law permits a wide discretion in the imposition of minimum and maximum sentence, or in the suspension of sentence.

It is a common practice of journalists to cite parallel sentences on the same offense, as pronounced by judges in different courts, in order to show that unfairness must exist by reason of the wide divergence of punishment imposed. Contrariwise, these comparisons rather serve to demonstrate a sense of responsibility on the part of the judges, in that they would seem to have been studying the criminals upon whom the sentences are to be imposed, as well as the crimes. While the criminal code places all men on a level and applies the law equally,

most judges know that all men are not equal either mentally, morally, or physically, and that their social records are very different. There is much sense, after all, in the opinion of that eminent legal authority who declared, "It is necessary to divide delinquents into two main categories: those who should never go to prison and those who should never come out."

Ferri was correct when he declared the great principle of the present and future, for criminal science, to be the individualization of penal treatment. In a word, criminals must be classified as well as crimes. It may be a tedious process, but it is surely and gradually taking place that justice as a punitive force is coming to coincide with justice as a specific and curative force in social life. This being so, we might presently consider the timeliness and propriety of amending the title of "The Criminal Code" to read "The Code of Social Justice."

Of late years, in Canada, what some call "the new penology," but what is properly the science of criminology, has done much to assist the judiciary in making just and mature decisions. By criminology we mean that branch of social justice given to the study of the genesis of crime.

It is true that in Canada, as in other countries, there are still some few members of the judiciary whose problem is to fix a certain quantum of penalty, hypothetically proportioned for every crime committed, taking little if any cognizance of human values. These oppose the introduction of scientific standards of criminology, stigmatizing its advocates as theorists and mere sentimentalists. Because of this, there is a strongly growing opinion that the criminal bench should be separated from the civil bench, thus largely obviating legal bias and permitting the introduction of scientific methods such as already practiced in the juvenile courts. In these, the judge, with the assistance of certain functionaries, becomes cognizant of the social history of the child, as well as of its psychopathic, physiological, and moral status, thus enabling him to mold the course of the child's future as well as to pass judgment upon its past.

Every year a large army of physically and mentally handicapped convicts is being locked up and turned out only to be locked up again. It is estimated that two-thirds of our prisoners are made up of recidivists—a grim and vast procession whose condition, for the most part, is due to the serious abnormal conditions from which they suffer. These persons are unfitted to profit by measures intended for normal persons, and so become what we term the "repeaters."

Where special medical clinics are available for the use of courts, it has been found that the physical endurance of some of these prisoners is rapidly diminishing under Bright's disease, consumption, epilepsy, diabetes, heart disease, or syphilis, so that the sentence indicated might seem to be a short one with medical treatment readily available. In some cases the underlying causative factors responsible for a prisoner's delinquent career are feeblemindedness, venereal disease, and drug addiction, a trinity of evils greater than any scourge that ever afflicted mankind. To come to a decision in such a case the judge

needs the assistance of several clinicians and the conclusion is inescapable that such assistance must be contributory, not only to a more intelligent treatment of the offender, but to a better understanding as between the court and the physicians.

At this point it might be argued fallaciously that the law and its processes are not called upon to justify themselves by results, and Blackstone might be quoted as saying: "Law . . . . cannot be framed on principles of compassion to guilt." Compassion for guilt is not, however, being urged, but only responsibility therefor, although even Blackstone says in this same paragraph, "yet justice by the Constitution of England is bound to be administered in mercy; this is promised by the king in his coronation oath."

Canadian society is not generally in favor of a greater leniency in matters of criminal offense, in that society must endeavor to protect itself against the malefactor, but it is deeply concerned that criminal responsibility shall be clearly shown by the accused person.

Society is coming to consider the criminal court in the light of a casualty clearing station where the offender's case shall be carefully diagnosed and the proper remedy applied. This remedy may be a term in jail or other correctional institution, a fine in dollars and cents, a remand to a mental hospital, or a period of trying out known as probation. At the present time the only preventive justice provided by the criminal code is a bond requiring the convicted person to keep the peace and to be of good behavior toward His Majesty and his liege people.

In Canada, as elsewhere, the greatest bar to justice is its costliness. Owing to our complex and super-technical procedure, few persons have the knowledge or experience which would enable them to present their own cases in an orderly manner, so that the superior court instead of proving a house of refuge to the oppressed, may become a forbidding and inaccessible fortress.

In the magistrate's courts no counsel is actually necessary in that the magistrate protects the rights of the accused adequately, examining the witnesses to bring out the important facts, but even here the court costs are becoming more burdensome every year because of the police expenses, and the fees imposed when a justice of the peace presides. Indeed, we are even adding the interpreter's costs, in the case of a foreigner, and then sending him to jail if he cannot pay these, although it is equally to the crown's advantage to have the evidence interpreted. Indeed, without an interpreter, the magistrate could not hear the evidence at all and, in consequence, the court could not fulfil its functions of affording a fair trial. Maybe old Samuel Butler was not entirely in the wrong when he said, "The law can take a purse in open court whilst it condemns a less delinquent for it."

It is urged by an optimist that under Utopian conditions an accused person may be able to go into court and conduct his defense without expenditure of a cent, and, if innocent, be sure he will come out fully exonerated without suffer-

ing any loss whatever. But as we are far from Utopian conditions, the best we can do for the accused indigent person is to provide him with a public defender. In Canada, the prisoner is often the prey of reprobate persons without being able to help himself.

In other countries, departments of justice or law societies are instituting a system whereby the services of a public defender are available to the accused instead of assigned counsel. This defender advises him as to his rights, and conducts his case on its merits without resorting to trickery or to those technical objections which are taken chiefly for the delaying of justice. It has been found that the employment of a public defender is not only a solution of these glaring evils, but, without prejudicing the interests of the accused, has very greatly lessened expense to the state in that there are fewer appeals and motions to quash. Incidentally, this course has destroyed much of the opposition made by lawyers to the reform of criminal procedure. This opposition, it is claimed, arose largely out of the fear that these reforms would limit their field of practice. This may be true to a certain extent, but not generally. Our criminal laws and criminal procedure through the centuries have been framed by lawyers of the highest intelligence and integrity and, in our own time, there may be found men of equal status who are ready, yea, eager, to amend any abuse or error, however flagrant, which may have crept in.

We have said that in Canada we are proud of our impartial tribunals, and we are, but yet in our desire to protect the accused and to practice an even-handed justice there has come about, through appeals, a grievous condition of delayed enforcement which permits of many guilty persons escaping punishment. These delays have allowed the defense to take advantage of the prosecution by various expedients such as tampering with the witnesses or getting them out of the country. This protracted procedure also proves an advantage to the longer purse. To be a successful criminal you must have money in the bank or rich friends. It is inevitable that when appeals are prolonged unreasonably, an inconvenience and often a great expense is involved to those who are bound over to appear, with a gradually diminishing chance of success. These appeals are often frivolous, and are taken solely for the purpose of delay or that the decisions of the lower court may be reversed on some slight technicality, in spite of the curative clauses set forth in the criminal code. The result is a miscarriage of justice and a consequent increase of crime.

Referring to this abuse, Mr. Macdonald of Pictou, in the House of Commons in April of 1923, is reported by Hansard as saying: "I am instructed that in the city of Montreal out of sixty-eight appeals that were taken during the past six months, forty of the appellants when the cases came on to be heard in appeal never turned up, which indicates that the parties who were appealing had put up the necessary security merely for the purpose of gaining time and evading the penalties which the law had provided, and were willing to pay the money in order to escape."

It might be true that some departments of justice prefer the estreating of the bail rather than the expense of maintaining prisoners, but this does not palliate the abuse. If money be preferable in these cases then the imposition of imprisonment should be entirely abolished. In this connection it is apropos to quote a writer in the *Quarterly Review* who said that when some serious robbery takes place the public makes a large outcry and issues complaints in all the papers and demands to know what the police are doing. The latter could justly reply that it nearly always arrests the culprits, but that justice hastens to return them to society, more given over to robbery than before, and better instructed in the means of escaping the police. Be this as it may, a change in procedure is overdue. In England, until seventeen years ago, there was no court of appeal and even at the present time appeal is not a matter of right and can only be made when the trial court thinks the merits of the case are involved.

In the United States, in order that the system of criminal jurisprudence may be freed from these vitiating technicalities, they are making an attempt to restate, unify, and simplify the criminal law, as Mr. Roscoe Pound has expressed it, "so that causes may be disposed of as a whole without repeated partial threshings over of the same straw in separate proceedings."

The American Law Institute is at present working to this end. This body consists of a council of eminent jurists and law professors, thirty-three in number. They are not attempting a codification but "an authoritative statement of the law in the sense that the decisions of the highest courts are authoritative as legal precedents." This will be analytical, critical, constructive, and may fairly be claimed as the most important work ever taken up by the legal profession of any country. It is like elaborating the obvious to say that in Canada we shall observe this movement with the keenest interest not only because our codes have had their origins in the same source but because our ideals of justice, as Saxon peoples, must be co-ordinative, and, as far as feasible, co-operative. Surely, "'tis a consummation devoutly to be wished."

Awhile ago, I said that in this Dominion we were "a people of inheritance." In conclusion, it is my high honor as a Canadian to acknowledge to the Mother Country our indebtedness for this immeasurable heritage as embodied in our civil laws and criminal jurisprudence.

How better can I acknowledge this than in the words of a great Saxon poet:

> Thine equal laws by Freedom gained
> Have ruled thee well and long;
> By Freedom gained, by Truth maintained,
> Thine Empire shall be strong.

COMMUNITY PROTECTIVE SOCIAL MEASURES

Jessie F. Binford, Director, Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago

Preventive protective work is the goal of all those who are in the fields of delinquency and crime today. We are ashamed of our jails and prisons. We realize how futile many of our so-called punitive methods have been. Our administration of justice results too often in the greatest injustice. Our defectives are not discovered and cared for when they are young, as they should be. We are challenged by the great numbers of children and young people especially who because of delinquency and crime are passing through courts and on into reformatories and prisons. We have, however, learned to use our courts, our prisons, and our reformatories as great laboratories for social research, and in the lives of men, women, and children who are there meting out their sentences and commitments, we are able to trace unmistakable causes of delinquency and crime and we can no longer plead ignorance.

We are faced, first of all and most emphatically, by the great basic fundamental causes which have wrecked so many lives: bad heritage and disease; neglect, poverty, desertion, sordidness, and non-support in the homes; child labor with its monotonous, dangerous occupations and noncreative work; our educational systems that fail to adjust themselves to the child; our recreation that has become so commercialized, and the lack of recreation altogether. We are meeting these facts with all of our great child welfare movements because all efforts in social betterment increasingly carry the emphasis nearer to the inception of life. Child welfare is becoming the slogan of good citizenship and we know that when we reach the goal these movements are aiming at, our children will never get started on these paths that eventually and unquestionably lead to crimes and delinquencies.

We realize, however, that we cannot suddenly give all our children a good heritage, health, strength, and sound minds. We cannot in a few years so change our economic conditions that they will be assured homes with even minimum standards of comfort, support, and decency. It will be long before our educational systems adapt themselves completely to the development of all children and it will take many years before we can assure sufficient decent, wholesome recreation without any features that mean the exploitation of youth.

In the histories of these so-called defectives, delinquents, and criminals, we are faced, however, not only with our short-sightedness in allowing ignorance, disease, child labor, and poverty to handicap the lives of little children, but we realize that they almost always involve certain other contributing conditions in our communities which mean the exploitation of young people for the financial gain of commercial interests or the selfish desires of some person from whom youth has a right to expect protection. A short time ago I spent a day at

Sherborn Prison. It was a conference of the state probation officers, and into that conference were called about a hundred of the girls who were serving sentences in that institution, to help us consider all the problems involving detection, commitment, and probation. At our request, Mrs. Hodder asked the girls what conditions they thought existed in the communities from which they came which were dangerous to girls, and there was an immediate response. These young girls—for the average age of the two hundred there is twenty-one years—were not conscious, of course, of the real fundamental factors that had perhaps handicapped them for life, but they were most conscious of certain community conditions and they told about dance halls, joy rides, moving pictures, jazz music, roadhouses, and bad company.

Some of us who have been in the so-called field of social protective measures feel that this is a subject which is more or less neglected in our great conferences of social work. We do not believe that we discuss and consider enough these community conditions which are such great counteracting influences to the best that is given to the child in the home, the school, and the church. These conditions mean prostitution, immorality, disease, perversion, crime, and other delinquencies. You will not find in many communities, even in our large cities, organizations which exist especially for the consideration of these conditions. Whether we have specialized organizations or not, as social workers we cannot escape our responsibilities in allowing these things to exist; for certainly no one is in a position to see the effect and havoc they bring as we are. As I see it, there are two things we can do: we can either eliminate dangerous demoralizing influences altogether, if they mean merely exploitation of young people; on the other hand, if they have recreational features which we need and which on the whole are wholesome, we can so co-operate with the commercial interests that they may become a part of our own programs.

There came a time during the last twenty-five years when we did seem aware of these more obvious factors in delinquency and crime which flourish and exist at our very doors. It was as though we were suddenly able as never before to bring our community life into focus and this was the time when we were faced with the problem of making our young men fit to fight. We had never brought out into the open the great questions of prostitution, of venereal disease, of the dearth of recreation, until we came to ask ourselves what effect disease, immorality, and demoralizing entertainment had on the young men of the country whom we wanted to put into good condition mentally, morally, and physically to fight in the war. What was the answer? The medical profession launched its great venereal disease campaign; social workers began taking into consideration the great factor of venereal disease; social hygiene education became of the greatest importance; our government, national, state, and municipal, wiped out our red light districts; all forces united in planning wholesome recreation on a large scale and in bringing commercialized recreation up to decent standards.

Today we are drifting back. Many states have failed to continue their appropriations for social hygiene and venereal disease work. Our government has given up its interdepartmental social hygiene board. Our health departments are not interested as they were, and our citizenship, including our social workers, fails to demand now the high standards and protection which we demanded as a matter of course throughout the country for the boys who were being trained as soldiers. We must continue to carry on this program; prosecuting when necessary, co-operating and standardizing when possible; but in one way or another protecting our young people. We may have no legislation that adequately covers certain demoralizing factors or even vice conditions; it may be most difficult and impossible to get sufficient evidence that will bring convictions in our courts; our law enforcement officers may be blind or corrupt or uninterested; but there is always one force left, one which I believe is the strongest of all, and that is public opinion.

As an illustration of the all-surpassing force of public opinion, I wish to give you very briefly a few facts concerning the consideration of certain community conditions in Chicago, which I believe contributed to more crime and delinquency than any of the fundamental causes which we have outlined. Three years ago we became aware of the seriousness of our cabaret situation through the stories told to Judge Bartelme by the 16,000 girls coming before her in the juvenile court. Through the complaints which Judge Bartelme sent to the Juvenile Protective Association at that time an investigation of the cabarets was begun which eventually covered a period of several months, and, joined by other organizations, prosecutions were initiated. Thousands of dollars were spent and finally three cabarets were closed. Orders were then supposed to be issued by the chief of police that all such places be closed, but they continued running, contributing to vice, prostitution, and the immorality of many young people. What we found in the cabarets opened our eyes to what the vice situation had become in Chicago. We learned through an analysis of the records of the morals court that it was usually the poor girls who operated alone on the streets or rooming-houses who were brought in by the police. The larger houses were being protected, and the police raids were merely sensational, violent, un-American methods of law enforcement. We realized more and more how very young the girls were who were exploited by the vice syndicates both in the city and in the roadhouses outside of the city limits, where unspeakable conditions existed. We gradually realized that our police department had no policy for the suppression of vice, or rather a policy of practically ignoring all vice conditions and regarding vice as of minor importance. Our police officials and citizens generally were failing to realize the close relationship of vice, gambling, and liquor to crime. We called for the help of the American Social Hygiene Association. Their investigators worked in Chicago three weeks. They found prostitution and solicitation; that our places of commercialized amusements were vile and disreputable dives, with

indecent singing and dancing. The girls in these places were very young—between eighteen and twenty-one, and even as young as fourteen. Saloons were nothing more than open houses of prostitution. Protected houses, vice syndicates, go-betweens, bootblacks, bell boys, taxicab chauffeurs, were all contributing to this great business which was so successfully exploiting young girls. Briefly, the result of all this was a petition to the grand jury, and two grand jury investigations; and even then we did not get action.

For two years it has been impossible to arouse the interest of any group sufficiently to bring public opinion to bear on a situation that no city could afford to countenance for a day, and our administration of justice failed us, from the detection of conditions by the police, on through our courts, to our last court of appeal, so to speak—the grand jury.

By the time we were ready to begin a third grand jury investigation—and we intended to continue until an aroused public opinion brought action—in spite of corruption within our municipal departments, an order was finally issued by our chief of police which closed the houses in the city within three hours. The church had come forward and on one Sunday night talks were given in all our churches on the situation. The Civic Club of men and women, the Association of Commerce, conservative clubs of men, the Dance Hall Managers' Association, the press, had finally rallied and awakened from their indifference and lack of appreciation of what certain community conditions mean. The policy of the police department on vice became one of the issues of one of the next campaigns for mayor, and candidates of both parties promised before election that they would appoint a chief of police who would suppress commercialized vice in all its various forms. All the places that are put out of business, so to speak, by such a campaign, have no legitimate place in our communities. It is for us to find out where and what they are through the lives of those who have been exploited by them.

If then, in the face of actual facts, our law enforcement officials, our courts, and even our mayors fail us, the community may be so aroused that a municipal house-cleaning will be assured. On the other hand, we have in each and every community enterprises organized to make profit out of the invincible love of pleasure of our young people, and they have entered our greatly neglected field of recreation. Our educators, our religious leaders, our physicians, and social workers are considering the great constructive aspects of recreation as never before. Our municipalities are more and more conscious of their responsibilities, but if municipally organized recreation is the solution, at least for our large cities, we know that we will have to wait many years for it. It is unbelievable how quick our commercial interests have been to see and to meet the demands and the fact that the American people now have more leisure time and more money to spend. When we face the problems of commercial recreation today, we face no small isolated places of amusement but great consolidated financial interests. The recreation movement is in its infancy and whatever

develops or whatever the solution eventually is, commercialized amusements will exist. We believe they should be an asset and not a liability, but that they never will be until those of us who have had the opportunity and know so well what contributes to the welfare of children and young people draw into our conferences and confidences these men and women to whom we now turn over so much of the leisure time of our children. Immorality has extended to other fields than those of alcoholism and prostitution, and the commercialization of the sex instinct is now affecting young people and presents, I believe, a much greater and more complex problem than that of segregated prostitution. Liquor, drugs, jazz music, obscene, suggestive, and vulgar songs, literature, posters, vaudeville performances, unsupervised places of amusement, may soon break down the morale of a boy or girl. They long and dream for companionship, joy, and recreation; and we not only fail them in not providing what is good, but allow other interests in our communities to meet their cravings with what may be most vicious.

In the Juvenile Protective Association in Chicago, organized primarily to investigate conditions which contribute to the demoralization of young people, the majority of our complaints of conditions of questionable and dangerous places are those which were almost all frequented by our young people in quest of recreation and pleasure. Considering them, we face at once the great questions of censorship and personal liberty. We work on this theory: Commercialized recreation may be negligible in not contributing to what is most valuable in play activities, but when it contributes to the demoralization of young people we have a right to censor and prohibit. We have come to believe, however, that the greatest number of those who control our commercialized recreation do not consciously mean to exploit young people and that they really care about as much as we do to protect our boys and girls.

There is the public dance hall subjected to so much criticism and condemnation, attracting thousands of young people where we reach hundreds in our settlements, our parks, and other small recreation centers. In Chicago we no longer publicly criticize the dance halls nor do we attempt to regulate them by city ordinances or police supervision. With close co-operation, real understanding, and friendliness, we are now working with the men and women who are the owners and managers, to make their dance halls safe and decent and attractive. With these new methods we first of all eliminated jazz music which we regard as more demoralizing even than liquor, advertising pluggers with their suggestive songs, bad dancing, and questionable conduct, by having both men and women supervisors. Questionable patrons were investigated and forbidden the privileges of the dance hall if necessary. Under this new method of reform from within our dance halls have prospered financially as never before; small undesirable halls have gone out of existence, and the Ballroom Managers' Association now contributes to the salary and expenses of a worker in the private organization that has attempted so to co-operate with

them. They no longer countenance those features in their business which have been real contributing factors to delinquency, and they are even more proud of what has been done than we are.

Then there is the poolroom—the general neighborhood rendezvous and hangout for young boys and men. In Chicago we have thousands located in every district of the city. Working with the Illinois Billiard Association, we are trying to eliminate from them those features which make them contribute so much to the delinquencies of the boys who finally appear in our boys' court. For one year the Illinois Billiard Association paid the salary of a worker in the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago to assist them in their work of finding and prosecuting violations and in their effort to make the poolroom a recreation center.

Just recently through the Candy Jobbers' Association we are working toward the elimination of the candy gambling devices and machines which familiarize our little children with games of chance. These are found in literally hundreds of school stores.

The great moving picture industry has not yet responded to any great extent to the interest of those elements in our communities which would help them decide what is going to be done about the production and exhibition of the films of today which are so questionable in their effect. We have, however, been able to use this more co-operative method in connection with one phase of the moving picture business. We have tried to convince and persuade the owners of our moving picture houses in Chicago to discontinue the use of small children on the stage on amateur nights, not only because of the law against it, but much more than that because of the effect even amateur stage life has on little children. Most of these men honestly thought they were giving the children a great opportunity to develop their talent, and had come to regard themselves quite in the light of patrons of art.

To win the confidence and respect, the friendship, and a working partnership agreement with the managers and owners of poolrooms, theaters, dance halls, moving picture houses, takes much more time and thought and effort than to prosecute or legislate against them. But we have come to believe in this method, though as yet we see only vaguely all that might be accomplished by using it. We not only eliminate and prohibit certain conditions but we have won over a comparatively new group to a social point of view.

When our boys and girls finally come into our mental hygiene clinics for behavior difficulties; into our truancy department and our juvenile court for dishonesty and running away and sex offenses; into our boys' court for the more serious offenses; into our morals court for prostitution, we stand appalled. Let us remember that these represent only a few of all those who are more or less affected by conditions. Comparatively, we have only a few cases of girls coming into Judge Bartelme's court from the cabarets; in the most vicious, demoralizing cabarets we had had an average weekly attendance of 10,000 young people.

Even the most normal child, well born, with health, education, and a privileged home cannot escape community life into which he sooner or later must go. Miss Abbott outlined for us the duty of the city and the state and the nation to little children. In our valuation of human life let us hold the state just as responsible for protection from disease and immorality and demoralizing influences.

With all the modern preventive work which is being done to solve the problems of delinquency and crime, work that is so scientifically and intelligently beginning back even with the preschool age of the child, let us not forget that certain commercialized interests, certain conditions, certain tendencies in the life of today, not only in cities but in very small towns, can soon sweep away and destroy and consume what it has taken years to build in the lives of our boys and girls, leaving mental and moral and physical wreckage. Miss Addams closed her wonderful book, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, with these words:

> We may either smother the divine fire of youth or we may feed it. We may either stand stupidly staring as it sinks into a murky fire of crime and flares into the intermittent blaze of folly or we may tend it into a lambent flame with power to make clean and bright our dingy city streets.

THE POLICEWOMAN

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Miss Binford's paper on protective work is, to a large extent, an outline of responsibilities that must also be included in policewomen's service. Preventive protective work is policework, and is gradually finding its way into police departments through policewomen who are demonstrating its value, but its full significance will be realized only when every policeman becomes a preventive agent.

The beginning of the socializing of policework lay in the appointment of matrons in 1888 and 1889 who were to look after the physical needs of the women's quarters in jails, workhouses, police stations, and of the women and children held therein. Later they served also as escorts for insane women committed to hospitals, and for girls and women taken to court. Some police chiefs noted the value of matrons and used them for interviewing women prisoners and for special investigations.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union was the first organization to work for the appointment of such women. Women's clubs interested in moral and social reform soon recognized the value of them, and agitated for policewomen, believing that the service by women should be extended into the community, and they secured the first appointment in 1910. Up to the present day, club women have clamored for the appointment of policewomen, and are only now beginning to realize that it is not enough to appoint them but that such

women should have special training and qualifications, and that they must follow their demands through to see that the right kind of women are appointed. Otherwise they may find that unfortunate appointments have been made of women in no way qualified to fill positions. It has frequently occurred that in lieu of pensions, widows of policemen with no training were appointed, or matrons of the jails and police departments secured legislation giving them the positions of policewomen with no prerequisites of education, social training, or experience. Social workers did not enter this field until very recently, but the movement for their appointment gained impetus during the war, when trained social workers were employed to put into practice preventive measures for the benefit of men in the army and navy, and for girls and women camp followers. There were many good teachers among them, who interested community groups and chiefs of police in the adoption of preventive social measures. Some women would have remained behind for service in police departments, but at that time the salaries were far below what the government paid. Even the social worker, to be effective in police service, must get knowledge of local legal and departmental work in a police department. We are constantly petitioned for policewomen, "no novices, but trained experienced women," and there are few to be had. Those now serving are not being released by police departments for service in other cities. We must therefore train policewomen in special schools. For this purpose, two years ago, the Boston School of Public Service, affiliated with Simmons College, was established. Last year George Washington University offered a training course, and the New York School of Social Work trained qualified social workers for positions as police executives. The University of California is contemplating a full year's training for students who desire to serve in this field. Women's organizations and social workers recognize that it is simpler to secure the appointment of policewomen than to obtain contributions for private protective agencies. This carries with it the danger of political interference.

In communities where politicians possess or assume the power of direct selection of policewoman, their attitudes toward the service are expressed in widely different ways, as is evidenced by their selection of unsuitable women and the initiation of low standards and poor methods. In departments where policewomen believe themselves "protected," they resent supervision and, mainly, do as they please. This is chiefly true in large cities where the women from clubs and organizations have not interested themselves in the appointments, and have forgotten the existence of the policewomen for whom they made demands.

Another element which has hampered development is the police chief who has sex prejudice and fears innovations. He may have policewomen and not want them, or may oppose their appointment. In some cities policewomen have been established with men to supervise their work. This plan has proved more or less disastrous to the primary purpose of women in police departments. St. Louis, however, is an outstanding exception.

When policewomen were organized to function as a unit, and the individual women selected because of their training, the importance of the contribution that women can make to any community in preventive protective work was realized and appreciated by most police chiefs. There are now many places in this country and Europe where women's bureaus are an accepted fact, and the directors are experienced social workers. London, some provincial cities of Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Germany, and Austria used this plan since the early days of the war, when policewomen were first appointed. In Great Britain they were volunteers until their salaries became chargeable to police funds in 1916. These cities, barring London, might easily exchange programs with the best departments in the United States and find no appreciable difference, and all of them are doing modern social work. In Holland, policewomen are called *Kinder Politie* or "Children's Police." London is the only city in Europe in which an attempt was made to destroy the women's bureau. Indianapolis, a city of 314,000, had a bureau consisting of thirty policewomen—the only one thus far established with a sufficient staff to carry out a complete community program. Forces of evil dominating the mayor prevailed upon him to abolish this service. Shortly after his election he closed the women's bureau.

The uniform has little merit for policewomen. American policewomen believe that it is the British women's greatest handicap. In some departments women rank as sergeants, lieutenants, captains, and there is one deputy commissioner. In a number of police departments the policewomen are also responsible for the detention homes.

The duties of the policewomen include office routine such as is found in every social case work agency, entailing the keeping of confidential records; patrol that includes railroad stations, public comfort stations, vicinity of high schools, and all places of public assembly, including dance halls, cafés, *cafés dansant*, theaters, and other places of public amusement, and department stores; case work, special investigations with reference to individual crimes, preparation of such cases for court, search for missing persons and parents of lost children, responsibility for all detail in connection with such cases; investigation of neighborhood conditions, disorderly houses, rooming-houses, apartments, hotels, etc.; aiding policemen in securing evidence; detection of loiterers and mashers—afoot and in autos—panderers, and solicitors.

The selection of policewomen should be through civil service and the merit system only. This work in police departments holds the broadest opportunity for service by the social worker. There is great difficulty in keeping out persons who are attracted only by the opportunity for a salary. Salaries in New York are the highest—$2,500 for privates, and $3,600 for lieutenants. In other cities salaries vary from $1,200 to $2,100 for privates, and for directors $2,700 to $3,500.

That police chiefs are no longer in doubt as to how to use women in their departments is indicated by the adoption of the following standards at their convention in San Francisco in June, 1922. Organizations seeking the appoint-

ment of policewomen and the establishment of women's bureaus may now hold the chiefs responsible to at least the extent of these standards:

We, the subcommittee appointed by your chairman, have examined the report on the purpose and scope of a woman's bureau, and respectfully offer the following recommendations thereon:

1. The policewoman is a necessity to organized police departments.

2. Policewomen attached to the department shall be under the strict supervision of the chief of police as a unit in the department, and where there is a sufficient number, one of them shall be a ranking officer in the department.

3. Appointments to the position of policewoman in the department shall be made from the certified civil service lists—that is, of course, wherever there is a civil service list.

4. Policewomen shall hold office during good behavior and efficient service.

5. The appointment of policewomen is for the purpose of carrying out a preventive and protective program for the community, that will include the social protection of women and children.

6. Requirements: The minimum standard below which educational qualifications may not fall should be as follows: (a) Graduation from a four years' course of a standard high school or the completion of at least fourteen college-entrance units of study, and not less than two years' experience, recent and responsible, in systematic social service or educational work; or (b) Graduation from a recognized school for trained nurses requiring a residence of at least two years in a hospital giving thorough practical and theoretical training; or (c) The completion of at least seven college-entrance units of study or of two years' work in a standard high school, and not less than two years' responsible commercial work involving public contact and responsibilities tending to qualify the applicant to perform the duties of the position, with the equivalent of the college education through experience, such as secretarial work.

7. The primary function of policewomen is to deal with all cases in which women and children are involved, whether as offenders or victims of offenses. Crimes by and against females, irrespective of age, and boys up to the age of twelve, should be the special responsibility of the policewomen. They should discover, investigate, and correct anti-social circumstances and conditions in individual cases, and in the community, deal socially and legally with all delinquent women and children, give or secure social treatment calculated to result in reform, supplement the work of policemen in securing evidence and convictions in special cases that will aid in correcting evil conditions.[1]

Policemen and policewomen must work together. Each has a contribution to make to the other in a preventive protective program that neither can do without. It is not sufficient to have policewomen here and there in departments, nor women's bureaus with twenty or more women. Unless the men are made socially responsible for community conditions and for the prevention of delinquency, service by policewomen will be merely a demonstration of what could be done by socialized police forces. When of 500,000 offenders passing through jails, workhouses, reformatories, and prisons annually, 80 per cent are under twenty-one years of age, we are obliged to ask, Why these failures? How much have the police contributed to this enormous increase of crime by neglecting their main duty—prevention—and how much crime results from suggestion by the press, the theater, and the motion picture? We appreciate the attitude of Washington newspapers for withholding from publication all accounts of and names of girls involved in sex offenses and we hope for the

[1] Excerpt from the proceedings, International Association of Police Chiefs.

day when crime in general will be outlawed as news, to the greatest possible extent. It is a well-known fact that the so-called "better class" violates and incites to violation of the prohibition amendment, thus causing disregard for law and order by those from whom they make their illicit purchases. The anarchy they teach leads to crimes of violence, chiefly by young men previously unknown to the police. The greatest of all causes in the making of criminals is war, with its attending economic difficulties, its cheapening of human life, and lowering of moral standards. Social workers are only now learning how to deal with the individual offender in order to salvage some of the wreckage, and there are very few genuine preventive agencies dealing with this question. Adding another—policewomen—will not assist very much in solving this problem unless the service is an entering wedge toward socializing police departments so that every policeman will be required to act as a preventive agent.

Only three big forward steps have been taken by police departments: the establishment of traffic bureaus for the prevention of accident and death, the adoption of fingerprinting and other up-to-date means of identification, and the addition of policewomen for preventive protective work. The next step must be the social functioning by policemen who must do their utmost to prevent people from becoming criminals. Arthur Woods, former police commissioner of New York City, says:

> In securing this service [police] the public has a grave responsibility. The duty of the public toward its police force is to provide it with sound leadership; to keep informed as to how the work is being done; to insist that the policeman's welfare, physical, mental and moral, is well looked after; to demand from the force a high grade of duty; to despise and condemn dishonesty or any unworthy conduct in a policeman or one who tempts him; to be quick, cordial, and generous in perceiving good police-work, and in giving it wholehearted approbation.
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> With this sort of public attitude our police forces would be regenerated; the service rendered to the community would rise higher and higher, and the policemen, besides doing their work better in the old, tried conventional paths, would reach out to new methods; would find and carry into operation means of preventing crime and of saving those who are attempting to commit crime, so that besides apprehending criminals they would go a step farther and prevent crime, and then, again another long splendid step forward to prevent people from becoming criminals.

Instead of communities interesting themselves as indicated by these noble principles we find them prejudiced against, and sometimes bitterly critical of, the police for reasons that are not inherent in police departments. The policemen, as a class, are just as honorable as any other group of men. Their desire to serve the community well is as great as that in the hearts of social workers, even to expressing itself in giving of their own means to those who come to their attention—not pursuing the correct social methods, to be sure—but indicative of the spirit which prompts the gift. Communities should bear in mind the human side of the policeman, and that if he is not up to the education and training that is necessary to meet modern police problems, it is because they have not demanded it, and until recently were (and many cities still are) unwilling to pay for expert service.

There is another more subtle and powerful influence reflected in police work, known in large cities as the "system," and common in all cities and counties down to those having sheriffs, deputies, and state police. This is the influence of political machines that use members of police departments, from commissioners down to privates in the ranks. A vivid picture of this insidious power was related by a chief of police of a western city who stated that he was ordered to keep his hands off certain cafés, cabarets, and other commercial recreation, and was allowed a free hand with similar unprotected enterprises. He sought the cause. Leaders of the party in power told him that one dance-hall owner had given $25,000, one $10,000, one $5,000 as campaign contributions. He further learned that most of the forces of evil were supporting political parties without reference to which one was in power, and thus bought immunity from arrest.

What is true of this western city is true of most cities. To defeat these forces social workers must join political parties, must take an active part in their work, and must see that they are supported exactly as social work and churches are supported—by contributions from all good citizens interested in public welfare. Failure to make American government function for the common good lies in the fact that the respectable voting citizenry of this nation ignores its political responsibilities to the extent even of forgetting to cast its ballots, and leaves the field to the self-appointed professional politician, condoning his belief that he himself is the "party." Not only are the police victims of this "system" (and they dare not protest against it because most of them have dependent families), but the courts, too, and many probation departments are dominated by such politicians.

We must look to social workers to become the policewomen of tomorrow. In police work will be found not only the greatest opportunity for service on behalf of the potential delinquent and the prevention of delinquency, but also the opportunity to assist in socializing this largest of all agencies. Think of what it would mean if New York's 13,000 and London's 18,000 policemen functioned as preventive agencies. As matters now stand we find the courts and probation officers charging the police with the delinquency problem, and the police charging the court and probation officers with creating the increase in crime by their "milksop" methods of treatment, not to forget the superintendents of institutions who hold both these groups responsible for the aggravated problem with which they are obliged to deal.

We are all at fault. Each group is only too prone to see the question of delinquency from its own angle without reference to the problem as a whole, and certainly without reference to society. Let us, therefore, join hands. Policework is social work, and until you include it in social service we shall continue to pass delinquents from one agency to another, and then from reformatory to jail, workhouse, and prison. Socialized policework is but a further extension of the government's responsibility for public welfare.

RACIAL AND MIGRATORY CAUSES OF CRIME

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I find it impossible to speak of the relative quantity of crime committed at different periods by different classes of people, and committed in different countries, on account of our present statistical facts with reference to crime. Comparisons are often made of the crime committed by the foreign-born and their children as compared with the rest of the American population who are neither foreign-born nor children of the foreign-born. Most of these conclusions are but more or less enlightened guesses with reference to the quantity of crime committed by these classes.

About ten years ago a young man asked me if it were not true that there were more crimes committed in the state of Kansas than any other state in the United States. I told him that I did not know and that it was not possible for anyone else to be able to answer his question successfully. If his informant meant that there were more criminals in penal institutions in Kansas with reference to the population of Kansas than any other state in the American Union, then a number of observations might be made with reference to that conclusion: first, if such were the case, it might be possible that the police system of Kansas was more efficient than the police system of any other state in detecting crime and in arresting criminals; second, it might mean that the courts of criminal justice were more efficient than in other states in successfully prosecuting criminals and sending them to penal institutions; third, it might mean that Kansas has higher standards as to what constitutes crime than other states; fourth, it might mean that men convicted of crime were sent to penal institutions for longer periods than is the case in other American states; fifth, it might mean that probation is used less in Kansas than in other states, in which case, everything else being equal, Kansas will have a higher percentage of men imprisoned. From these observations it will be seen that it is impossible to reason statistically to accurate conclusions with our present state of knowledge. Only the most elementary things with reference to crime may be satisfactorily compared.

A conspicuous case of faulty reasoning from a statistical standpoint may be seen in Lombroso's book entitled *Crime and Its Causes*. In concluding that crime increases with education, Lombroso pointed to the state of New Mexico as having a low state of intelligence and at the same time a low percentage of crime. While the people of New Mexico have a low average of intelligence because of the large number of ignorant Mexicans in New Mexico, it is not safe to conclude that the quantity of crime committed in New Mexico at the time Lombroso's book was written was low, for at this period the police system was not very effective in arresting criminals, and the courts of justice did not have a good record in successfully prosecuting them. Moreover, as New Mexico

is a rural rather than an urban state, the quantity of crime committed should be relatively low, as much more crime is committed in cities than in the open country.

The conditions under which the immigrants and their children live in the United States are responsible for a great deal of crime committed by them. Most of the immigrants in the United States are city dwellers, and the majority of them who come to the United States have lived abroad in the country. Crime is very largely a matter of social adjustment. These immigrants who live in the open country abroad and come to the United States and live in cities are compelled to make a twofold adjustment. In the first place they must make the adjustment resulting from going from the country to the city, and in the second place they make the adjustment of transferring their home from one country to another country.

The conditions under which they live abroad are static. They and their ancestors before them have lived in the same community, in most cases the sons following the occupation of the father. These communities remain relatively the same for hundreds of years. The people know what they can do and what they cannot do. The influence of family tradition and a desire to perpetuate a good name keep them within the limits prescribed by law. When they come to this country everything is new. They do not know what they can do and what they cannot do because of ignorance of our laws and institutions. Moreover the social judgment is less keen in making them obedient to the laws. The family tradition and family name mean little or nothing to them in requiring them to live up to a certain standard. Under these circumstances it is much easier for them to become delinquent in America than it was in their homes abroad.

The great majority of the immigrants who come are poor. In living in cities they are compelled to live where rent is cheap; consequently in most cases they live in the shop districts of American cities or in the slums. If they live in the former district, they live where the physical environment is crude and ugly, where there is little in home life and in the physical environment that is uplifting. On the other hand, if they live in the slums of cities, they live in the midst of vice and crime, and the children grow up to manhood and womanhood hardened by their social contacts with the ways of evil. Under these circumstances they are much more likely to be criminal than those who live under more inviting and natural surroundings.

The criminal influence, the narrow and ugly conditions under which the immigrant lives are far worse for his children than for himself. Childhood is a period of playtime. The children of the immigrants who live in the factory district of the American city or in its slums do not enjoy play under normal conditions. The amusement and recreational life is of less significance to the adult than to his children. His habits are already formed. The habits of his children are being formed, and they are being formed under circumstances that

result in degradation. Moreover, poverty conditions mean much more to the child than they do to the adult.

In a city of a western state an attempt was once made to eliminate a vice district on the theory that there were many families whose growing children were living in close proximity to vice and crime. Opposition to the elimination of the district arose from some who pointed out that the people who lived there were immigrants, and the presence of vice and crime didn't mean much to them.

There are other reasons why the children of immigrants are more likely to become criminal than their parents. The child learns the language, the ways, and customs of the country much sooner than his parents. He becomes at once an interpreter of the language, customs, habits of the people, and ways of doing things to his father and mother. The normal relations of parent and offspring are reversed. With many of the children the parent is considered a back number because of lack of knowledge of the language and customs of the country, and the boy and girl are unwilling to accept the judgments of their parents, and the latter lose control over them. The control which should be exercised by parents under any normal home conditions is gone, and children of the immigrant have the problem of adaptation in a new country and under a new environment without the parental help and guidance which the American child enjoys.

It is only since the world-war that we have given very much attention to Americanization, and with much of this I am not in sympathy. I am not in sympathy with the notion that the immigrant should forget and lose the language and the customs and traditions of the country from which he came. Those that are worth while should be preserved and should be thrown into the melting-pot of traditions, customs, and ideals of the new world. Everything that is worth while should be preserved and made a part of American life.

The foreigner, however, should learn the language of the country and the laws of the country. Much of the immigrant's crime has been committed through ignorance, from the lack of knowledge of what he can do and what he cannot do.

Many of them too have become embittered because of the class of Americans they have met and the attitude of certain types of Americans toward them. Many Americans have considered the immigrants as fit subjects for exploitation and have gone the limit in exploiting them because of their lack of knowledge of the country and its ways. Many of these who came to America as the land of their dreams have become embittered and have been more prone to commit crime on this account than would otherwise have been the case.

The only Americanization that is worth while is the Americanization which enables the immigrants to come in contact with the best of our people, the Americanization which enables them to learn the language and the customs of our country without forgetting the best in the traditions of the old world, and which enables them to share with us in the privileges and opportunities of

American life. Let us take a wholesome attitude toward immigrants, giving them the best opportunities which America affords, and the quantity of crime committed by immigrants and their children will greatly decline.

NEW TRENDS IN CRIMINOLOGY

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Modern principles of criminal law and procedure are largely traceable to the eighteenth-century humanitarian movement and to the philosophers who gave voice to that ethical renaissance. These first great strides in the humanizing of criminal law and procedure had as their theoretical, philosophical basis the "social contract" theory of Rousseau.

The speculations of eighteenth-century philosophers became crystallized in the penal codes of the nineteenth century, through the activities of the so-called classical school of criminology. The stressing of the rights and liberties of the free-willing individual was its chief characteristic. It made little or no attempt to distinguish between different individuals, since it attributed all conduct to free choices made by men all of whom had the capacity for such conduct. Consequently it treated crime objectively. Crime became a juridical abstraction; an invariable penalty, carefully measured out in advance for each type of crime and inflicted uniformly, was the ideal. Thus far penal codes were the reflection of purely speculative conceptions of the nature of man—man in the abstract. The neo-classical school arose as the result of the growing recognition of the fact that the theoretically unimpeachable principles of the classical school, derived by pure reason, would not hold water in certain very obvious cases. Manifestly, infants and the violently insane or hopelessly idiotic could not be considered on a parity with the so-called normal man.

The meaning of punishment up to this stage of development was merely the merciless collection of a debt due to society and that its prompt and uniform infliction would have a strongly deterrent effect. Here and there, as among the early Quakers of Pennsylvania, it was recognized that once the prisoner was in the custody of the agencies of the state, corrective and reformative work might profitably be done with him, both for the good of his soul and for the prevention of future socially injurious relapses on his part. The abstract, speculative conception of man, however, led not to a practicable program of individualized reformation and reconstruction based upon an understanding of the individual delinquent, but to such experiments as the Pennsylvania solitary-confinement system of the Quakers.

While the classical school attempted to keep itself alive by modifying its principles in accordance with the advancing biological and social sciences, this

process of modification resulted in internal inconsistency, for it meant the shifting of emphasis from the determination of appropriate penal treatment by the type of crime, to individualized treatment based upon careful study of each criminal.

The so-called positive school, founded by Lombroso, attempted a more consistent approach by insisting primarily upon study of the individual offender as a prerequisite both to general legislation and individualized treatment. It, and contemporary reformers in criminology, sought to escape the neo-classical dilemma of individualism versus the need for scientific social control by such compromise devices as the so-called indeterminate sentence. This sentence is, however, indeterminate only within minimum and maximum fixed limits, the object being to allow expression both to fixed legislative rule prescribed in advance and uniformly applicable to all cases, and judicial discretion to be exercised in the individual case.

With the advent of the work of Healy and others, individualized study and treatment have been carried as far as modern biological and social sciences will permit. Emphasis has at the same time been placed upon the importance of organized and intelligent effort directed to the prevention of the development of delinquent careers.

The preventive and rehabilitative work of such agencies as the Judge Baker Foundation of Boston and the Bureau of Children's Guidance of New York initiates a new era in the social attack on criminality; namely, the régime of clinical study of the processes of development of anti-social careers, and the conscious endeavor to evolve a workable technique for the successful heading-off of such development. The new method of attack is sufficiently known to this gathering to permit me merely to refer to it as one of the really significant trends in the modern attack on the problem of criminality.

We must content ourselves with but passing reference, also, to such preventive and constructive social measures as the community organization movement, the programs for the constructive use of leisure time, the mental hygiene movement, habit clinics for children of preschool age, the Scout and Big Brother movements, and similar vehicles of attack on the problems of personality development and prevention of anti-social conduct.

Some attempts have recently been made to evaluate existing criminal law and procedure by means of such enterprises as the monumental Cleveland Survey of Criminal Justice, with the view of at least bringing some order out of the chaos of overlapping agencies and authorities and putting them into harmony with modern social and industrial conditions in metropolitan centers.

But while readily conceding the need, and working for the reform and modernization of existing police, judicial, and penal machinery, we must give some heed to the beginnings of the demand for a recasting of fundamental notions in the criminal law. A new philosophy of the criminal law and new principles are being called for. There is a need for the introduction of more informality,

more of the spirit and method of modern administrative law, into the inquisitorial, prosecutory, and condemnatory machinery of modern technical criminal law and procedure. They suggest, further, the extension of the principle of individualization to the case of adult offenders, and of the increased use by courts of scientific aid in the treatment of the individual offender. They suggest, too, a lessening of the revengeful, repressive element in the politically organized social reaction to crime, however much the spirit of revengefulness and vindictiveness may still move us as individuals and as social groups organized on other than political lines.

There is a conflict between the need to make the law specific, well defined, uniformly applicable, on the one hand, and the need for such greater latitude in treatment as is suggested by the work of Healy and others. This is the crux of the entire situation in our criminal law and procedure today. It is traceable, as we have seen, to eighteenth-century individualistic philosophy which was embraced in our constitutions. We are confronted with a fundamental dilemma. On the one hand we must strive to maintain the social interest in the individual life, in the individual freedom, in the opportunity for purposive self-expression; on the other, we must try to absorb into our legal structure that principle of individualized diagnosis and treatment that frequently is inconsistent with what the prisoner himself and the public at large regard as being to his best interest. Justice, to the popular mind and to the individual in the toils of the law, means simply a uniform penalty, uniformly prescribed in advance by the legislature, and uniformly applied in specified cases.

A simple illustration will serve to clarify my meaning. Recently I had occasion to make a study of a novel law in Massachusetts, a law which is an early expression of the new movement we referred to. This law provides for the routine mental examination of all persons accused of capital offenses and those known to have been indicted for any other offense more than once or to have been previously convicted of a felony. Obviously, this law is attempting to encroach upon the traditional legal methods of doing things in this field. There is, it is true, nothing compulsory about the law. It depends entirely upon the whole-hearted co-operation of prosecutors, counsel for the defense, judges, probation officers, and other social workers, in an attempt to avoid waste motion; in brief, to make a sensible disposition of the individual case to the appropriate penal, correctional, or curative institution, in accordance with the findings of modern psychology and psychopathology and with the technique of modern social work. But it is a beginning of the movement toward the scientific disposition of at least certain classes of offenders.

The fault is not so much with the men who administer our laws, men who frequently are openminded and willing to give trial to new suggestions, but with existing criminal law and procedure, with the legislative prescription, in advance, of the limits of definite, brief sentences, under the readily pierced disguise of "indeterminate sentences," which, in practice, really amount to small

fixed sentences; and this most important feature of our criminal codes is traceable to the classical idea of each crime causing a definite amount of disturbance of the balance of the social order, and requiring a definite dose of penalty to wipe out the stain on the body politic and to restore the harmonious balance.

Now it is easy to point to these weaknesses in modern criminal codes, but an attempt to eliminate them, when made in the light of inherent limitations in all justice according to law, meets veritably insuperable obstacles. We are confronted with the need for balancing the social interest in the individual life and liberty against the social interest in the security and welfare of the social order. Any suggestion that we enact a wholly and genuinely indeterminate sentence for consistent and habitual offenders immediately meets the objection that this is too harsh an interference with individual life and liberty. Yet what is the use of all our preventive, penal, and correctional machinery if it continues to aid in, or at least fails to prevent, the manufacture of dangerous and costly recidivists? But it is frequently and precisely those things under our very noses that we fail sufficiently to consider.

The condition of recidivism is, as you know, well-nigh universal. For example, of the 9,219 occupants of our county jails in Massachusetts in 1922, 59 per cent had served on an average of six previous sentences. Similar percentages have been found for Sing Sing and other prisons. Recently a Massachusetts law was passed providing for the mental and physical examination of these inmates. Such laws are helpful; they are steps in the right direction. But they are not fundamental; they do not cut to the root of the evil. After mental and physical examination, what? We are up against the stone wall of tradition as crystallized in our penal codes. It is true that the Massachusetts jail survey will be useful in arousing the legislature to a consideration of the need of segregating the insane, feebleminded, and epileptic offenders in special institutions. But immediately we are back to the legal limitations, the time limits, of such special treatment as might be given these classified offenders.

An attempt to escape from the dilemma we are considering has, of course, been made by means of the so-called "habitual criminal acts" in operation in many states. I am not aware that anyone has made a careful study of the actual operation of these acts in the different states; but I venture to suggest that they are ineffective. The proper administration of such acts requires the co-ordinated functioning of efficient bureaus of criminal identification and statistics, and the whole-hearted co-operation of judges, prosecutors, and counsel for the defense. Moreover, the not uncommon practice of district attorneys bargaining with offenders as to the type and degree of offense they will plead guilty to is little calculated to induce the efficient operation of habitual criminal legislation. Further, the principle upon which these provisions usually proceed is wrong. We are again met here with the need for specific, legislative prescription of length of sentence in advance; for usually these acts provide for a definite increase in penalty if an offense is committed a second, third, or fourth

time. It may be far better, in individual cases, not to increase the penalty for a second offense, or even to reduce it, in the event that such treatment is indicated. In other words, the need for definiteness of legislative prescriptions in advance, automatizes and mechanizes the administration of the law not only in habitual criminal acts but in the suspended sentence and probation legislation, which quite typically and automatically requires that only first offenders (regardless of the individual make-up of the first offender under consideration) shall be granted these privileges. The automatizing and "lawyerizing" processes to which habitual criminal acts have been subjected in a zealous guarding of "individual rights and liberties" is apparent to anyone who has analyzed some of the vast number of decisions which have clustered about various technical questions arising out of habitual criminal legislation. Our codes reflect not only the much-cited antithesis between the method of the physician, who does not prescribe in advance the length of the treatment, and that of the judge, who is compelled to say or guess in advance exactly when the sick patient will be cured or the "perverse" sufficiently punished or reformed; they reflect the more ridiculous situation of the physician not being informed by the nurse as to the progress of the patient toward recovery, not visiting the patient at intervals to note his improvement, not modifying the treatment from period to period, and, not infrequently, of not ever having been inside of a hospital.

These conditions make it clear that we must first deal with the traditional need for definite, legislative prescriptions in advance, of the length of service attached to each offense, so that the power to deprive of liberty may not be abused; and secondly, we have to deal with the associated problem of lack of co-ordination of effort between the courts, the penal institutions, the parole officers, and social agencies and workers.

I do not come with panaceas that will eliminate these evils which are of such importance in the whole judicio-penal philosophy and machinery. It is my hope merely to stimulate thought along the lines I have briefly and imperfectly discussed. This much, however, can be said about the problems raised: First, that the two difficulties, namely, the inherent inconsistency in the philosophy of criminal law and procedure, and the lack of co-ordination and unity of purpose that it leads to among the various public and private agencies concerned with criminality, are facts fundamental to any evaluation of modern trends in criminology, and must be dealt with in blazing the path for the new criminology; secondly, that as to the first problem of the conflict between rule and discretion—between the demand for safeguarding the individual rights on the one hand, and the need for a more individualized and scientific administration of criminal jurisprudence on the other—now is the time for constructive thought based upon careful research in this field, with a view to evolving a program and procedure that will sufficiently safeguard individual rights and liberties and yet make possible the application of modern scientific methods to the work of rehabilitation of the criminal and the decrease of recidivism. Per-

haps a partial solution lies in the wholly indeterminate sentence, with provisions for automatic, periodical review by scientists attached to the courts of the progress of treatment in the individual case, and the subsequent defining by the court of the length of penal and parole treatment, based upon a series of such experts' reports. This, like any other measure along these lines, would not wholly escape the dilemma we are considering; but with the guaranty of automatic, periodic judicial review of progress toward rehabilitation, individual liberty ought to be sufficiently safeguarded. It should be pointed out that the wholly indefinite period of incarceration ought to have a strongly deterrent, as well as reformative, effect. Perhaps special judges should be trained for this work, their education being a combination of law, psychiatry, and sociology, and comprising practice terms as prosecutors, public defenders, directors of prisons, and social investigators; their work offering gradually progressive promotion to the position of expert judge, with attractive salary and life tenure.

That the inherent inconsistency referred to must be dealt with in the application of modern devices of criminology, such as effective probation, reformative work, and psychiatric treatment within the institution, or even such experiments as the Mutual Welfare League and other inmate self-governing devices, must be apparent. In most cases the minimum limit of the so-called indeterminate sentence is imposed and time off is allowed for good behavior, which last usually means time off for not being positively bad. At any rate, the prisoner must automatically be released when his maximum limit of sentence is up, without practical regard of the very important consideration for which all this penal and correctional and supervisory machinery has been evolved—that is, his ability to lead a social and law-abiding life upon his release. His early return to the institution is not only probable, but is confidently expected; and, if he happens to be a good baseball pitcher, it is hopefully anticipated and gleefully and triumphantly consummated.

This brings us to the second problem—the means of closer co-operation today between courts, prosecuting machinery, and penal and correctional institutions. The most promising proposal that has been made is for the creation of a ministry of justice for each state. Such an agency would co-ordinate the efforts of all officers and institutions dealing with the criminal from the moment of his arrest to the time of his return to society. It would keep careful statistics of recidivism, maintain a social-psychiatric service, carefully supervise probation and parole, and study the effects of various types of treatment in the individual case. Instead of the police, prosecutor, judge, counsel for the defense, prison warden, probation and parole officers each regarding his job as an end in itself, unrelated to the ultimate objects of society as expressed in its laws, their efforts would be planfully co-ordinated. Incidentally, much efficiency could be introduced by this device in the mechanical work connected with the administration of the law.

PROGRESS IN THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

Mrs. Robbins Gilman, Executive Secretary, Women's Co-operative Alliance, Minneapolis

Delinquency is the failure of communities and individuals to make the conventional adjustment to existing environments demanded by the current sanctions of the crowd. Delinquency becomes an attitude of mind, resulting in a status of noticeable maladjustment to social obligations. Granting that there is no one successful solution of any human problem, the following description of a community plan of co-operative social service for the prevention of delinquency is given for its small but distinctive part in the whole effort upon the subject.

The work of the community organization of which I am to speak has undertaken to develop a program for the prevention of delinquency based upon the physical features of the delinquent's environment and the people about him.

The program of the Women's Co-operative Alliance is distinctly educational. It follows recent precedent here. Child hygienists with prenatal care, infant welfare, public health, including programs of play and nutrition, have found the best results obtained from carrying programs for mothers to mothers, in homes, where the great majority of mothers are even today.

Professional groups have always known the value of high moral standards and have advocated the development of men and women of character and purpose. But the universal inhibition in reference to the discussion of morals has prohibited progress in all welfare programs.

Ten years ago a group of women in Minneapolis looked about them for a medium through which to study the problems of delinquency growing out of moral irregularities. This group of women was cosmopolitan and in earnest. It represented the Woman's Club, the Women's Welfare League, the Council of Jewish Women, the League of Catholic Women, the Woman's Christian Association, the Federated Clubs of the city and state, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

The immediate cases which came to the attention of these women were not particularly unusual. They were the common types of crimes committed by the adult against childhood. After the cases were finished, more or less satisfactorily, according to the present legal code, certain fundamental facts were evident: first, all mothers are held responsible for the conduct of society; second, mothers must have information; third, such information must be based upon facts; fourth, these facts must be taken to all mothers; fifth, action must be secured through the organization of an informed public opinion.

It was soon realized that lasting results can only be obtained when complete and accurate information reaches the greatest number of persons and those most inaccessible. The women decided upon an alliance of power and the principle of inquiry, and banded themselves together for the purpose of developing

an organization to secure and direct an informed public opinion upon the community's responsibility for maladjustments socially affecting children and young people.

Out of this grew an organization co-operating with all constructive forces, regardless of religious, political, racial, or social factors. Its general purpose is to arouse the adult community to its responsibility for community conditions which cause delinquency and crime. Its policy is to direct public opinion through knowledge based upon the results of research and investigation. Its method is to take to mothers information from the accumulated facts secured from all sources, both constructive and destructive, bearing upon the subject of delinquency. The remedy is an educational movement, aiming to influence the parents and the homes of the city.

The Women's Co-operative Alliance has a board of managers numbering thirty, an executive committee composed of the officers and chairmen of standing committees, which decide upon the principles and policies with the approval of the board. It is maintained by voluntary contributions and memberships from about 4,800 individual members.

The Administration Department provides the usual interdepartmental co-ordination and community co-operation. It interprets the policies and is the executive body of the professional staff.

The Education and Publicity Department is conducted for the purpose of giving the most helpful information to parents for children, concerning social and mental hygiene, juvenile laws, and the functions of agencies and institutions organized and established to protect juveniles. It also makes a specific study of the conditions in each community which permit or promote delinquency. This is accomplished by systematic house to house calling by trained district secretaries or parent advisers.

The Research and Investigation Department acts as a clearing house for all reports and complaints referred to the organization by social, municipal, state, or federal agencies, or by individuals. Upon accumulated information, and because of expressed desires from responsible agencies or members of the community, the Research and Investigation Department makes surveys and social investigations of conditions causing delinquency.

The Big Sister Department has been developed to meet the needs of girls who are less fortunate because of mental, moral, or physical disability. It is an effort to give to the strange or disadvantaged girl friendly advice and supervision in housing, recreation, employment, as well as an opportunity of a religious affiliation of the girl's choice.

The entire work of the organization is conducted by a trained staff, ranging from twenty to twenty-eight paid members. In order that all members of the staff and volunteers may be fully informed as to the principles and policies of the organization, training courses are conducted by members of the staff and associate lecturers.

This organization is a co-operative, educational movement among parents for children. The principal feature in the educational program is social hygiene in its broadest sense. It emphasizes the necessity of normal sex instruction for parents to give to children. It aims to supply parents with a simple, scientific vocabulary and with facts for the purpose of overcoming age-old inhibitions and complexes. In other words, it is the parent's defense reaction to the behavior problems of childhood which are so frequently founded in personality difficulties, the causation being abnormal or subnormal information or actions relative to sex.

One realizes that before placing the responsibility for all shortcomings of the race upon the home, the home should be examined and made right. There is the inside and the outside of the home to consider. The inside must contain knowledge, truth, and love on the part of both parents. The outside must be surrounded by wisdom and integrity and devotion on the part of the community. This must come from a proper evaluation of human elements and a profound recognition of spiritual attributes, both as to the psychical and physical components of humanity. This can be accomplished by creating an informed public opinion, an individual responsibility, and an intelligent community action.

The department of the organization doing this work has a director, an organizer, district secretaries called parent advisers for each of the five sections by which the entire city is covered. There have been colored and foreign-speaking secretaries for the purpose of bringing the same information to mothers whose difficulties, common to all mothers, are increased because of their added limitations growing out of their failure to understand the language, laws, manners, and customs of a strange land. There are two general approaches made by the parent advisers at the door in the house to house calls by which the work is conducted.

First, to the woman who has advantages, the appeal is made to help the organization reach the one who has been less fortunate. Women are usually eager to discuss the latest methods and principles in child guidance and the contact is a pleasant one.

The second approach is to women who have not had the advantage of knowing the necessity of preparing children for the complexities of modern life, to others who have felt the need but lacked the information, and to those who are indifferent and need arousing.

The parent advisers are chosen for or with certain qualifications: an adequate educational background, preferably college or university training; marriage and motherhood are essential. They must all be full-time paid workers. All advisers are required to take specific training of three months in theory and field work with the organization before being given permanent positions. It has been necessary to develop workers in this field, as in all new undertakings.

There are specific messages which the parent advisers are expected to convey: first, the necessity of simple, scientific facts of sex education, and where such information can be obtained through classes, lectures, or reading courses; second, the laws and ordinances which juveniles should obey, and those which protect them. The organization has had a simplified summary of the laws compiled for the purpose of distribution. They are in English with translations for the foreign groups. Third, the use of agencies in city and state, both private and public, through which the laws can be enforced and protection of children secured.

The advisers are expected to seek from all women with whom they come in contact, the answer to the question, "What are the conditions in your community which cause you great concern in reference to your own or your neighbor's children?"

About half of the entire time of the parent adviser or district secretary is used in interviewing mothers in homes. They call from house to house throughout the district assigned to them. The other half of the time of the adviser is given up to organizing community committees to secure study and action upon conditions detrimental to the conduct of youth. As a result of evident need, committees for the following objects have been organized: social hygiene, better motion pictures, volunteer court attendance, local civic problems, commercialized recreation, supervised recreation, municipal research, and membership.

The social hygiene classes have been organized for the purpose of disseminating information upon biology, physiology, and psychology as they relate to infancy, adolescence, marriage, and maturity. This information has been given to classes through graded lecture courses by trained lecturers. During the past year, 253 lectures to 41 introductory and 6 advanced classes were given to an aggregate attendance of 4,337 mothers. There were 2,217 individual members registered in the courses. A special group of professional men and women has been organized and has undertaken to discuss a community program for social hygiene. This group has met regularly once a week for a period of nine months, and has undertaken to sponsor an institute on social hygiene for the coming year, to which parents and professional people will be invited.

The Better Motion Picture Committee has as its object the development of a new program for motion pictures with its chief effort directed toward the producer. *The Minneapolis Survey of Motion Pictures*, as well as the *Newer Aspects of the Citizens' Solution of the Motion Picture Problem* have had national and international circulation. The development of this work has culminated in the plan now incorporated in a bill before Congress, which provides for a national commission for federal control of the production of motion pictures. It makes it impossible for any picture to enter interstate or foreign commerce, which has not been produced according to the law which sets standards for the production of pictures. There is no element of censorship in the bill. It is purely federal control of the production of a product which has a universal circulation.

The Volunteer Court Committee functions to direct observation of court procedure and the administration of criminal law. The object of this committee has been to bring to the attention of large numbers of women the obsolete as well as the unjust procedure in the administration of criminal law, more especially as it relates to cases involving moral issues.

The Local Civic Problems Committee has for its object the organization of the local groups to act against institutions or agencies that may affect the moral standards of the local community. It arouses public opinion for community action against local conditions such as carnivals, street fairs, dance halls, pool halls, chop suey houses, and all-night cafés, which have been found to contribute directly to the delinquency of young people.

The Supervised and Commercialized Recreation Committees study what the community offers in the entire field of recreation, in order to encourage those forms which assert a wholesome influence and attempt to control or eliminate the unwholesome.

The Municipal Research Committee tabulates for public use the records of candidates in office and information concerning candidates for office in regard to their stand on public questions involving community conditions resulting in delinquency, either actual or potential.

The Membership Committee is organized for the purpose of securing initial women who act as leaders for membership campaigns. The parent advisers in their house to house work come intimately in contact with women throughout the city who assume this responsibility to promote the work of the organization. The Membership Committee of the organization has for a number of years secured between 10 and 15 per cent of the total budget of the organization. In the house to house contacts the parent advisers have an unusual opportunity to discuss with mothers their obligation to their own and their neighbor's children. The aim of house to house calls is to establish a medium of intercourse between the parents of the community and an organization studying causes for delinquency. It is the task of the adviser to interest each woman with whom she has an interview in some one of the community committees. Generally speaking, the aim is to enlist young mothers and mothers whose children are in the adolescent stage, in the social hygiene classes. Women whose children are in the upper grades and in high school, should be interested in the problems of recreation, especially motion pictures. Women whose children are mature and who themselves have leisure time can be interested in the volunteer court attendance. Women who have advantages and leisure time are chosen because of their willingness to contribute their time to the membership work. All women interested in the welfare of the community can be enlisted at the proper time to act with the Local Civic Problems Committee on local conditions such as a movement to control or to eliminate commercialized amusements which prey upon youth.

These community committees bring their resources in information and influence to a council of delegates from co-operating churches, parent and teachers' associations, and civic and social clubs representing all shades of religious, social, and political thought, as well as racial traits. Motherhood is, however, common to all and the problems of childhood cause mothers all to go to the same altar for inspiration and knowledge.

Through the mothers' council of delegates information concerning conditions is disseminated back to the groups represented. Any action comes as a result of an awakened community conscience. This council of 251 delegates represents approximately 30,000 individuals and is a power in the community toward shaping public opinion upon matters of interest to the youth of the city. The council began with a legislative program, but has for three years avoided all legislation for which a strong public opinion has not been created upon the basis of facts as brought out by specific studies.

To reach the mother in the home is like reaching the source of the situation controlling the advantages and disadvantages of childhood. Without laying the slightest criticism upon the mother for failing to give what she may not and usually does not have, the organization has undertaken systematically to take to the mother scientific information along the lines of social hygiene in its four main aspects: Sex education, law enforcement, recreation, and health. As an organization it ever emphasizes the necessity of getting to parents with the information upon normal development of sex life in children. It urges the parent as a leader in this matter. It has been willing to undertake the Herculean task of developing the system and practically co-ordinating it to the various racial, religious, and social teachings, so that it has not only been inoffensive, but has received universal commendation from all sources to be considered.

It is a very well-known fact that scientists and professionals have undertaken to diagnose and treat individual delinquency by isolating and studying the delinquent. Progress must be made by studying and treating the delinquent in his native environment. The study of the environment, both inside and outside the home in question, includes both people and conditions. In my judgment, not only the next step, but the greatest and most vital step in the progress of the prevention of delinquency at the present time is to be taken in the direction of diagnosing and treating the parents and the environment of the delinquent. The criminologist, the physician, and the psychiatrist, have all isolated for study and treatment. In doing so they have overlooked the most important causes, and by the omission, created an abnormal atmosphere which resulted in distorted and illogical findings. The delinquent, the patient, the criminal, may respond to treatment in a foster home, in a hospital, or in a prison, as each instance may require, but if the cause of the delinquency is not treated, the individual must sooner or later return to the old environment with an ever increasing complex or susceptibility to the old stimuli. The psychiatrist has

expressed the desire to remove the child with the behavior problem, from the mother or father, or family attitude or conditions which have given rise to the noted complexes. Social workers and juvenile judges have urged detention homes for sex delinquents. The physician has urged isolation in hospitals. They have with common accord said the causation is in the home. Is it not time for some group of workers to attack the home problem in its fundamental aspects? If parents have neglected sanitation, let the public health worker develop the remedy for the same. If parents have neglected to learn the facts upon which the most important elements of social contacts are founded in all their emotional, aesthetic, and reproductive phases, let the sociologist and social hygienist prepare information to convey to them. If the parent has avoided or evaded the study of mental reactions, let the psychologist and the psychiatrist bring forward the findings of their studies from the individualistic case work, and give the common principles necessary to prevent repetition of the evil.

The parent adviser at present may be a specialist in prenatal service, infant welfare, public health, social or mental hygiene. There may in some distant future be developed a human species who can comprehend these and other facts to insure proper and balanced treatment of all. In this age of specialization perhaps a number of advisers will be necessary.

Specialization exists until the rank and file of the profession learns all that the specialist knows. Then there is a reversion to generalization again. Hence the present movement now toward the unity of churches, generalized nursing, and medicine, amalgation of social and educational services, to reduce the number of homes visited. The bogies of duplication and overlapping have quite terrorized the benevolent public. The real evils of overlooking are temporarily eclipsed. The effort through centralized finance to limit the amount of good to be done in a certain community at a given time is ominous. All this is the rhythm of life and comes and goes in waves of intellectual movements.

Adult education through parent advisers is one of the fundamental essentials for the prevention of delinquency. In summing up the points for a community program for the prevention of delinquency, it is well to note that anything short of all the facts in the situation is imperfect and only relatively effective. Facts are essential and the dissemination of facts to the most remote mind of the community is imperative. Action based upon such a program is success.

The result of a study of delinquency in the field with mothers through a community organization has revealed certain facts and established definite principles: first, that the common problems of motherhood must be attacked both individually and collectively; second, that parenthood is not an accident, but an inevitable state, and should have a curriculum, based upon the findings of professional groups; third, that this curriculum should be dignified by a chair for adult education for parenthood, to train parent advisers in every college, in every university, and in every grade and high school of the country;

fourth, that this information should be carried into every home not otherwise covered by schools, colleges, and universities.

The Women's Co-operative Alliance is a medium for the purpose of organizing women who have advantages to help those who are socially inadequate because they have not had opportunities for research and study of the problems of childhood and motherhood. It is a movement to which every citizen interested in the general welfare of any community can subscribe.

It is a disquieting fact that men and women educators have hesitated to treat honestly that which everyone sooner or later must stumble upon and blunder through. In considering the subject of delinquency collectively, or as a social problem, the Women's Co-operative Alliance conceived the idea of studying the conditions in the community which permitted or promoted delinquency, from the point of view of the mother, the one most intimately concerned. This was accomplished by tabulating the reports of women with whom the advisers came in contact in their daily calls. It brought out the necessity of studying in detail the constructive influences to which the destructive forces should be referred for organized action. The result of this tabulation from all over the city makes it easy enough to select certain common causes, and study them through the regular intensive survey method. The whole city is brought under observation. Distribution of delinquency is considered in the light of the conditions causing the same. The physical environment, the people, and the family of the delinquent are the most important factors in the community plan for diagnosis and treatment.

We can no longer permit children to suffer for ignorance of adults without resistance. No longer can we require a greater discrimination on the part of children than adults have exhibited in their capacity as leaders. Sex difficulties are the most frequent causes of mental and social maladjustments. It is imperative that these subjects be treated intelligently, promptly, and vigorously through parents for the sake of youth if any perceptible and permanent decrease in delinquency is to be expected.

THE WARFARE ON PROSTITUTION—THE NEXT STEP

Frederick H. Whitin, Secretary, Committee of Fourteen, New York City

Those interested in protective work for girls are constantly being asked as to the causes of sex delinquency and what is being done to remove them, or at least to lessen their influence.

The annual report of the Committee of Fourteen for 1923 contains a summary of expert opinion on the causes of sex delinquency among women, in which, in succeeding paragraphs, are the findings of Dr. Katharine B. Davis, Miss Maude E. Miner, Dr. Fernald, as director of the Laboratory of Social Hygiene

at the state reformatory for women at Bedford Hills, and Dr. Bingham, psychiatrist for the New York Probation and Protective Association. Their conclusions are, briefly, as follows:

Dr. Bingham: "We are convinced that the unvarying essential factor in sex delinquency is the individual reaction to the emotional situation.

Dr. Davis: "It is not possible to single out a few factors; no one or two outstanding environmental or constitutional causes are discoverable."

Dr. Fernald: "Any search for a well-defined type of individual, appearing as the delinquent woman, will probably be fruitless."

Miss Miner: "No one condition is solely responsible but a combination of circumstances and characteristics makes the path to prostitution easy."

Those most familiar with the various endeavors to repress commercialized prostitution by the enforcement of the laws against it, believe that a very definite factor in the commercialization of sex delinquency is the financial inducement which is offered, and very sincerely believe that if this inducement could be reduced, the evil would be lessened. They believe this can be accomplished by securing laws which would make it an offense for any person to offer to pay for sexual relations. Less than a third of our states have such laws and these laws have not been always so enforced as to accomplish the intended purpose. This is probably because many of them were passed at the instigation of the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board—the outgrowth of the war department commission on training camp activities—and were naturally passed while the interest in the problem, aroused by the war, was still acute.

Such a law has not been secured in the state of New York. While it has adequate laws against white slave traffic, the keeping of disorderly houses, and offering to commit prostitution, it has no law which effectively deters a man from paying a woman for immoral relations. Hence, its laws are limited in their effectiveness against the evil because they deal with but one of the two essential parties to the evil; indeed, only that party who is influenced by the inducement made by the other. This certainly is illogical.

Despite this limitation of law, the improvement of vice conditions in New York City in the last fifteen years has been such that it has been declared, without contradiction, that there is less open vice in New York City than in any other of the world's largest cities. The extent of hidden vice is not known, though it is considerable, judging by the 2,200 arrests for prostitution made in that city in 1923.

In the opinion of those familiar with proceedings and cases in the special courts dealing with women sex delinquents in various cities, the separate court for women of New York City has done and is doing the most effective rehabilitation work. The finger print records of that court show that over 72 per cent of those convicted in it of prostitution are without previous record of such an offense, while the recidivists constitute less than 10 per cent of the number. Yet, despite this surprising result, over a thousand women were convicted in

that court, in each of the last three years, who had never previously been so convicted. Where they come from, what may have been the cause of their delinquency and of their willingness to commercialize such acts has not been satisfactorily determined. Nor is it known what becomes of those who, once convicted, do not again appear in court. Some, a very small proportion, continue their delinquency, becoming recidivists. It is hoped that the great majority, having been brought face to face with the consequences of their acts, turn a sharp corner and resume a normal life.

However complex may be the causes of the downfall of these women, however difficult it may be for the state and social agencies to remove these causes, the willingness of men to pay for the delinquency of women is undoubtedly a definite factor and is one which the state should do all that is possible to remove. If, as the result of adequate laws, it has been possible practically to suppress white slave traffic, to close disorderly houses, and to stop street soliciting, there is every reason to believe that equally effective laws and enforcement will remove this cause of the downfall of women.

In New York State a person who offers to commit prostitution is deemed to be a vagrant. It is proposed to amend the same section (Section 887, Subdivision 4, Code of Criminal Procedure) by adding an additional clause, reading: "Who pays or offers or agrees to pay any money to another person as compensation for an act of sexual intercourse or other lewd or indecent act." These words describe the act of the customer and when they are included in the law will make possible the joint arraignment upon a charge of vagrancy of the persons who offer or agree to commit prostitution and who pay or agree to pay for such an act.

The American Social Hygiene Association, in its standard form of law for the repression of prostitution, would reach the same end by defining the term "prostitution" to include "the giving or receiving of the body for sexual intercourse for hire, or to include the giving or receiving of the body for indiscriminate sexual intercourse without hire." While this would broaden the law as desired, it has not the conciseness of the description of the acts contained in the proposed New York amendment.

As the sentence in the case of the convicted prostitute varies according to her record, social history, and her physical condition, so too will the sentences in the case of the man when the amendment proposed is adopted. Though the joint defendants may both be convicted, it is not difficult to see that the penalties imposed may not be the same. The woman may be a recidivist and diseased, while the man may be without record and of general good character. Or, the man may be a rounder and have been the real cause of the downfall of the woman. Our judges can be trusted to dispose of the cases as is best for the individual and society.

There is another very definite advantage which would result from a law including the customer in its definition of an offense. Two-thirds of the women

convicted of prostitution in the women's court of New York City are found by the health department to be suffering from venereal disease. At present the health department declines to undertake proceedings against the men with whom they have been found; with the proposed amendment adopted, these men would be also physically examined and, if diseased, compelled to take treatment. While in some respects the diseased prostitute is a greater menace than her customer, yet she is less likely than the man to spread the disease to those who are not guilty of immorality.

The only argument which was made against the proposed amendment at the last session of the New York legislature was that it was difficult of enforcement and, as the leader of the opponents said at the legislative hearing, we have enough unenforceable law at the present time. Opinion differs sharply upon this question of enforceability; the officials whose duty it would be to enforce the law declaring the difficulties to be insurmountable, while those who represent the various social hygiene associations differ from them. These proponents declare that the argument of unenforceability is one which has been raised against many other similar advances in our laws and hold that while it may be more difficult to convict the prostitute if her partner is a co-defendant, these difficulties can be overcome with a proper training of police officers as to ways and means of securing evidence sufficient to sustain a conviction. They declare also that if public opinion demands, public officials will find and use means of enforcement.

The supporters of the proposed amendment are seeking to arouse public opinion to demand the enactment of the proposed amendment and its enforcement when secured. Unfortunately, the uninformed citizen continues to believe in masculine sex necessity and in the toleration of the segregated prostitute. Expert medical opinion has declared emphatically against the necessity theory, and studies of segregation as a method of dealing with the prostitute have disclosed its total ineffectiveness. The progress in reducing the evil which has been made in the last fifteen years encourages the belief that the evil can be further reduced, even though never totally suppressed. It is believed by those who should know best that to hold the man for whom the evil exists responsible for his acts, is the next step in the long-continued fight against what Miss Jane Addams has called the "ancient evil."

AN INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAM IN THE FIELD OF CORRECTIONS

Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Secretary of Welfare, Harrisburg

I think it is quite fair to say that I am appearing before you today to discuss this subject of "An Institutional Program in the Field of Corrections" unhampered by any practical experience as an institutional administrator.

Lest you should think that this foredooms us to an unprofitable half hour together, let me cheer you by saying that I am bringing to you for discussion the results of observations made by a mind untired by wrestling with the problem of prison administration, but one which has looked upon this age-old problem, has attempted to diagnose the very evident disorder as a disease of the social body, and to arrive at a method of treatment which might reasonably be expected to relieve, if not entirely to cure.

Let us then first consider what is the matter with the patient, that is, with our penal administration as a whole. The symptom which is manifest to all, even the casual reader of the daily press, is that the vast majority of the men and women who are imprisoned come out of prison with their anti-social attitude and actions more marked than before, rather than diminished. In other words the treatment prescribed and administered appears to have aggravated rather than to have relieved the condition. It is obvious, therefore, that there is something wrong; either the institution itself (the prison) is not a proper unit to be included in a correctional system; or there is something radically wrong with the internal administration of a unit which is an essential and integral part of a correctional system.

Is a prison an essential part of a correctional system or is it an outworn symbol of an unenlightened age? I believe that a prison is an essential unit in a correctional system, just as a modern hospital is an essential unit in any program of curative medicine, and just as a modern school building is an essential part of an educational system.

Time was when "a log with Mark Hopkins on one end and a boy on the other" made an admirable school; the essence of that schooling, however, was individualization and today the modern school building with its wonderful appliances is necessary to multiply the powers of the individual teacher so that she may reach not the one but the scores of children who sit on the other end of her log. Time was when the country doctor with his horse and buggy was not only the saver of lives but the saver of souls and was the beginning and the end of the health program in any given community. Today the modern hospital with all its scientific apparatus and its social service department is organized to multiply the personality of the doctor and to make effective a health program.

In addition, in both the educational and health systems, classification, segregation, and individualization in various classes and schools from primary grades to postgraduate professional schools, and from the general hospitals to the highly developed special hospitals, have been found necessary to make the work in these fields most effective.

Moreover, to carry on our medical and educational programs we have found it essential to have men and women especially trained and licensed by the state to practice or to teach, who are placed in charge of our institutions and classes.

The problems involved in the rehabilitation of the criminal (and I am not optimistic enough to believe that they can all be rehabilitated) are infinitely

more intricate and difficult than those presented in the field of medical or educational service for normal persons who have not been committed to our penal institutions; and yet to handle this delicate task society provides an antiquated structure inadequate as to light, air, and sanitation; scantily equipped and badly arranged, if at all, to meet medical or educational needs; and it places in charge of these institutions, by election or appointment, men who, with rare exceptions, have had no real training or experience to qualify them to handle the problem in the light of our accumulated knowledge and experience in applied mental, social, and medical science.

Omitting from our discussion at this point the obvious complications thrust upon prison administrators by the present functioning of our criminal courts, which is in part attributable to our antiquated criminal law, we are safe in saying that the present discontent and disorder in most of our penal institutions, and the obvious failure of these institutions to fulfil their purpose resides in these facts: first, inadequate and improperly trained administrative personnel; second, inadequate housing and equipment; third, inadequate classification of persons committed; fourth, failure to apply individual treatment to the particular case involved both before admission, during his stay in prison, and after his discharge. How then shall we organize an institutional program to meet more adequately the needs of our prison population and to secure curative results?

The size of the administrative unit.—We agree that restoration of the criminal depends upon his individual training and treatment. We have also agreed that the problem of restoring the criminal to society is the most difficult of all human adjustments. Therefore it follows that our administrative unit should not be too large, and experience seems to indicate that best results can only be obtained if the prison population does not exceed 1,500.

The location and type of prison structure.—These features should next be considered. It has long since been demonstrated that a location in agricultural territory with abundant room for outdoor work gives the best results. The institution should be centrally located for the district served; not for the mere saving of money in transportation but for the sake of affording the maximum opportunity to the relatives of individual prisoners to keep in touch with them. The institution should be constructed in many small units permitting intelligent classification or segregation; from the strong-unit with its bars and locks to the absolutely free dwelling outside the prison stockade or wall, the last stopping place in the man's transition from confinement to freedom. It should also be remembered in the development of prison construction that there are personalities which develop best in quiet and solitude, while others find their greatest satisfaction in group contacts; therefore, provision should be made for single cells as well as dormitories. Provision must also be made within the institution for a general hospital and dispensary, tuberculosis unit, school and recreational rooms, and fields, chapels for religious services, and dining-halls

and workshops. Not one of these units can be omitted without offering an unnecessary handicap to the administration of the institution.

The administrative and executive personnel.—The officers in charge of the prison are, however, the key to the success or failure of the administration. No man can lift the administration of an institution higher than his own sources of inspiration and knowledge, therefore the warden of a penal institution should be a man of proved administrative ability, of education, inherent refinement, of imagination, with an open mind toward new ideas in every field. He should be a man of courage, patience, tolerance, and a good judge of men to enable him to select his staff wisely and handle his charges with understanding.

The man who is warden must strike the dominant note for the administrative policy of his institution, but his policies cannot be made realities without an able staff and the co-operation of the prison population.

The staff should include the necessary deputies for the proper conduct of the business of the institution, and the deputy who is immediately responsible for the well-being of the men should be a man of broad experience, fine instincts, and deep human understanding (not merely a disciplinarian) and of abundant courage.

The so-called guards or overseers of the old régime should be replaced by men who are equipped to render some sort of constructive service, not merely men who know how to "watch"; that type of service leads us nowhere with a constructive program.

There is also a professional group, without which a penal institution cannot function properly, which should include physicians, dentists, nurses, teachers, recreational leader, dietitian, chaplain, and parole officers who should with chaplain and recreation leaders function as constructive social workers. In the medical group there is great need of the psychiatrist and psychologist who may, however, be attached to the central state board of control (however designated) if the prison is part of a state system.

The functioning of the institution.—The size of the administrative unit, its location, and the staff being determined upon, how should the institution function? The ease or difficulty with which a prison functions depends to a considerable degree upon the functioning of the courts which conduct the trial and sentence the convict. If the trial comes surely and swiftly; if justice is even-handed; if psychiatric examinations and mental measurements are made of every convict before sentence is pronounced, many of the problems which now confront the prison administrator will be eliminated. Assuming that the penal institutions in a majority of our states must make the best of a bad situation induced by lack of preliminary classification of prisoners, lack of classified institutional facilities and lack of adequate parole provision, how should the institution attempt to function in order to produce the best results?

The convict comes to the prison gate undiagnosed. The warden is informed as to his name, the crime for which he has been convicted, and the sentence

which has been imposed and frequently his previous record, but the man himself, the prisoner, is an unknown quantity, while the prison and its staff may be an equally unknown quantity to the convict. His reception and his first week within the walls are likely to determine the entire future relationship and reaction between the prisoner and the prison staff.

The prison should function first as a hospital for purposes of diagnosis. The man or woman sentenced should be received and lodged not in a cell but in a room properly safeguarded to prevent escape or to prevent personal violence by the prisoner to himself, and the appointments of the room should be those of a hospital. Within one week a complete physical, dental, mental, and social history examination should be made by the professional staff. The findings at the trial should be set down as part of the history together with the past criminal record and all the necessary identification markings and characteristics. In the interval, the physical condition of the prisoner should be improved as far as possible while plans should be made for the correction of physical disease and defect at the earliest date.

Within seven days, the data having been assembled, a staff meeting presided over by the warden or his deputy and attended by the physician, psychiatrist, and the overseer and guard to whom he is to be assigned, should be held, as is the case in our mental hospitals, at which time the prison regulations should be made clear to the prisoner (if he is mentally sound), with a frank statement as to the possibilities which lie before him of making good. In addition he should be given an opportunity to state his case and to ask questions as to matters he may not understand. At stated intervals in succeeding months the case should again come up for review. The professional, medical, and mental diagnosis of the case should be reached at this staff meeting and the proposed program laid out for medical or surgical treatment, work, education, both academic and trade training. He should then be assigned to his cell and his supervision delegated to an officer.

As in our educational institutions there are grades to be attained or penalties of demotion to suffer, so in our penal institutions a system of grading based on conduct and effort should be worked out which should serve as an incentive to each man to make good.

In order that the penalty or promotion may be effective a man should be entered at the middle grade and with improved conduct and effort privileges and opportunities should be accorded; while penalties should in largest measure consist in the withdrawal of such privileges and opportunities. Such a system to be really effective requires a very large measure of co-operation and understanding on the part of the entire prison population.

Any family problems which may be on the prisoner's mind should be placed in the hands of the proper officer of the institution who has charge of such matters. In many instances if these family problems are properly handled much of the cause of discontent and sullenness may be removed. If the prisoner has

been found on examination to be insane or feebleminded, if state facilities exist for his proper segregation, plans should be made to effect the transfer. If no such facilities exist, then the segregation within the institution should be effected as far as this is possible in order to minimize disciplinary difficulties.

Character formation.—The major aim of the period of incarceration should be to develop character. This cannot be accomplished by "preachments" of any sort by the chaplain or warden or anyone else; it must be a matter of individual growth based upon proper environment, good physical condition, and normal human relationships. The prison staff should have at its command for purposes of character development the prison uniform, the diet, the facilities for personal habits of cleanliness and order, work, recreation, opportunities for normal personal relations, and the orderly routine of prison activities. Above all else the man should have before him daily, in the person of his officers, men of character who are living exponents and examples of the character we seek to develop.

Clothing.—The uniform, by its cut, its cleanliness, and changes in its insignia or style, may provide a powerful motive for good conduct and orderly habits which react favorably on the individual.

Nutrition.—The basis of normal reactions, mental and physical, is normal health. Health is dependent upon normal nutrition and normal nutrition is in turn dependent upon a balanced diet plus a proper balance between work and rest. The defects in most prison diets are excess of carbohydrates, sometimes excess of protein, almost always lack of green vegetables and fruits. Besides these errors as to food constituents there is frequently deadly monotony and all too often improper cooking. Moreover, in those institutions in which a balanced ration, properly cooked, is served, it is served to the prisoners as a whole and no one has any special responsibility to see that the nutrition of the individual prisoner is kept up to par. It is, therefore, not sufficient that the food shall be palatable and well-balanced. The prison administration must be assured that the individual prisoner eats his ration, that he is maintained in health, and if not, why. This can be accomplished by team work on the part of the physician, the dietitian, and the guard or supervisor on duty, and monthly tests on the scales should supplement their observations. It is, I think, generally conceded that an unsatisfactory diet will provoke discontent and disorder more certainly than any other one factor in prison administration, and conversely we should expect to find not only better health but a greater degree of contentment on the part of prisoners properly fed.

Cleanliness.—The old saying, "Cleanliness is next to godliness," has a fundamental truth back of it and a penal institution must be prepared to supply not only running water in the cell but an abundance of hot and cold water, shower baths, and some day perhaps an outdoor or indoor swimming pool. Think of the incentive to good conduct which a swimming pool privilege might mean! It must also supply the laundry facilities for keeping the outer and

under clothing of the prisoner clean and in good order. Good order in cell and dormitory, good order and cleanliness in bed and bedding, personal cleanliness, and good repair of clothing all have their contribution to make in fitting men to return to society.

Work.—Every physically able prisoner should be productively employed for several reasons: first, that the physical and mental fiber of the man may be kept strong and healthy; second, that he may contribute in a measure to his own support and that of his family and thereby diminish the cost of his crime to the state; third, that he may have one or more useful trades upon his discharge.

Every domestic activity of the institution should provide its measure of trade or professional training. The bakeshop, kitchen, mess-hall, engine-room, dynamo room, electric and plumbing lines, carpentry, painting, laundry, machine-shop, clerical and general office work, the band or orchestra, all have their educational and trade-training content, while industrial shops of many varieties, truck garden, and farm all afford an opportunity for creating money values out of which the prisoner may be paid, and also lend themselves to trade or professional training. Nothing more surely contributes to good character formation than regular, successful, productive employment.

Recreation.—To those who do not appreciate the value of recreational activities as instruments for character formation and for maintaining morale among the civil population any reference to these activities as necessary in a correctional institutional program is translated into an attempt to "pamper" the prisoner, and their minds are closed to the ultimate purpose. The experience in our army in war time, with its organized and directed recreational activities, affords a concrete example of the effect on morals, on morale, on team play, on loyalty, on courage, which cannot be ignored if we wish to secure the maximum result from our reconstructive efforts. Football, baseball, boxing, basket-ball, track and other athletic activities give the opportunity to the man to show his physical prowess, his capacity for leadership, his ability in team play, and his willingness to abide by the rules.

Not all men (or women), however, have their supreme satisfaction in physical prowess, and the recreational program must therefore give a similar opportunity for satisfaction in self-expression along aesthetic lines, in music, both instrumental and vocal; in dramatics, debate, and artistic production. Recreational programs of the kind indicated can be devised and carried out at a minimum cost, particularly if the state's penal system is prepared to furnish a trained adviser in these matters.

Normal personal relations and discipline.—An atmosphere of repression or of rigid military discipline is not conducive to normal human relationship. Therefore, anything that gives a man an opportunity in prison to function as a normal person would function outside of prison walls is to be encouraged, but (and to my mind the "but" is a very large one) no man should expect, nor should

he be accorded, all the privileges of citizenship within a prison until he has given reasonable evidence of his willingness and intention to govern himself in accordance with the wise regulations established as the law of the institution. (This statement assumes, as you will note, that the warden and his subordinates have been selected because they are men of judgment, vision, justice, and human understanding.)

Family, school, and hospital discipline and rules are all recognized as essential to the successful bringing up of children or curing of disease; they are accepted without much complaint although not made by the child or patient himself. They are made by the responsible authorities who have the well-being of the child to conserve, and every effort is made to enable the child or the patient to understand them. When we are willing to accept the fact that in large measure the men and women committed to our correctional institutions are emotionally undisciplined children, we will begin to appreciate that the parental relationship is one of the first to be established, then that of the schoolmaster and the physician. If we will but translate prison life and prison contacts into terms of family, schools, and civil life, full citizenship being won with all the penalties, responsibilities, and privileges only after a period of training, we shall then be able to visualize the human relationship and discipline which should obtain behind prison walls. The realization of that vision, however, depends upon the personnel which we are able to secure to administer our correctional institutions.

Education.—An adequate curriculum in the school of letters under competent direction is essential if every need of the prisoner is to be met. The illiterate and the foreign-born must needs be taught to read and write English. The man of brains and education must be given further advantages if his mind is not to become unbalanced. A library properly supervised and kept up-to-date together with facilities for disseminating current events should be available.

Medical service.—The need for skilled medical and surgical service is perhaps nowhere greater than in a penal institution where all the facilities of a general hospital should be available. Particularly should the cure of venereal disease be taken energetically in hand, since an unusual opportunity is here offered of effecting cures which will diminish the number of nervous and mental disorders filling our mental hospitals later.

Mental hygiene.—A mental health officer (a psychiatrist) should be part of the full-time staff of every penal institution, not only for purposes of the admission, examination, and classification but that to him may be referred current behavior problems, and no disciplinary action should be undertaken except under his advice. A miniature court with the deputy warden and mental health officer and perhaps ultimately one of the prisoners themselves should be set up to handle such matters. Time is not sufficient to permit of the discussion in detail of the many possibilities for improved prison administration with the law standing even as it is. The fundamental fact must be recognized

that whatever our ideas may be we cannot hope to realize them without a staff really trained for its job. Since the staff in many institutions is recruited from the police force and the army, it behooves us to think of ways and means of securing for the staff some measure of training embodying the ideas which modern medicine, psychology, and the social sciences have made available to us. A properly organized central state staff, co-operative with an extension service from state universities and schools for social work should be able to give an enlightened point of view and some measure of improved technique to every prison officer.

Social service and parole.—Constructive family case work and individual case work are part of a well-rounded prison program. The prisoner and his family should be kept in contact. The economic and social stability of the family should be assured. A job and Big Brother supervision should be part of the extension service of the prison after discharge.

In brief—a prison program to be effective in restoring men to society must be based on individualization of diagnosis and of treatment for every prisoner. It must embody in its execution the philosophy which lies back of the relationship between parent and child, teacher and pupil, doctor and patient. It must utilize all the knowledge available in the modern medical, mental, and social sciences.

Not until the courts make early classification possible; not until the state provides adequate buildings for the reception of classified prisoners, and not until adequate equipment is provided inclusive of trained personnel can we expect to secure satisfactory results in our prison administration.

III. HEALTH

THE PROMOTION OF PERIODIC HEALTH EXAMINATIONS

THE HEALTH EXAMINATION CAMPAIGN OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH COUNCIL

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Almost exactly one year ago, a nationwide campaign for health examinations throughout the United States was launched by the National Health Council. Since it was to have continued for one year, the present is a suitable time to take stock and ascertain what has been accomplished. With the now familiar slogan, "Have a Health Examination on Your Birthday," this campaign commenced, appropriately enough, on the birthday of the nation, July 4, 1923. Although it was to have terminated on July 4, 1924, it has gained so much momentum that, like one of those indispensable investigations by the United States Senate, it will go on for a much longer period. In the case of educational effort for health examinations, such continuation is a good thing, for all sanitarians are agreed that one of the chief goals of modern public health work is to induce as much of the whole population as possible to acquire the custom of having periodic health inventories. The late Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, in a masterful paper presented to the National Conference of Social Work in Washington last year, put the health examination first in a list of practical objectives for public health effort during the next two decades.

Definition of a health examination.—A health examination is a thorough physical and mental appraisal of an individual made by a competent doctor of medicine in order to detect physical impairments and faulty habits of personal hygiene, with a view to their correction. So much has been written and said about physical examinations of the apparently healthy that nothing remarkably new or striking in the way of argument or exposition could be presented here. Since the campaign began, more than fifty articles on the subject have been observed in various health magazines and bulletins, not to mention many news items. The bibliography on health examinations prepared by the National Health Library of the Council contains thirty-three leading articles which have been written since 1915, and there are half a dozen others which could be added to this list. It is interesting to note that the majority of these specially selected articles have been published within the last two years.

Why health examinations are advocated.—Before recounting the methods and results of the campaign, it may be of value to present very briefly the chief reasons why the health examination is so important. Obviously, the primary object of this audit of one's physical assets and liabilities is to bring out possible latent defects, which, if not discovered early, might develop into serious affections needing much time, skill, and expense to remedy. The revelation of one's physical status as brought out by a medical survey indicates exactly what the individual must do in order to attain perfect health and with it the real enjoyment of living. The best thing about this human appraisal is that it shows when a person is healthy, which is the most inspiring knowledge anyone can have.

The great value of the health examination is, of course, in coping with the organic diseases of middle and later adult life. Periodic human stock-takings should be indulged in at all ages from the cradle to the grave in order to indicate whether the conduct of life is most favorable, but after thirty-five or forty they are especially useful in bringing to light degenerative diseases in their incipient stages. Such chronic maladies as heart trouble, kidney diseases, cancer, diabetes, apoplexy, and the like seldom give any warning during their beginnings and only an expert can detect them by means of a careful physical scrutiny. These diseases can be prevented, generally speaking, from becoming more serious, by prompt action. Inasmuch as the mortality and prevalence of many of these organic diseases is on the increase they present a most significant problem to the sanitarians. The solution seems to lie to a considerable extent in early diagnosis and education of the people in the art of right hygienic living. The health examination accomplishes both of these desirable feats. As has been well said, the health examination is the keystone of personal hygiene.

Who benefits from health examinations.—Three general classes of persons have benefited from the campaign for human appraisals. Obviously, the recipient of proper examinations, the general lay public, derives many advantages, perhaps the most important of which is the opportunity to add years to their lives. Health officials have benefited because those persons who have been examined, consciously or unconsciously, have had inculcated in them an interest in health work and a realization that their own longevity depends in some degree upon the efforts of society as a whole. The health examination is a forward step in the endeavor for popular health instruction which all sanitarians recognize as one of the features of any well-ordered program. Finally, the medical profession derives benefit, as well as granting it. The modern medical profession is probably at the zenith of its scientific achievements, but today as never before, does the physician need the support and understanding of the lay public. With the rise and increase of the many bizarre and charlatan cults, the public must be shown that the modern doctor of medicine practices preventive as well as curative medicine, and that he is more than a dispenser of pills, that he is a purveyor of positive health.

The organized medical profession went on record in 1922 at the annual convention of the American Medical Association as indorsing a movement for periodic medical examinations and recommended that the county medical societies urge their members to prepare themselves to give such examinations. A similar resolution was passed by this organization in 1923. Standard forms were prepared and reprints of an excellent article by Dr. Haven Emerson, outlining a suggested technique, were made available. The proposition has been discussed at many national, state, and county medical meetings since that time and many articles, editorials, and news items have appeared in medical magazines. It is safe to assert that every physician in the country has had this movement brought to his attention in some way or another. The response has reflected great credit on the profession, for almost without exception they have not only indorsed the proposition, but have taken steps to put it into operation. The National Health Council, in its campaign, has stressed the fact that the people should be urged to go to their own family physicians for their physical inventories. Naturally it was hoped that the suppliant would get an adequate examination and not be disappointed. The medical profession has been sold on this idea by their own leaders and this hope has been realized.

Organizing the campaign.—Since the Conference of State and Provincial Health Authorities of North America had also indorsed the movement, every state health officer was invited several months before the campaign began to take the initiative in forming a state committee and launching the work. Here again the response was highly gratifying. In some cases the state health officer himself took the lead, in others the active propaganda work was turned over with his approval to a voluntary agency. In about a dozen states a very active campaign has been conducted, while in about twenty more the campaign has been promoted in a mild sort of manner. In the remainder of the states interest has been expressed and occasional activities carried on with no particular organized effort, except now and then by a local group. In all cases, the movement has been an educational one. In order to assist state and local groups, the National Health Council prepared an eight-page pamphlet for popular distribution. About twenty thousand copies of this have been sent out and it has also been reprinted in whole or in part by a number of state and local groups. In several states a pamphlet or bulletin on health examinations has been specially prepared and widely circulated.

Other publicity material has consisted of a poster, several thousand copies of which have been sent. Here again a number of special posters have been developed locally. A one-reel motion picture entitled "Working for Dear Life" was prepared for the campaign by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Fifty-three prints of this are in constant circulation and more than a quarter of a million persons have seen this film to date. A set of thirty lantern slides was also prepared, some fifty or more sets of which have been distributed. The newspapers have used a vast amount of material on the campaign and a good

many thousand clippings are on file. It is interesting to note in looking over this mass of material that many unsolicited editorials have been written on the subject. All but one or two have been favorable and laudatory. These editorials are good indications of the trend of public opinion.

Results.—What have been the results of all this effort? Announcement was made in July, 1923, that an endeavor was to be made to induce ten million persons to have health examinations during the twelve months to follow. No one was sanguine enough to believe that this goal would actually be reached, however. Although the campaign has never indulged in any fireworks or fanfares, the indications are that eminently satisfactory results have been attained as a starter. It can be asserted without fear of refutation that more persons have had health examinations during the past twelve months than at any other similar period in the history of the country. It is estimated that at least a million people have had such examinations since the inception of the campaign.

This figure is, of course, a crude estimate, but a conservative one. No attempt has been made to have accurate records kept of the actual examinations given in each state, for many obvious practical reasons. In order to get an indication of the results of the campaign the National Health Council wrote, about May 1, to fifty representative physicians throughout the country and asked them whether in the course of their practice since July 4, 1923, they had given many examinations of the apparently well, how many as compared with previous periods, and what they thought about the whole game. The replies showed that not only these physicians but their patients were thinking about the physical audit and were following it up.

Of the replies received, only two physicians stated that they had noticed no increase in the demand for health examinations. All the others stated that there had been a marked increase. All took occasion to praise the scope and aims of the movement. The general average seemed to be about three or four patients a week coming for health examinations. This would mean about 150 a year per physician, or over twenty million for all doctors, if the average were maintained, which we are not optimistic enough to believe is maintained. Here again is a crude guess from which it will appear that a million examinations is a conservative estimate.

An organization which has made a business of giving complete medical examinations for the last ten years or so, the Life Extension Institute of New York, reports that the last year has been the best in its history. During 1923, 125,000 examinations were made, as compared with 35,000 in 1920. The Union Health Center in New York examined 12,171 workers between July 1, 1922, and May 1, 1923, while between July 1, 1923, and May 1, 1924, 14,679 were examined, an increase of about 250 a month. In a number of states where state-wide observations have been made, a larger number of health examinations for the past year than ever before has been noted.

Lengthening the span of life.—Fifty-eight years is the average length of life in the United States today. In the British Empire it varies considerably from the high mark of sixty-five years in New Zealand to only twenty or so in India, where there has been no change for a century. The life span in the United States has increased some fifteen years in the last half-century. It can increase even more. The American Public Health Association declared by resolution in 1922 that within the next fifty years as much as twenty years may be added to the expectancy of life which now prevails throughout the United States, and that this can be attained even without any further additions to the knowledge of the cause and prevention of disease. Dr. Louis I. Dublin has constructed a hypothetical life table, which scientifically demonstrates an increment of ten years to the life span, based entirely on our present sanitary knowledge.

The late King Edward is said to have naïvely remarked, "If diseases can be prevented, why not prevent them?" That statement can be paraphrased to "If life can be lengthened, why not lengthen it?" Certainly, if all the people would acquire the habit of having a health examination at least once a year, and, furthermore, would profit by the medical and hygienic advice derived from such a regular human inventory, twenty years could be added to the life span. Then at last we should reach and surpass the scriptural ideal of three-score and ten.

Only a beginning has been made in the task of inculcating this idea of health examinations in the public. It is a good beginning, but much remains yet to be accomplished. Perhaps, as Dr. Biggs suggested, twenty years will be required to put over this proposition. At any rate the National Health Council has made a worthy start and it now remains for all members of the profession of sanitarians to continue with renewed vigor the educational efforts requisite to induce the public to benefit themselves by appraising periodically the human machine.

The human mechanism is the most precious of them all. It is the machine of machines, compared with which, as Macaulay wrote, "all the contrivances of the inventors are worthless." Mankind realizes that fact today as never before, but the future will see the day when that realization is translated into an active interest, an interest manifested by a more complete attention to the rules of right living. Then indeed will the slogan, "Have a Health Examination on Your Birthday," be a traditional maxim of the realm. And then will life be longer, more enjoyable, and more worth living.

MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS AS A FACTOR IN SOCIAL WORK

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The proposition of this paper can be stated in two sentences: The prevention of dependency, as well as all constructive social case work, requires more medical attention and guidance for the clients of social agencies than most agencies provide at present. The essential first step is medical examinations, which should be supplied in association with necessary treatment by clinics and out-patient departments of hospitals, which should be developed to serve as family physicians for social agencies.

Diseases a large factor in dependency.—In a paper before the National Conference last year on "Disease as a Factor in Poverty," Mr. Bailey B. Burrit declared that "one health problem alone—tuberculosis of the breadwinner—is a major operating factor in considerably more than one-half of all the families under the care of typical family welfare organizations." The experience of the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, of New York, in the same paper, showed that among 3,875 families under care during a six months' period, there were 5,613 separate important health problems listed by visitors of the society as compared with 3,643 problems of other sorts.

In the annual report of the Charity Organization Society of New York for 1923, statistics are given concerning 3,058 families. Among these families there were 5,448 problems of physical and mental disease, which is 38 per cent of all problems recorded. Of 9,514 different services rendered, 3,156 were classified as the securing of medical treatment, either physical or mental. These constituted a third of all the services rendered.

Systematic medical supervision of children placed in foster homes, or considered for admission to institutions, has become recognized as essential because of the large amount of physical disease or defects revealed when these children receive routine medical examination. For children to be sent on vacation outings or to country homes during the summer, private organizations and public bodies, such as the Board of Child Welfare of New York, have learned to make initial physical examinations a prerequisite. Originally such examinations were merely for the purpose of detecting contagious disease, but they are now used also to prevent children with handicapped bodies or weak hearts from being sent on the sort of vacation from which sturdy youngsters will benefit, but from which the weakly or diseased are certain to suffer. The physician also is gradually entering gymnasiums established by settlements and recreational organizations. This is another illustration of the growing recognition of social agencies that they need to have medical understanding of the human material with which they are dealing.

Medical service a factor in social case work.—The conclusion toward which the practitioners in various fields of social work are thus tending have been

recently made more precise by physicians themselves. Dr. I. M. Rubinow, from his fortunate vantage-point of physician, statistician, and social worker combined, made a useful contribution in his article in the *Survey* of March 15, 1924.

For every hundred families of the Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia during the first six months of the last current fiscal year (ending May 1, 1923), there were 129 health problems presented, constituting 52 per cent of all of the problems recorded. During the past four years the total number of health problems noted per hundred families steadily increased, being 65 in 1921, 91 in 1922, 117 in 1923, and 129 during the six months ending November 1, 1923. In other words, while there was a shifting in the various other problems and a slight increase in most, the increase in medical diagnosis almost equaled the entire increase in the number of all problems diagnosed. This remarkable improvement, says Dr. Rubinow, in the recognition of health problems in family case work, is as noticeable in temporary illness as in tuberculosis or any other chronic disease, and is attributed by him largely to the establishment of routine medical examinations which have been provided for an annually increasing proportion of the cases of the society.

The total number of persons examined by the Community Health Center was 4,034, including many who were not clients of the Jewish Welfare Society. Not quite 14 per cent of these 4,034 persons were found to be "normal," in the sense that no defects were diagnosed. For the average person, a little over two and one-half diagnoses of diseases or defects were made, ten diseases constituting four-fifths of these.

Dr. Rubinow also shows that an increasing proportion of families of this society were not only examined, but were also given medical care, the proportions during the four periods being 27 per cent, 47 per cent, 57 per cent, and 64 per cent.

Better doctoring—less dependency.—Dr. Anna M. Richardson, of the Committee on Dispensary Development of the United Hospital Fund of New York, has made a study of a thousand clients of social agencies, each of whom was given a careful medical examination. The results of these examinations Dr. Richardson summarizes as follows:

> The examinations included only those members of families who were not so sick as to be confined to home or hospital. The statistics resulting from these examinations, therefore, do not give a picture of the total amount of sickness among a thousand clients of social agencies, but they do show the proportion of diseases and defects discovered among those able to be up and about. Only fifty-four persons, about one in twenty, were found to be in good condition, not incapacitated, and free from diseases or defects needing treatment. Of these the majority were young, over four-fifths being infants and children.
>
> More than two-fifths of the thousand (405) had diseases or defects which although they were not incapacitating at the time of the examination would, if neglected, result in lowering their general economic efficiency. These were grouped as having "incipient incapacity," and suffered from such conditions as defective vision, bad teeth or posture, and reduced hearing. The largest proportion, 61 per cent, of the children, came in this group.

A slightly larger proportion, or nearly half (467) were suffering from defects which at the time were interfering with their working efficiency.

Finally, there was a small group of sixty-five with defects of such seriousness as permanently to affect their working and earning capacity. This does not mean that all these persons were totally disabled, but that their defects were so extensive or had progressed so far that they could not be completely relieved, or so eliminated as to restore full working strength. About 90 per cent might be made more comfortable through treatment.

The age distributions are significant, as most of the children were either well or suffering from defects only incipiently incapacitating, which might for the most part be removed, while the more seriously incapacitated were adults, many of whom if seen earlier might have been kept from falling below par in working capacity. The whole result points to the necessity for early detection of defects.

Dr. Richardson, who has reviewed all of the facts above mentioned, and much more which lies beyond the time limits of this paper, states five conclusions and recommendations as follows:

1. Physical examinations of the clients of family case work agencies, by defining the extent of existing disease and by detecting defects which later may cause incapacity, supply the only sound basis for meeting the health and sickness problems of the applicants for assistance.

2. While it takes the time of the case workers to fill in records and take their clients to clinics, it saves their time by avoiding unnecessary and misdirected reference of cases, by helping examinees to understand the importance of treatment, by eliminating guess work as to medical conditions, and by supplying a source of conference as the cases progress.

3. The cost of the service is more than compensated by the saving in time for doctors and workers and by the satisfactory results of the work.

4. The service could most economically be rendered in the out-patient department of general hospitals where the recommendations for medical treatment could be carried out with the least exertion, and where there is medical supervision and equipment.

5. The service, at least in the beginning, would need to be a special division of the out-patient department because the examinations should be by appointment, the physician must be specially interested and experienced in the work, and free from the pressure of treatment of the acutely sick.

Why not use the private doctor.—Why should not charitable agencies secure such service in the private offices of the doctors? Physicians give their services generously to individual cases which cannot pay their fees. Health examinations to the self-supporting mass of the community are properly provided by the family physician. The difficulties in the way of charitable societies securing such service are, however, much greater than those faced by the individual patient. In the first place the number of cases is usually too large to enable any one doctor to care for them all without remuneration. If divided among many doctors the system is unwieldy from the standpoint of administration, and it is impossible to secure uniformity in standards of examination, record keeping, reporting, and so forth. Finally, payment to doctors at private office rates would be financially impossible.

Inherent medical difficulties also exist. Use of the private office does not afford opportunity for specialists and consultant service unless patients are sent from the private office to specialists or consultants, which requires additional "running around" of both patient and social worker. Furthermore, it is

important from the standpoint of the social worker that the medical opinions secured from various specialists shall be interpreted by a single physician who can weigh their relative significance and their practical bearing on the program of medical treatment, or of health conservation for an individual or family. To pool through one physician, the records or interviews with a number of consultants in scattered private offices, is impracticable.

Why use the clinic.—A well-organized out-patient clinic provides just such co-ordination of medical services and of records, and furthermore has the advantage that the facilities both for diagnosis and treatment are all under one roof, minimizing time, travel, and inconvenience.

From the point of view of the social agency, clinic service is cheaper financially, and more practicable administratively than the private office, and is medically better. This assumes that the clinic is really well organized. In many clinics such an ideal of organization has not been achieved, but in some clinics it has been.

Some of the social workers present who have suffered under the inconveniences of clinics, who have waited for hours to see a doctor, or whose clients have waited for hours, who have struggled with a gruff or stupid admitting officer, who have striven to get medical information about a patient and striven without result, may smile sarcastically at this point. I can imagine many of you thinking at this moment that my program is a counsel of perfection. I know well that many social agencies have been driven in desperation to establish their own examining service, even their own treatment facilities.

I realize all the difficulty which the average dispensary at the present time presents to the social agency that seeks medical examination, medical treatment, and medical guidance in behalf of its clients. Nevertheless, I think the program which Dr. Richardson and I propose to be not only ideal, but practical. Most dispensaries are relatively undeveloped and unstandardized even from the medical and administrative point of view, and this is still more true in reference to their community relations.

I feel fairly sure that it is practical, because some clinics are already rendering such service. Notable examples are the Boston Dispensary and the Michael Reese Dispensary in Chicago, but there are many others where co-operation with social agencies has been worked out less intensively but on a satisfactory basis, at least for certain branches of work. Social agencies should concentrate efforts on one or two of the most favorable clinics in their community, instead of trying to start with all clinics together. In such efforts, by the way, the advisory services of some selected members of the medical profession will be of great value to the agencies. It might be helpful to state some of the general requirements which clinics must meet in order to render adequate service of this type to social agencies:

1. The examining service must be specially organized, with separate space from the treatment clinic, or in the same space at different hours, but it is essential that it should be under the

same medical organization. To attempt to combine in the same clinic at the same time, the treatment of the sick with examination, and guidance of persons many of whom are not acutely sick, does not usually work out well either for doctor or client.

2. Examination service should be intimately associated with treatment service, both as to medical and administrative connection, otherwise there is waste of time and effort in transfer, refer, and re-examination, and in duplication of records.

3. There must be correlation of all the medical services in the general and the special clinics which a given patient requires for adequate diagnosis and treatment. This correlation should come about through the pooling of all medical information about a single patient, with one physician, who becomes, so to speak, the co-ordinator and family physician of a patient, and the interpreter of the patient's condition and needs to the social agency.

4. Salaries must ordinarily be paid for the examining service and for service as medical co-ordinator and advisor.

5. Some organized scheme of relationship between the social agency or agencies, and the out-patient department must be established governing the routine to be followed in correlating medical and social information, and such details as referring and reporting on cases, keeping a record of transfers, refers, and reports, and guiding the relations between the social service department and the case workers of the social agencies.

Some charitable societies have set up special examining clinics or have made use of local health centers, wholly or partly under their control, for the purpose of providing examinations. They have found it possible, though not always easy, to get medical treatment for their clients at various dispensaries, but impracticable to secure the examinations of those not obviously sick. The Mulberry House clinics of the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, in New York, and the Community Health Center, of Philadelphia, are two excellent examples of this. Both these centers and others that might be mentioned have helped the agencies. Yet a close study of both has brought out a deficiency, which indeed is recognized by the agencies in touch with them. The essential deficiency is the separation of the medical responsibility for the examination and the medical responsibility for treatment, the consequences of which have been referred to above. Such special examining clinics or health centers may be necessary and useful expedients at certain periods, if in certain localities, but they do not provide a satisfactory or permanent solution of the problem.

Conclusions.—It may be well to summarize the general conclusions of this study: first, the intimate connection between sickness and dependency, and the prevalence of remediable or preventable disease and defect, render adequate medical advice and guidance an essential element in all social case work; second, the provision of adequate medical care will diminish dependency and will prevent some dependency; third, medical examinations of all clients of social agencies at the earliest possible date after their application to the agency are an essential basis for adequate medical care and medical guidance; fourth, the medical responsibility for examinations as well as for treatment should be under one organization; fifth, the family physician for social agencies should be the established medical agency rather than special medical facilities established by the social agencies themselves; sixth, the agent of choice in providing medical

examination, treatment, and guidance is the out-patient department of a hospital which, by co-operative arrangement, makes certain special provisions for rendering this service; seventh, local health centers may be an occasional or temporary resource for examinations and for some forms of treatment, but should be regarded as subsidiary agencies or second choice in meeting the medical needs of social agencies; eighth, it is probable that provision of adequate medical service in the way of examination, treatment, and guidance will ultimately cause sufficient saving in relief funds to pay for itself. Yet from the short-range point of view the additional facilities cause extra expense, both for the medical work itself and for the additional social care, such as diet, which is frequently consequent upon the doctor's recommendation. The additional expense on the medical side ought theoretically to be borne by the hospital, out-patient, or other health agency. In practice, the social agencies, for various reasons, may have to offer to meet part or all of this expense; ninth, stimulation of clinics and out-patient departments of hospitals, to meet the growing medical needs of social agencies, is a part of the community responsibility of the social agencies themselves. It will require effort, will bring not a little discouragement, but I believe success will come in the end because the plan leads to the maximum public service for the minimum of expenditure.

HEALTH HABITS FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

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In few activities is co-operation of more importance than in school health service. It is true here, as Kipling said of the army:

> It ain't the guns, nor armament, nor funds that they can pay,
> But the close co-operation that makes them win the day;
> It ain't the individual, nor the army as a whole,
> But *the everlasting teamwork of every bloomin' soul!*

This teamwork we shall consider today as it is to be obtained from, first, the children and, second, others—the parents, the teachers, and the agencies outside of the school and home. The co-operation of the children is considered first because their interest is essential to the correction of physical defects and faulty health habits. It is a sad truth that in many families it is the child who is the boss, and is the one who decides whether or not he will visit the physician or dentist, no matter who may have been the one to decide as to the need of such a visit. So it is that the interesting of the child and thus obtaining his co-operation is the first step toward the correction of his physical defects. Some of the methods of interesting the children are enumerated:

First, the use of scales.—The rate of gain in weight is an index of the child's health. The scales give some definite information. The weight, along with

the height and age, presents a strong basis of appeal to the underweight child. The appeal can be made on the ground of personal vanity—the boys, that they may become bigger and stronger—"able to lick anybody in the school," and the girls to be bigger and prettier. Scales will also do much to interest the parents and teachers in the children's welfare. Many parents will excuse the child's being thin on the ground that they themselves, or the grandparents, may also have been thin, but the parents will resent the suggestion that the child is underweight because it seems to reflect against them, as to the kind or amount of food, or the lack of care of the child. Parents would also resent the suggestion that they themselves would not be so thin or small if they had been properly supervised during their school days.

Examples of the children's interest from scales.—Mary, aged eleven years, said, "I know I'm up to weight because I attend to that"; thirty children out of thirty-four in one class gained 5.8 pounds each in two months; one group of children reduced the number of underweights 10 per cent, from 14 to 2 in eight months; one group of 522 children in one school gained over nine-tenths of a ton in two months (one child gained 14 pounds, one $13\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, and 22 more than 8 pounds each); a girl of eleven years was found to have lost 5 pounds in one month. She had developed diabetes. The monthly weighings brought her under early care. Without these weighings, the parents feel the disease might have had a firm hold on her before it was discovered.

Second, the taking of milk in school—examples.—The son of a physician, on returning home at noon, was too fatigued to take a proper luncheon. He also failed to eat a sufficient breakfast and was losing weight. Milk at school refreshed him sufficiently to give him an appetite for luncheon, and in a few days, for breakfast. In three weeks he gained $3\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, to his normal weight. The daughter of a school principal, who corrected poor health habits, took a liking to milk, first at school, then at home, and gained 14 pounds in seven months. A colored boy of thirteen learned to drink milk at school and gave up tea and coffee. His mother, a laundress, noticed the benefit to him and offered to give the price of the milk weekly to some child who could not afford it.

Third, nutrition classes.—Of course, the ideal way would be to have a nutrition expert take charge of the nutrition classes in a scientific way. Unfortunately, there are many cities who have not this luxury, and for these the following may be of practical value: weigh and measure all children as early fn the term as possible and once a month; chart weights and heights by classes; children more than 10 per cent underweight should be weighed weekly, have individual weight charts, have defects corrected, and be admitted to nutrition class (under direction of teacher or nurse). Those who fail to gain in weight for one month should be referred to (*a*) their own physician, or (*b*) the nutrition clinic at the dispensary.

Fourth, health contests.—Health contests are of value in stimulating interest as only a contest can. The conditions of these are determined by the need of

the school. They should be held between classes rather than between individuals or between schools, or they may be held between groups in a school, as between two athletic clubs, as for example the Reds and the Greys, the school colors. They may strive toward these aims: to correct physical defects (some special ones or all remediable defects); become a school with 100 per cent tooth brushes; become a school free from nits; have an anti-cigarette campaign; attain 100 per cent vaccinations; attain greater regularity in attendance; attain such health rules as may be outlined; draw the best health posters; write the best essay on health subjects, etc. Fifty-four hundred children made one or more drawings for a poster contest and 3,600 finished the posters, many of which were exhibited in the lobby of a theater. In this competition 351 essays on health subjects were written.

Many of these contests (as the removal of tonsils and adenoids) have been extended through the summer holidays, with the correction of a large number of defects and no loss of time from school. One group of children without physical defects waited on their principal, and begged to have some kind of a health contest, "so we won't be left out." The first of these health contests in Yonkers was held among six classes (208 children). The class which first corrected all of its remediable defects won the Class Challenge Cup. While this cup was being won, 95 per cent of all the defects of these six classes were corrected.

A fourth-grade class in that school, not among the six classes, organized a contest among its thirty-one pupils and corrected all its defects. The children then presented to the principal the following "diploma" signed by each of them:

> We, the undersigned members of Miss Cassidy's class, wish to commemorate the starting of a Health Contest in School No. 18 in the year 1921, and so present to our principal, Miss Hazen, this document in appreciation of her interest in our health.
>
> We have corrected all the physical defects reported by the school examining physician and we know that during all our lives we will be grateful to School No. 18 for keeping us on the Good Health Road.

The next year, this school's contest was among 27 classes with 944 pupils and the following year among 31 classes with 1,050 pupils competing. Contests may be arranged among the various opportunity classes (mentally defective children) as these children would be unfairly handicapped if in competition with normal children.

Fifth, class health challenge cups.—These cups are silver trophies, presented not to an individual for his athletic prowess, but to the class most successful in its health efforts. They promote class spirit. The individual receives the benefit in better health. In some schools, several classes have removed all of their remediable defects in striving for this cup. An individual cup may be awarded to the child who has made the greatest physical gain during the school year. This would eliminate the child most nearly in perfect physical condition (who is already interested in his health), and would offer the greatest possibility

of success to the child most in need of an interest in health and would tend to raise the standard of physical well-being.

Many have been the defects corrected, "not for myself, but for my class." The winner of one health challenge cup for his class was a boy with dental defects. He was taken by the nurse with a group to the dentist, and before his time came, ran away. The next day he was taken by the teacher (also anxious to win the cup), got as far as the dentist's chair, and then escaped out of the window. The third day following appeals from the nurse, teacher, and all the other members of his class he went alone to the dentist, had three teeth filled and won the cup for his class.

Health challenge cups are in 74 per cent of the schools of Yonkers. Nine of them have been given by members of the board of education and ten by parents or others who have become interested through the interest they have aroused in the children. Special cups are provided for competition among opportunity classes. In these contests, special physical exercises with the privilege of having a swim has been of benefit to the children in stimulating an already sluggish mind. "One of the most valuable stimulating agencies that we have secured for them," says one superintendent of schools.

Sixth, weight charts.—These weight charts may be recorded by classes with monthly weighings or for individuals who are underweight and who are weighed weekly.

Seventh, health honor rolls.—Health honor rolls are readily made of sheets of cardboard, cut to receive small slips, each with the name of a pupil who has had all of his defects removed. One boy, with a sinus discharging matter into his mouth, resisted all efforts, for over a year, of parents, teacher, nurse, and physician, to have that source of poisoning removed. On learning that if his tooth were extracted, his name would be placed on the health honor roll, he asked permission to visit the dentist and the tooth was removed.

Eighth, health ships.—These are made of cardboard and carry names of defects as they are removed, either on the sails or on the lifeboats to be attached to the ship, or life buoys.

Ninth, health plays and demonstrations.—These are of great educational value to the children and others and may include toothbrush drills, exhibitions, "Cho-Cho," the "health fairy, Happy," etc.

Tenth, health crowns.—The names of defects as they are removed from the entire class are recorded on the points of the crown.

Eleventh, health houses.—These can be built to show (*a*) the ideal house with the proper sanitary arrangements in each room, or (*b*) the actual construction of the house, each brick carrying the name of some child who has removed all of his remediable defects or who has attained the highest score in health habits.

Twelfth, health thermometer.—The rising mercury shows the number of defects corrected or the increasing number of children who are taking milk instead of tea and coffee.

Thirteenth, health ladders.—These show the child ascending as the number of his defects are corrected.

Fourteenth, school board of health.—This consists of a health officer and a representative from each grade who helps with the morning inspection records and general health work of the classroom.

Fifteenth, health army.—(*a*) A recruiting poster in each room with such slogans as "Join the Health Army," "Serve Your Country," and recruiting officers chosen because of scholarship or neatness of appearance—whichever the teachers prefer. All are eligible who have had all of their physical defects corrected. Each member of the health army is represented by a star on the school service flag. At the end of the year, the room having the greatest number of stars wins the health challenge cup. (*b*) Army officers and a regiment in each classroom. Captain reviews all members of the army (those who have corrected all of their physical defects and have won a certain number of credits for neatness of appearance). He presents each with a badge of two colors. The other members of the class not in the army are also reviewed and each is asked why he is not eligible to the health army. He states that he is not entitled to the blue ribbon because of his failure to have this or that defect corrected, or that he has not obtained a red ribbon because he lacks a certain number of credits for neatness in appearance.

Sixteenth, service flag.—Bunting was bought with pennies of the children and sewed by the girls of 7A, 7C, 8A, 8B, and dedicated to the memory of four boys of the school who lost their lives in the world-war. Red stripes represented acts of service by the school to the school, as follows: taking charge of assembling in lines in the school halls and on the grounds; no-smoking campaign; high percentage in attendance. White stripes represented service by the school to the community and country, as follows: looking after and protecting all of the flags in the school; public safety campaign; fire prevention campaign; no trespassing on other people's property; interest in the mothers' club. The stars represented service by the class. These efforts were to establish responsibility, love of service, industry, obedience to law, kindness, courtesy, self-control, loyalty, and love.

Effects.—It is surprising how much can be accomplished by interesting the children in their own physical welfare. For instance: one girl, underweight, gave up tea and coffee. In her enthusiasm, she persuaded an older brother and sister, a younger sister, and her father and mother to give them up also. That family, at last report, does not buy tea or coffee. The children obtained 34 per cent of the money necessary to purchase the scales in the Yonkers schools. One school raised the necessary fund by a lantern exhibition, each of thirty children describing two slides of travel. Another school sold postal cards, waste-paper baskets, etc. A girl of ten with St. Vitus' dance spent afternoons on a couch out of doors, retiring at six o'clock. She was very fond of being read to by her father, but even he could not persuade her to sit up

beyond the prescribed hour. She was in school for the morning session only, and her standing rose from near the bottom of the class to above the middle. In a few weeks she had lost all signs of chorea.

Parents.—Many parents receive from their children the only health teaching they ever acquire. "A little child shall lead them" is just as true today as it ever was. Many other parents have a full appreciation of their responsibility toward their children and are more active in having the children play the game fairly, so that co-operation by the parents is invaluable. The ways in which they can co-operate are innumerable, either as individuals or as members of parent-teacher associations, or as members of larger civic organizations. In many schools it has been the parents' association that has provided the scales or other forms of health equipment. In one school the mothers' club indorsed the Schick test and had a public meeting with demonstrations in its interest. Many of the parents were "Schicked" at this time.

Teachers.—Co-operation by the teachers may be shown in many ways: one principal helped at the physical examinations for a week in order to become better informed as to the children's needs; one teacher took thirty-two children to the dentist, having first called upon the parents to obtain permission and to collect the necessary dental fees; two teachers united their classes, one taking a group from both classes to the dentist or dispensary, while the other carried on the school work; one principal weighed four hundred children in order to suggest ways of improving the technique of weighing; a principal took a crippled child to the brace-makers in order to obtain the help which the parents, not interested, failed to give, and a few months later when the brace broke, again took the child to the brace-makers in New York, making four trips in all; one teacher obtained permission from the parents and took a boy with a cataract to the dispensary, after physicians, nurses, teachers, and social workers had been endeavoring for over two years to have this boy attended to; in one school with many underweights, the teachers arranged for a benefit theatrical performance and raised $200 for a milk fund.

A bulletin of health activities in the schools is essential to the proper dissemination of knowledge as to what is going on. Such a bulletin will stimulate a spirit of competition. It can make suggestions or describe the methods employed by the principals of the schools as a whole, or of the details as carried out by any teacher. A popular teacher who is doing good health work will be copied from admiration, while the teacher not popular will stimulate perhaps even more work on the part of those with whom she is not popular.

Agencies outside of the school and home.—First comes the board of education and the superintendent of schools. Of course the whole school policy in health education is under these agencies, and unless their interest is aroused in the children's health, it is to be presumed that not much in health service can be accomplished. On the contrary, an active interest in these agencies will assure

success. In one board, 50 per cent of the health challenge cups were donated by its members (present or past) individually.

The department of health is another agency without whose co-operation proper health service cannot succeed. Its relation to the board of education is chiefly in regard to the contagious diseases, and in Yonkers the board of health aids the school health work in two valuable ways: in the first place the nurses investigate all cases of illness, the nature of which is unknown to the principal and for which a child may be absent more than three days, and a report of this is made to the schools. In this way, the time of the nurses under the board of education is saved for work in the schools and these nurses do not go into the homes where a contagious disease exists. During the past three months, 218 were investigated; 68, or 31 per cent, were discovered to have contagious diseases. Many of these had no family physician. Second comes the quarantine physician. During the past three months, 5,307 children were inspected in classrooms (in contact with other children known to have a communicable disease); 95 were sent home for suspicious symptoms; 106 throat cultures were taken.

Dentists and family physicians are most important. Usually the lack of co-operation between family physicians or dentists and the medical inspectors is due to a lack of understanding or jealousy and the fear of interference. Sometimes there is a difference of opinion as to whether or not tonsils should be removed. The medical examiner simply refers the child to the family physician for his decision. The family physician is in closer touch with the child and is the one to make the final decision.

City officials.—City officials should be interested in the school work, and lend their support, both active and moral. Sometimes the development of the whole branch of health service has been made possible through the interest of a city official, as in one instance in which the mayor was responsible for the whole reorganization of the dental work.

Other health agencies.—There are many civic organizations, tuberculosis associations, the Red Cross, and life insurance companies willing to donate supplies or funds for carrying on health work in the schools. Many times these agencies are the ones who supply most of the literature, funds for milk, demonstrations on nutrition, material for health crusaders, or for "Cho-Cho," or "Happy, the Health Fairy." All such agencies should be interested in school work.

THE REHABILITATION OF THE EX-SERVICE MAN IN CANADA

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The government of Canada has employed eight principal measures to restore to civil life that large proportion of the population which served in its military forces. Of the male citizens of military age, who numbered 1,500,000,[1] more than one-third enlisted and more than one-quarter saw service in France. The disorganization of the ordinary life of the country was therefore very great, the average period of service was long, and the return to normal was expected to be difficult. The measures authorized undoubtedly simplified this return for the great majority of the soldiers, and the number of cases in which they have not been successful is extremely small even though the situation has been materially complicated by the world-wide economic depression.

The specific methods of rehabilitation to which reference will be made may be divided into two groups—financial and social. The first of the financial group consisted in the payment of a "War Service Gratuity" to every soldier, except to those who had been enlisted for less than one year and had not been overseas when discharged from the service. The amount of the gratuity depended upon the length and nature of service. The maximum award was made to those who had served for three years or more and had been overseas. It consisted of an additional six months' pay of rank. The minimum award was made to those who had served for more than one year in Canada only, and consisted of one month's pay of rank. All those who had been overseas, even though they had served for less than twelve months, received three months' pay of rank. The smallest payment in this class was made to private soldiers without dependents and amounted to $210. The average payment was $386 and the total expenditure $165,000,000.

The second financial measure is embodied in the Canadian Pension Act. This legislation is closely similar to that which obtains among all the allied nations and needs no description. The expenditure it has involved to date amounts to more than $176,600,000 and the total number of those individuals who benefited from its provisions during the year 1923 was 150,000.

The third financial measure was initiated in the latter part of 1919. It was found that the problems of re-establishment had not been fully met and that unemployment relief on a large scale was necessary. This was arranged by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment in co-operation with the Canadian Patriotic Fund. In the first year approximately $7,000,000 was expended and, though further expenditures under this head were found necessary in 1921, 1922, and 1923, particularly during the winters, the amounts required have been much smaller.

[1] For the sake of clarity, all the figures in this paper have been given in round numbers.

It will thus be seen that the government has expended approximately $350,000,000 in direct payments to those of its citizens, or their dependents, who served in the Great War.

The five measures which have been grouped under the term social had as their common characteristic the fact that their purpose was reconstructive. They may be specified as follows: medical treatment in all its forms; vocational training; employment services; land settlement, and sheltered employment. The activities of the government in this direction have been very extensive and it is impossible in a paper of this kind to give anything more than an outline of the work and of the results which have been obtained.

When invalided soldiers began to return to Canada in 1915 it was found that the militia department, which was fully occupied with the organization and equipment of the growing army, would need considerable extension if the problem of providing hospital accommodation, convalescent homes, medical service, and nursing to those whose war service had already made these necessary, was to be satisfactorily met. A special branch of that department was organized to deal with these matters, but, as the number of those requiring care increased and as, for psychological and social reasons, it was found that the work might be more effectively carried out on a civilian basis, the organization was demilitarized and in 1918 was formed into a department of the government known as the Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment. By that time a very large number of people were engaged in the multifarious duties demanded of them by the situation. Hospitals had been built, convalescent homes had been established, accommodation in municipal and provincial institutions had been obtained, the services of physicians and surgeons, of nurses and social workers, had been enlisted, occupational therapy and vocational training had been begun and, in cases of hardship, relief had been provided. For all this work the department has, since its inception, been responsible. It has provided accommodation for the 140,000 patients who have been admitted to hospital and has also furnished a million and a quarter clinical treatments to ex-soldier out-patients. After the armistice, the peak of the load was reached in 1920, and since then there has been a gradual diminution in the number of the patients. Today ten departmental hospitals with a bed capacity of slightly less than 3,000 are sufficient to accommodate the ex-service men who still require treatment for their war-engendered disabilities, though by arrangement with non-departmental institutions a further 1,400 beds are available if they should be found necessary. In the first year after the war, while the social disorganization was at its height, the provision of treatment was not restricted to those for whom it was required on account of service disabilities, but was provided to all ex-soldiers irrespective of the condition rendering it necessary. The only distinction made was that those who were hospitalized for non-service disabilities did not receive the treatment pay and allowances authorized for those whose service conditions still demanded attention.

Canada has the honor of having been the pioneer in establishing vocational training on an official basis. Toward the end of 1915 it was suggested that training should be provided by the government to those whose service disabilities made it impossible for them to return to the occupations that they had previously followed. Already in one or two places this had been undertaken under private auspices, but in January, 1916, the proposal was officially approved and the creation of an organization to carry out the idea was undertaken. The early efforts were more or less of a tentative nature, but during the year 1917 vocational schools and a system of apprenticeships had been established throughout the country, in most instances in connection with the hospitals in which the disabled soldiers were under treatment. The students at these schools were paid allowances by the state sufficient for their own maintenance and that of their dependents. At the beginning some confusion between occupational therapy and vocational training had militated against the success of the latter, but this was soon corrected and the students of the vocational schools were kept wholly distinct and separate from the patients in the hospitals for whom occupational therapy was prescribed.

Of the 600,000 Canadians who saw service approximately one in five suffered a disability, and of this number some 75,000 were considered to be eligible for training either because their disabilities prevented them from returning to their pre-war employment or because they had enlisted under age and were thereby included in the scheme. Not all of these took advantage of the opportunity offered to them. Some of the more independent found positions for themselves in occupations from which their disabilities did not exclude them, and others returned to their homes and asked no more of their country. There were 52,000 enrolments in the training schools and of these 43,000 students continued their courses to graduation. Of the 9,000 who did not complete their studies 5,500 discontinued them voluntarily and for good reasons, while the remainder, approximately 3,500, were discharged for non-attendance, misconduct, or lack of interest. This number, which is approximately two-thirds of one per cent of those who were enrolled, probably represents the proportion of uneducable to be found in any large group of individuals.

One unforeseen result of this activity was that it restored to many men who had very largely lost their initiative, a re-education in citizenship. During their years of service, food, clothing, and shelter had been found for them and they had unconsciously come to expect that these would continue to be forthcoming. In the schools they learned again that the curse of Adam had not been lifted and that only in the sweat of their brows might their daily bread be eaten.

The students were trained in 421 different occupations. The most popular of these were found in the group covered by the general title "Trade and Industry," while the group "Business and Commerce" accounted for a large part of the remainder. Twenty-five thousand undertook training in the former of these and nearly a third of these were taught mechanical trades. Garment and

leather work followed with 4,000 and the electrical trades with 3,000. Approximately 13,000 were trained in business and commerce and of these 9,000 were given such training as enabled them to undertake subordinate positions in business houses. There were 3,000 students of agricultural pursuits, but this does not complete the number of those whom the state aided in this industry. A further reference will be made to it presently in the discussion of the Soldier Settlement Board.

While of late there has been no attempt to keep in touch with those who graduated, the statistics completed in 1922 contain sufficient information to make it possible to determine the final results of the work. They show that approximately 3 per cent were ill or had died and about the same number had left the country. In 4 per cent of the cases no information could be obtained, but there was every reason to believe that the men were in employment. Sixty-five per cent were employed in the occupations in which they had been trained and 25 per cent were employed in other occupations to which, no doubt, their course of training had made them more adaptable than they would otherwise have been. These percentages indicate that approximately 45,000 men have been enabled by this measure to resume, in spite of the dislocation of their lives by war and disability, a useful place in the nation.

An investigation of the records of 500 cases, now in receipt of pension for pulmonary tuberculosis, was undertaken with the idea that perhaps some information of interest might be secured in regard to the results of the rehabilitation measures so far described. Though it may be that the percentages so obtained are not exactly correct in respect to the present condition of those whose disease has been considered to be related to their service, still they are no doubt sufficiently accurate to provide a good general idea of the status of the large group who have suffered from this particular disability.

Of the 500 almost exactly two-fifths are either under treatment or are in receipt of a total disability pension, this fact indicating that the disease is still active or quiescent. Of the remainder, two-thirds are following their pre-war occupation or one allied to it, while the other third state when they appear for re-examination that they are not supplementing their reduced pensions by undertaking gainful employment. Whether this is because the necessity for it does not exist or because a suitable occupation has not been found does not appear. Of those employed, 25 per cent are following trade and industrial occupations, and a further 25 per cent in business positions. Ten per cent are occupied in agriculture and the same number are practicing professions, while 25 per cent are employed in general labor and 5 per cent in miscellaneous occupations. Perhaps under a system of complete after-care and rigid paternalism, an improvement might be made in this grouping, but it is suggested that as yet neither our social equipment nor our medical knowledge is such as to enable us to speak with authority upon the forms of employment into which the patient with arrested tuberculosis should be guided.

In the fall of 1915, before vocational training was undertaken as a governmental measure, a plan was made for co-operation between the federal and provincial governments toward the institution of employment commissions in each province. These commissions came into direct contact with the returned soldiers and were very successful in introducing a large number of them into employment. When the war ended it was realized that the 350,000 men overseas would be rapidly returned to Canada and that an extension of the employment services would therefore be essential, and a chain of offices was therefore created to cover the country. The Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment and the Department of Labor co-operated with the already existing bureaus and provided a central organization, as a result of which the demands for labor in one part of the country might be met by the surplus in another. Though the period of the operation of this central organization ended in June, 1920, 175,000 positions were found, 110,000 men were actually placed, and the number of inquiries for information and assistance exceeded 1,200,000. The Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment is still continuing its employment service in respect to the handicapped men and the vocational graduates, but the amount of work involved is of course infinitely less today than it was formerly. Of these handicapped or trained men, 58,000 out of the 94,000 who applied at one time or another have been placed; 34,000 found positions for themselves and withdrew their names from the lists, and in only 2,000 cases has it been impossible to effect placement. This feature of the activities of the government undoubtedly resulted in providing the usual employment agencies with staffs very much more experienced and better equipped than was the case before the war.

In 1917 the government passed the first soldier settlement act. This was designed to assist men who were eligible from an agricultural standpoint to settle on free land in the western provinces or to enable those already owning farms to purchase additional land or equipment. It also provided that agricultural training might be given to those who wished to become farmers, and it authorized the appointment of a commission known as the Soldier Settlement Board to carry out the work. The board has received 67,000 applications and has pronounced 48,000 ex-soldiers to be qualified under the act. One hundred million dollars has been advanced on long term loans to the 23,500 men who have been settled on the land. Of those to whom loans were made, 70 per cent have met their payments as they have fallen due. It will be seen, therefore, that as agriculture is one of the most important industries in this country and will no doubt remain so for many years to come, very considerable benefits have been secured both to the state and to its citizen soldiery by the provision of this act.

In spite of the number and variety of these measures of rehabilitation there proved to be a small group of ex-soldiers for whom re-establishment was not secured. This was composed of the unemployable, and the government found

itself faced with the necessity of providing an additional measure in order that they might be cared for. Physically the group may be subdivided into three classes: those suffering from senility, those whose bodily condition prevented them from competing in the labor market, and those whose mental make-up was such that they were incapable of competition with their fellow-men. These conditions were not considered to bear any but the most attenuated relationship to military service, and in some instances the claim for governmental care was based only on the fact that the individual had worn a uniform. The men were therefore not entitled to pension to the extent of their vocational handicap.

The problem was brought to official attention toward the end of 1919, and early in 1920 the first protected workshop was opened. Until last year these shops, which were established in nearly all the larger centers in Canada, were managed by the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, but as time went on the conviction grew that, under the stimulus of local interest and with an elasticity of operation impossible under formal governmental control, better results might be secured. A number of them were therefore transferred to the Canadian Red Cross and it is hoped that those still remaining under departmental jurisdiction will soon be handed over to this society. Of course their support is still largely derived from the public treasury.

The principal products are toys, furniture, reed articles, and woolen goods, and though the period of economic depression which has followed the war has rendered the disposal of their output somewhat difficult, it is considered that with returning prosperity they will likely be reasonably self-sustaining. Every effort is made to conduct them on a business basis but the subnormal capacity of the personnel employed makes it impossible to secure the results demanded in private concerns. Formerly each man was paid allowances comparable to those authorized for vocational students, but today this system has been replaced by a flat hourly rate and "wages" vary with regularity of attendance. Every allowance possible is made for the physically unfit; medical supervision is provided and the work assigned to each man is arranged in accordance with his capacity.

One very marked benefit has been secured by this measure. After enjoying the atmosphere of the workshops, many of those men whose futile efforts to re-establish themselves had made them utterly hopeless and dispirited have had courage and confidence restored to them to such a degree that they have been able to find employment in the general labor market. Though this effect was to some extent anticipated it has proved to be perhaps the most gratifying feature of the work. There have been 1,500 men employed in the Vet-Craft Shops, as they are called. Of these 25 per cent are still in the shops, and 25 per cent are in positions which have been secured for them. Fifteen per cent are under treatment in departmental hospitals for exacerbations of their service disabilities, 15 per cent are being otherwise cared for, 5 per cent are dead, ill, or

with some condition wholly unrelated to their service, and the remaining 15 per cent are listed as unemployed.

It is impossible to foresee what the future may hold in regard to the rehabilitation of those who for one reason or another cannot maintain themselves in the ranks of organized society. It may be that some of the measures now generally approved will be discarded, and that others, productive of better results, will replace them. But there can be no doubt that a realization of the necessity for measures for their restoration to positions of economic independence is growing and that that nation will best succeed in which intelligent oversight is maintained over the defective and every effort is made to assist those of its members who have incurred disabilities to re-establish themselves in positions in which they may be usefully employed.

MATERNITY AND INFANCY

AN ADEQUATE PROGRAM FOR A STATE

Dr. Felix J. Underwood, Director, Bureau of Child Hygiene and Public Health Nursing, State Board of Health, Jackson, Mississippi

The health needs of our millions of mothers and babies are constant, hourly, daily, and continuous, and the adequate training and care of the mothers and children of our country is the most important work that we have yet attempted.

The task assigned, that of outlining an adequate program for a state, is a difficult one. Most of you will agree that an adequate program for a state will of necessity be flexible and capable of change to meet changing demands as the work unfolds.

I wish it were possible to have a single model program for the forty-eight states, but if such a program were prepared it would not be a practicable, but only a theoretical plan that would be better suited to some states than to others but which would meet the needs in part only. The only practical program is one that grows out of the state's experiences, needs, and resources. In the writer's humble opinion the best that we may expect now or later is a tentative program, practical in its details, reasonably appropriate, and sufficiently flexible to carry on this work which is the foundation upon which a constructive public health program may be developed.

We realize that it is much more difficult to meet the needs in a state where the births and deaths are not promptly and properly recorded because it is necessary to have a knowledge of when and where babies are born, of when and where or of what cause they are dying. Until we have this knowledge an adequate plan cannot be developed for insuring a healthful and vigorous start in life for the child and for reducing the infant death-rate. And this is not enough

for if we are to have the best program it is necessary to obtain registration of prenatal and prospective cases in order that provisions may be made in the program to exert every effort to the end that no mother should die or be injured in childbirth because of lack of knowledge on her part or lack of proper attention.

In an adequate program the handicapped child will also come into his own—the feebleminded, deaf mutes, the blind, crippled, defectives, the unvaccinated against preventable diseases, infants whose births have not been registered, orphans who need health supervision, and neglected children of ignorant parentage. There must be of necessity concerted efforts of all health workers to the end that handicapped children may be registered into specialized agencies with few but definite facts.

However well a program may be planned the best results will not be obtained if there is too much centralization. The state program should be so outlined that the people, county, or community may be made to realize that they are and should be responsible for the success of the work, that it is their program and planned for their benefit, and that the state and federal government only assist them in measuring up to their own responsibilities and opportunities.

The state—the big brother—should act as guide and sponsor to direct and support the local program to meet in the best possible way the local need, bearing in mind always that true progress is only made from within and that the growth and development of a local or state program does not come about as a result of natural strength, but the secret lies in independence and self-help, united effort, and it has been found that no mobilization is complete that does not include the lay forces, training them to become habituated to real thinking, while learning by doing.

It is regrettable that the majority of counties in most states do not have a well-organized, full-time health department. In such counties the establishment of a generalized public health nursing service so organized as to bring into concerted play the interest and support of all voluntary agencies and individuals may do much to place the work on a firm basis for future development. In those instances it has been found best to let the local people plan the program that they are most interested in. Then by careful guidance an adequate program may be developed later.

In the majority of the states at the present stage of program development the following personnel with briefly stated program will be found reasonably adequate.

The director.—He must be a good executive. It will be his duty to carry on educational propaganda that will create local and state sentiment for the work, secure appropriations, plan state, district, county, and special programs, assist in child health conferences and other demonstrations, and disseminate information to all members of the field staff by way of letters, printed material, conferences, and interviews.

The assistant director.—This will be preferably a public health nurse who will co-operate with the personnel of other bureaus of the state board of health wherever there are public health nursing or midwifery activities, with all directors of units, county health officers, local physicians, and others who have need or who are or may be interested in such work.

County units.—It is well to have at least four county units, each unit consisting of a physician and nurse, to carry out a program on a county-wide basis, completing the work in one county before moving to another. The program should contemplate a complete examination of all infants and pre-school children in the county with field conferences to be held regularly.

Itinerant field nurses.—At least four itinerant field nurses should spend full time on maternal and infant hygiene work. These nurses should remain in those counties where the need is most apparent for at least two months per visit, and the need is usually most apparent where there are the greater number of midwives, where the midwives have the greater proportion of deliveries, and where there is the highest maternal and infant death-rate. Lectures and demonstrations should be given in small communities for the midwives, their patients, and prospects.

County nurses.—Every effort should be made to place a public health nurse in as many counties as possible. The following program may be planned for the county nurse: the office of the county nurse should automatically become a health center where weekly physicians' prophylactic conferences for prenatal mothers, infants, and pre-school children may be held. In large counties at least two health centers should be provided, dividing the county about equally. The nurses' health conferences for prenatal mothers, infants, and pre-school children must be held at regular intervals, once or twice a week. It should be well understood that these conferences are demonstrations held by physicians, dentists, and nurses to determine the physical condition of the mother, prospective mother, and children, from infancy during the pre-school period up to seven years. Each child should be thoroughly examined and if any defect or condition be found it should be referred to the family physician, dentist, or clinic as indicated.

A very important part of the county nurses' program will be: to supervise and train midwives; to inspect and help to complete equipment of midwives; to hold classes and demonstrations for midwives; to urge midwives to bring prenatal cases to classes and health centers; to advise routine physical examination of midwives; to teach midwives health habits; to take specimens of blood for Wassermann tests of each midwife who has not been examined by physician; to train midwives to be teachers of health in their own communities; to furnish free nitrate of silver, one per cent solution, and to instruct midwives as to its use; to instruct midwives how and to whom to report births; to issue, renew, and revoke permits as indicated; to follow up midwives' cases in the homes.

The educational program should be: to equip health center with scales; to have on display at health center health posters, health slogans, proper clothing for new-born infants, baby tray, baby basket with mosquito net, complete midwife equipment, breast tray, etc.; to give educational talks on health subjects to groups of parents, civic leagues, clubs, and other organizations; to give demonstrations in each community to midwives and their patients relative to preparations for a birth in the home, care before, during, and after birth, care and feeding of the normal and premature infant; to organize home hygiene classes for high school girls and, when feasible, for women in rural communities; to organize local health committees; to encourage and carefully supervise local newspaper publicity; to attend meetings of nursing committees, county boards of supervisors, and submit reports of nursing activities.

Its aims should be: to decrease ophthalmia neonatorum, blindness, maternal invalidism, infant and maternal deaths due to ignorance; to bring about more complete birth registration; to prevent spread of communicable disease; to stimulate the forming of health habits; to promote better health; to stimulate sentiment for correction of defects, and other health activities.

Laboratory technician.—It is deemed best to employ a laboratory technician who, while under the supervision of the director of the state laboratory, will examine all specimens sent by the field workers of the maternal and infant hygiene division.

Nutrition.—It is deemed wise to have an expert in nutrition as state supervisor who will be responsible for the planning of a program.

Oral hygiene.—The oral hygiene specialist should plan to intensify this work where there is no organized health work or where the needs seem to be the most apparent. The purpose of the work is threefold: to teach people the value of oral hygiene, to stimulate correction of oral defects, and to prevent same.

Vital statistics.—In planning a state program it must be recognized that it is vital that the maternal and infant hygiene division and the division of vital statistics so co-ordinate their efforts that definite results may be obtained. In my own state the registration of births and deaths has received a great stimulus because of this splendid co-operation. Public health nurses doing maternal and infant hygiene work may render valuable assistance to the director of the division of vital statistics in stimulating in their districts and counties a prompt and proper reporting of births and deaths. But their work with the physicians, midwives, and registrars will not be sufficient. It will be found that a special field deputy or officer, carrying out the field program, will be of the greatest assistance in placing a state in the registration area for births and deaths or of maintaining that position once it has been attained.

The vital statistics field deputy, working with the county health officers, physicians, nurses, midwives, registrars, undertakers, sextons, and others whose interest may be aroused as to the value of vital statistics, will attempt to stimu-

late local birth registration campaigns, and through schools, clubs, and all other agencies bring about a better understanding of the value of accurate vital statistics. He will attempt to bring about a better contact between physicians and midwives with the local registrars, and will further instruct and help the registrars that they may have a better understanding and knowledge of their duties. He will attempt to ferret out infractions against the rules and regulations of the state board of health and when indicated will bring about prosecution of those who have violated such rules and regulations.

AN ADEQUATE LOCAL MATERNITY PROGRAM

Hazel Corbin, General Director, Maternity Center Association, New York

All health workers now realize that every pregnant mother needs, first, medical and nursing supervision, care, and instruction from the beginning of pregnancy—that is, just as soon as she suspects she is pregnant; second, care at the time of delivery under the supervision of a skilled obstetrician; and third, medical and nursing supervision, care, and instruction throughout the puerperium—that is, for at least the six weeks' period commonly considered necessary, or until the mother has recovered from the stress and strain of pregnancy and labor and the baby has become accustomed to his new environment as a member of the family, and the family life has been adjusted to his presence. It is also realized that the good results of any one of these essential phases of an adequate maternity program may be entirely forfeited by the omission of either or both of the other essential phases.

Any discussion of an adequate local maternity program must begin with a consideration of how to secure such a program. In such a consideration the first thing which confronts us is the cost. But cost is not prohibitive in this North America once a thing is nationally recognized as necessary. Our cost problem, then, becomes one of education. The real facts of the situation must be interpreted, until everyone recognizes the need of every pregnant mother. Two half-truths must be uprooted from the public mind: first, that the suffering and deaths attendant upon childbearing are the "will of God" and to be accepted, a conception which must give place to an understanding of how much of the suffering and death is preventable by adequate care, and of how much less often they occur in the practice of our good obstetricians than in the country at large; second, the idea that childbearing is not a disease, but a physiological function which nature will take care of, must be supplemented by the knowledge that while this physiological function is in progress, the entire organism is subjected to such a strain that the margin between health and disease becomes dangerously narrow and the balance can be maintained only by constant supervision and care.

I think we have reached the place where we realize that private philanthropy neither can, will, nor should provide a health service for a community

after the need for the service is understood. We know that not every member of the community, nor even every local community, is able to provide the service for itself—therefore our effort should be to give the voter the knowledge with which to appropriate intelligently public moneys, and the taxpayers the knowledge which will make them willing eventually to pay a reasonable tax to provide a health service.

Since any discussion of an adequate local maternity program would be theoretical because no such program is in operation, and since education is one great basic need for securing such a program, we might well consider what we may do toward this education.

The printed pamphlet, the news and magazine articles, the motion picture, undoubtedly each has a place; but the most telling results come when to these is added direct contact, the individual contact between the health worker and the family, when that contact consists of some real service which adds to the peace of mind and comfort of that mother and family. The result of this method as tried in one district in New York City by the Maternity Center Association gives some indication of the possible results.

The actual care, which as part of its program of education the Maternity Center Association provides in the district from which these statistics are taken, includes medical and nursing supervision, instruction and care during pregnancy, nursing assistance to doctor or midwife at the time of delivery, nursing care, supervision and instruction during the post-partum period, a post-partum medical examination for the mother, and arrangements for the continued supervision of the baby.

This program was developed, first, to study the technique necessary to assure each mother the minimum of mental and physical discomfort during pregnancy, a maximum of mental and physical fitness at its termination, with the reward of a well baby and the knowledge whereby both mother and baby may be kept well; second, to teach this technique to nurses and medical students; and third, to teach the community the value of and need for such care for every mother.

When in January, 1922, we first started work in this district, which has a population of 163,000 and an average of 4,000 births per year, it was practically an unworked district, as far as intensive maternity work was concerned. We chose this particular section of the city because it offered such a variety of maternity services, and because the people are a reasonably self-supporting group, representing twenty-seven nationalities. It has three special maternity hospitals, three outdoor medical services, one of which is conducted by women physicians; both an indoor and outdoor service conducted by midwives, and several general hospitals with good maternity services.

During the first few weeks the nurses canvassed from door to door looking for pregnant mothers and leaving the literature known as Twelve Helpful Talks with everyone whom they met. They asked their patients about other patients.

They never missed an opportunity to explain their work to the janitress of the tenement house, the ice man, the pushcart man, the druggist, the tailor—in fact they told everyone they met in the district what they were doing and why.

During this canvassing period the nurses visited almost every organization and lone worker in the district, such as the settlement houses, kindergartens, health stations, hospital social service departments, church clubs, schools, dispensaries, and clinics, and to them explained the need for the supervision of mothers throughout pregnancy and asked that they refer to the Center all pregnant mothers with whom they came in contact. As many physicians as possible were visited and a copy of our routine procedures left with them, with a request that they go over them critically and make any suggestions for improvements which might occur to them. Some posters stating the service the Center offered and the clinic hours were placed in store windows and some handbills were distributed. How helpful these were we do not know.

In doing this work the nurses carry only as many patients as can be adequately cared for. The work is done by a combination of nurses' visits to the patients in their homes and patients' visits to the doctor or nurse at the centers. Visits to the patients in their homes are made because each patient must be cared for and advised in relation to her family and environment. Here the nurse must help to solve, by working with every existing agency, any social, economic, or physical problem which may in any way affect the peace of mind, health, or happiness of that mother or family. The patients' visits to the nurse help to make the patient realize her responsibility for the care of herself and her baby, and to reduce the cost of that care by reducing the time spent in travel by the nurse. The patients' visits to the doctor at the Center provide medical supervision for patients who are cared for by midwives, and also provide temporary medical supervision for those who for one reason or another are unable to make plans for their care at delivery until later in pregnancy. All patients are seen by either a doctor or nurse every two weeks until the seventh month and every week or oftener as indicated thereafter.

On each nursing visit, whether it be done in the home or at the Center, a definite nursing routine is followed, which includes the taking of temperature, pulse, and respiration; examination and instruction for care of nipples; examination for oedema and varicose veins, and instruction for the care of same when found; asking the patient about her habits of life, and symptoms, so as to detect any danger signals, and advising about her hygiene and diet; listening to the foetal heart; the examination of urine; the measuring of the blood pressure and going over with the patient all of the teaching that has gone before to make sure she understands everything and is following instructions correctly.

The group instruction of mothers or mothers' clubs is a phase of our work which is still in the early stage of its development, but we consider it a very important phase as it not only affords an opportunity, but encourages the mothers to share in trying to secure better results. It is also one of the surest

ways of reducing the cost of a maternity service. Six to ten nurses can care for from thirty to sixty or more patients in an afternoon. This includes a talk and demonstration and the examination of every mother either before or after the talk. The clubs are very social. Every nurse who expects patients, plans to meet her patients to give them nursing care, and to see that they meet the other patients.

The organization of the club is important. The room in which the talk is given should be as attractive and bright as possible and furnished with comfortable chairs and the demonstration material for the day's talk. It is well to furnish these rooms in keeping with the pocketbook of the neighborhood, so the mothers may get ideas as to making their own homes more attractive with furnishings which they could afford to buy. The talk, or class, which should not exceed twenty minutes, must be given in a simple, direct way by an interested, enthusiastic nurse who knows obstetrics, has a good personality, believes in class instruction, has studied her subject, and prepared a definite plan for presenting it. The reason for every procedure advised should be explained.

A series of eight talks with an exhibit for each has been worked out on the following subjects: prenatal care and why it is necessary; nutrition of the pregnant mother; clothes for a pregnant mother; the baby's clothes; baby toilet tray, etc.; demonstration baby bath; preparation for delivery; after-care. These are to be followed by a general quiz.

After the talks, refreshments are daintily served. This offers an opportunity to teach the mothers and children to like well-made cocoa or fresh fruit drinks and the nurses, when they are visiting in the homes, will often be asked how to make these.

The success of this group instruction may be measured, first by the number of mothers who attend the whole series, not by the number attending any one club, and let me say right here that the mothers react just as we do to poorly or well-given classes; second, the understanding shown by the mothers in answering the quiz questions; and third, by what the nurses find in the homes as a result of this teaching.

You will note that I have dwelt on the details of the nurse's part of this program rather than the doctor's. This is because in our organization we provide and are responsible for the complete nursing service, whereas for our medical service we are dependent on the private physician, the hospital, and the midwife. As has been stated, we chose the district we are in, partly because it offered such a varied medical service, and I would like to say that the cooperation and teamwork of these medical groups has been most stimulating and encouraging.

In conclusion allow me to summarize the points I have tried to make: first, the recognized need of every pregnant mother for adequate medical and nursing supervision throughout pregnancy, for skilled care at time of delivery, and for medical and nursing supervision throughout the six-week period follow-

ing; second, that in no community is such care available for every pregnant mother; third, that this care can be provided for every mother only when every voter and taxpayer knows what adequate maternity care is, and why it is necessary, that they may be willing to appropriate public money for it; fourth, that this then boils down to a matter of education, which can best be accomplished through the use of the press, the motion picture, and the printed pamphlet in combination with the direct contact of the health worker with the family, when real service is rendered which adds to the peace of mind and comfort and health of that mother and family; fifth, we outline the method the Maternity Center employs in its attempt to give an adequate service, laying stress on the importance of having the mothers come to the Center for as much of their care as they comfortably can, and on the development of mothers' clubs, because this not only helps to make the patient realize her responsibility for the care of herself and her baby, but is an important factor in reducing the cost of the service; and finally, that to accomplish this care for every mother will probably take a goodly number of years. Let us realize that between then and now there is an interim during which we must provide this care for as many mothers as possible. Most people are "from Missouri" and want to be shown, and if we can show the mothers and fathers, the voters and the taxpayers, what a godsend good care for even a portion of our mothers is, I am sure that the day is not so far off when it can and will be provided for every mother.

THE EDUCATIONAL ASPECT OF VENEREAL DISEASE

THE SEX FACTOR IN CHARACTER-TRAINING[1]

Dr. Max J. Exner, Director, Department of Educational Measures, American Social Hygiene Association, New York

Of all the factors which enter into the development of a human life none has been so much neglected and so seriously mismanaged in education and training as sex. We are coming to see with increasing clearness that in this neglect and mismanagement more than in any other facts are to be found the essential causes of the prevailing sex problems of our social life—prostitution and other forms of sex delinquency, venereal disease, broken homes, unhappy marriages, and that our most strategic attack upon these problems is to bring our whole scheme of education and training to utilize the sex endowment of developing youth educatively for character ends. This means education to an adequate understanding of sex and a full appreciation of its significance in life, as a basis for sex adjustment on high social levels.

The subject of sex has been taboo as one that is essentially unclean, ignoble, to be avoided in the social intercourse of decent people and especially to be

[1] An address intended for a parent-teacher's group.

evaded with children and young people, in the hope that innocence may be preserved through ignorance.

Evidently then the first essential step toward effective sex education of the young is the re-education of responsible adults in attitude and appreciation in respect of sex. There is nothing inherent in the young which makes sex education difficult; they react to it as normally and as splendidly as to any other life-interest wisely handled. The difficulties lie in the acquired inhibitions and perverted attitudes of the adults upon whom the responsibility for such education falls.

In this brief address it is possible to give no more than a hint of the value of sex in human life. In all the higher forms of life, including man, the miracle of the perpetuation of life is wrought by the union of male and female elements—sperm and egg. These are endowed with a powerful affinity for one another. Likewise between male and female—sperm and egg carriers—arises a powerful attraction, a sexual sympathy, which serves to assure their union and the procreation of life. This first spark of sexual sympathy was the starting-point for affection and love in all its wide ranges, including the affection of mates out of which in turn grew the family, the home, and all its finer aspects which have come to enrich human life so greatly. That crowning human development, the moral instinct, has grown out of the sex-derived home. So also the spirit which has made possible and which underlies our social life has developed out of the sex-based family.

No less important a rôle does sex play in the development of the individual. The primary sex cells are the determining force in his growth while still in his mother's womb. Throughout childhood it is these sex cells which are determining the physical, mental, and temperamental character of the individual. Back of the marvelous development of the adolescent is sex.

Sex in human life is, therefore, a great creative force which has marvelous capacity for upbuilding and enrichment. But it must not be forgotten that it has equal capacity for degradation and brutishness. Which it shall be will depend mainly on how we utilize this sex endowment in the education and training of the individual. A force so powerful and so pervasive in life cannot safely be left to play of haphazard influences.

The question as to whether we shall or shall not permit sex education of our children is still often raised. But sex education from earliest childhood is inevitable. The child lives in a sexed environment and receives sex impressions from every hand. If the impressions which the child gets are not interpreted for him in terms of wholesomeness and high values, he will piece together an interpretation of his own, in most cases vulgarized and sensualized through the sources from which and the atmosphere in which his sex impressions have been received. We cannot then choose whether or not our children shall have sex education. We can choose what kind the dominating, character-forming sex impressions shall be.

It should be added that sex education does *not* mean merely information about the consequences of the gross misuses of sex. Nor does it mean merely giving biological and physiological facts about sex. All this, to be sure, is a part of the fact-giving of sex education. But sex education must reach deeper. It is a vital phase of character education, and character education by way of the intellect alone is never likely to succeed. We must touch the deep springs of life and these lie in the emotions and affections. Our task is to interpret the facts of life so as to motivate and inspire to wholesome attitudes, high ideals, right choices, sound habits, and social outlook.

The influences of the individual's environment are unconsciously ever welding the character of the individual, and in no phase of life more than that of sex. Hence in order to assure success in sex-character training it is of first importance that the sex environment of the young be decent and wholesome.

No aspect of the child's sex environment has more influence than the home. It is the first school in which the facts of sex are inevitably being revealed to the child. If the home drama with respect to sex is clean and inspiring, the solid foundations for sound sex-character are being laid. If the home fails in this respect, nothing can ever wholly make up for the loss. No matter how correct the sex teaching in the home may be, if the atmosphere, inferences, remarks, and example with reference to sex are out of accord with the teaching, the teaching will not avail.

The general state of public opinion in the community with respect to sex is another important influence upon the young. Whether low and vulgar, or wholesome and fine, it will tend to foster corresponding attitudes in them. Hence it must be guided and bettered.

An equally important environmental influence is that of the recreation and amusements for youth. Unfortunately, these are in very large measure commercialized, often by the most selfish and unsocially-minded elements of the community, and in them the sex appeal is extensively exploited. No more imperative duty rests upon the united social forces of the community than the making and maintaining of the play-life of the community clean and wholesome and, at the same time, adequate to direct the leisure of all into wholesome channels.

An excellent opportunity for developing wholesome sex attitudes, ideals, and standards presents itself in the sex-social relations of the school. Wise indeed are the school authorities and teachers who instead of repressing sex-social relations here or merely leaving them to the play of unguided instincts, will utilize these powerful influences educatively for the building of fine sex-character.

Let us now consider briefly some of the elements which enter into our problem of sex-character training by age periods. First, the preadolescent period—the period in which sex does not normally become a conscious problem in the child's life but which is most fundamental for training in wholesomeness of attitudes.

During the first three or four years the task is mainly one of physical care, to assure normality and cleanliness of the sex parts, to avoid sources of stimulation, and to lay the basis for sound habits. In this the physician, the nurse, and the parent have their part to play. Much subsequent trouble has its source in improper care in these early years. Beyond these early years the following are some of the more conspicuous elements in our problems:

1. *A natural, active interest in matters of sex and reproduction on the part of most normal children.*—The question "Where did the cat get the kittens?" is as natural and innocent on the part of the child as when it asks, "What makes the snow?" And the child will not long be denied. Rebuff or evasion, and in the end untruth as well, will but stimulate that curiosity and render it almost certain that the child will receive distorted information from bad sources. It is the parents' privilege step by step to satisfy the child's mind and set it at rest by frank, truthful, wisely graded information, clothed in an atmosphere of wholesomeness and respect, and thereby to establish a safeguarding bond of confidence between child and parent.

2. *A keen interest in the human body.*—The child enjoys the feel of his own skin and has a natural impulse to explore its pleasurable areas. The child is also interested in the bodies of other children and has a particular curiosity about the conformation of the opposite sex. He is likewise curious about the physical make-up of adults. These are natural, wholesome interests and should be handled as such. They may easily become exaggerated or warped when blocked or distorted through the evasive and embarrassed attitudes of adults or through vulgarizing sex information from bad sources. Unabashed mingling in the nude, in wholesome ways within the family circle, accompanied by appropriate teaching, is the effective method.

3. *Early sex impressions and information.*—Various studies show that virtually all children receive impressions and information about sex at a very early age and that for the most part the information is distinctly unwholesome, tending precociously to stimulate rather than to allay curiosity, and to warp character. This information must be forestalled and robbed of its influence by early sound teaching in a wholesome atmosphere.

Our essential task in the sex guidance of the preadolescent is to bring him to the threshold of puberty with a clean, wholesome, respectful attitude toward matters of sex; with a satisfying background of information which will have given his sex interest a wholesome instead of a morbid direction, because it has connected his own sex with a universal process; with a fine appreciation of the manhood- (or womanhood-) building rôle which sex is playing in his life, and with freedom from unwholesome practices. With this achievement the problems of the "storm and stress" period of adolescence will be vastly minimized. Without it this period is likely to be a difficult one.

With the beginning of adolescence new and powerful factors enter into the problem. New thoughts, feelings, impulses, and experiences gradually intro-

duce him into a new world. Nature begins and works rapidly the significant transformations—physical, mental, emotional, social, spiritual—which I have already mentioned. The following are some of the important new factors which help to complicate the problem:

1. *The awakening of sex consciousness.*—Sex now gradually becomes a conscious force in the life of the youth, and the opposite sex takes on a new meaning, which vivifies his whole outlook on life.

2. *The growth of sex impulses.*—With the awakening of sex consciousness—the awareness of sex—we have the growth of a psychic urge toward the opposite sex, of sex attraction. This attraction is reinforced by a physiological sex urge toward physical sex expression stimulated by the internal secretions of the sex glands. The peculiar and superior form of consciousness in humans renders the individual more powerfully sexed than other creatures. This fact, together with an oversexed environment in which our literature, art, the drama, amusements, social life, and even commercial advertising, are pervaded with the sex appeal, renders the sex problem of the adolescent youth a problem of the first magnitude. It is utter folly to assume that with reference to sex young people may wisely be left to stumble their way alone, in the dark, even to safety if not to high levels of life. They require the best and the most sympathetic help which we humans know how to give.

3. *The manifestation of new physical sex phenomena.*—Among these are seminal emissions, menstruation, and others. Without timely interpretation and guidance these often lead to years of mental stress and conflict, to ill health, and even tragedy.

4. *A new sex curiosity.*—The sex interest of the preadolescent child concerns itself mainly with facts. The new curiosity of the adolescent is much more about experiences. He wonders what sex experiences really are. This curiosity is quite natural and in no way ignoble, but unguided it has dangerous tendencies.

It is this adolescent curiosity about sex experience which renders open, tolerated prostitution in a community so dangerous to youth. In a recent investigation of the persons who went in and out of an enclosed "red light district" a vast proportion were found to be boys of high-school age. They are drawn much more by curiosity than by physical sex urge.

5. *The growth of the love instinct.*—Whether outwardly manifested or not, love and romance become the great, sweeping undercurrent of the adolescent's life. Here in his affections are the springs of his life from which arise his noblest impulses, ambitions, and dreams. A conspicuous aspect of this growth of the love-life is a spontaneous and all-embracing idealism, which makes adolescent youth of the greatest significance to any nation. It is also our greatest hope in his sex education. We must aid the youth to translate his romantic idealism into fine attitudes, firm purposes, right standards, sound habits, and social service.

6. *Powerful but unstable emotions.*—It is natural for adolescents to be swept in varying degrees by vague but turbulent emotions, the conspicuous characteristic of which is their instability. They sweep his life in waves. One hour he is riding on the crest of the wave, elated, enthusiastic, joyous. The next hour he may be floundering in the trough, in the dumps of despair. This fact accounts for the astonishing number of adolescent suicides, which occur very often for the most trifling and silly reasons. This emotionalism being intimately tied up with love and sex greatly complicates our problems. Our task is to stabilize these emotions, to substitute a natural unemotional attitude for an emotional one through helpful teaching, sound interpretation of life, and sympathetic guidance.

Our essential purpose in sex-character training must be so to teach and interpret the facts of life, so to shape the environmental influences, and so to live an inspiring example, that normal sex development, full self-realization and sound social sex adjustment shall become the unconscious result of consciously chosen ideals.

SOCIAL HYGIENE[1]

Dr. R. F. Dixon, Director, Venereal Diseases Division, Board of Health, Detroit

Could we approach the medical side of social hygiene as suggested by the following outline? It is for a ten minute talk given to an audience of men, women, and children during the safety campaign.

The wise man protects his property and his future. This seems to be also the plan of nature. The physical body is protected by a covering called the skin. The function of the skin is to prevent foreign bodies, bacteria, harmful substances, heat, cold, rain, etc., from injuring the delicate organism underneath. The skin must be nourished and kept in good condition, for if it is torn or abraded it ceases to perform its function and allows damage to be done to the underlying structures. We should see to it that our skin is kept in first-class condition, as it is our very valuable protector.

Another protector, not so evident, is the panniculus, a layer of fatty tissue just underneath the skin. The panniculus determines your looks and form. The better arrangement of this fatty pad, the better the appearance of the person wearing it. Its function is to pad and protect and cover bony eminences, and make smooth, round skin.

Our clothing is for protection. The quantity of clothing does not determine the warmth of the body but the quality and arrangement has a very marked effect. The function of the clothing is to hold a layer of air close to the skin and prevent this layer of air from being moved too rapidly. The wise person protects his health by wearing adequate clothing.

[1] An address intended for a miscellaneous group.

There are other types of protection. Persons are vaccinated to protect against smallpox. Vaccination was accidently discovered through the fact that milkmaids did not have smallpox, while other persons in the community were afflicted. On careful investigation it appeared that the milkmaids acquired kine pox, or cowpox, from the cows during milking and were immune from attacks of smallpox. We make use of the fact now and all wise persons are protected by that vaccination.

Diphtheria has been a scourge, and still remains one. After the disease is acquired its ill effects may be destroyed by very prompt administration of antitoxin. Liability to have the disease may be determined by the Schick test; and an almost absolute assurance against the disease may be had by taking toxin-antitoxin. The wise person protects himself and his family by these measures.

All good Boy and Girl Scouts, tramping over fields, are instructed not to drink from strange water supplies. The soldier boys have, in times of trouble, difficulty in finding an adequate water supply, so they are given typhoid vaccine which protects them against typhoid fever. The wise person who travels protects himself in this manner.

In some diseases our protection lies not in the care of our skin, or in the administration of drugs or vaccination, but primarily in the development of a physical resistance to the invading organisms. Selection of our food, the kind of milk we drink, the hours of rest we take, type of exercise we give our muscles, tend to fit us to resist such diseases as tuberculosis. The wise person takes these physical precautions to ward off possible attacks from these diseases. These are sensible forms of protection.

How can the doctor educate the public concerning venereal disease and what is the time best fitted for the giving of this information? In my opinion, it should be given to the mother during prenatal care or during the time the child is small. Exact scientific knowledge in simple form is desired by the mother at this time and can be given in all its phases without offense. Matters of health habits are related so closely to feeding and nutrition work in children that the doctor needs no urging to do this work. If then all the phases of reproduction are taught to the parents at this time they will be equipped with one phase of the necessary information to impart to their children at such time and place as the individual needs of the child may require.

What is the best method of developing in the minds of our boys and girls a definite well-grounded attitude toward sex things so that later on information and impressions may be properly classified and evaluated by them? Do we ordinarily have a definite pigeonhole in our minds into which we place all the information coming to us of a given kind? Supposing I say the word "baseball," the word instantly conveys to you not only the idea of a sphere covered with leather and sewed in a certain manner but also the idea of men and boys playing in a field. The shouts of the spectators and the antics of the players

probably come to your mind. Suppose I say the word "wiener." Not only does the particular brand of meat come to your mind but also the associated ideas of a "feed" by the side of a lake or a fishing trip. If I say the word "geometry" the high school boys and girls think not only of a book containing figures but also of a schoolroom and companions and teachers who were associated with the subject.

I think it is clear to you that nearly any word we hear brings to our mind related ideas which give them added meaning and make them desirable or repulsive as the case may be. Evidently, then, a well-equipped mind has, we might say, mental pegs on which we hang all the multitude of impressions which come to us day by day, and I believe that every well-equipped mind has also a wastebasket into which is thrown all such material as we cannot use.

Now many of us without knowing it have a goodly row of pegs in our mind, well established, and find them useful. Perhaps not so many of us have good mental wastebaskets. Just one more illustration about mental pegs. You are walking along the curb; suddenly a little child wearing a brilliant red coat dashes across the street. The car takes her unawares. She is ground to pieces in front of your eyes. You feel ill and get away from the horrible sight as quickly as possible. The next day or the next week you are walking on the street when a child in a red coat suddenly appears before you. It does not make any difference whether she is attempting to cross the street, playing in the yard, or simply walking on the sidewalk, unless you are different from most folks the horrifying experience of the week before will come back to you very vividly.

Now perhaps you wonder what relation, if any, the foregoing illustrations have to rational thinking along sex lines. I will relate some information obtained from the department of health clinics. These were average folks. They were married women with small children. I selected them because they represented mothers, and home, and the best influence of our generation. The questions asked of each were thirty in number. The object was to find out if these mothers had enough information along sex lines to instruct their own offspring and if they were willing to do so. At the same time I was endeavoring to find how early the instruction should be given and what kind. The survey yielded this information: that nearly everyone knew most of the facts, were willing to instruct their own offspring, but were handicapped and embarrassed by the lack of suitable words to express themselves. The mothers admitted that their own first definite sex impressions came when they were seven or eight years of age. They usually were overheard on the street, playground, or, sad to relate, in the home, and created much the same impression on the young mind as the child in the red coat. Now I wish you would just get this point: after the first mental impression is made the succeeding impressions are not very important. It is almost impossible to undo the damage done. Any information, regardless of how carefully presented, will be received and hung on that

mental peg. Like your child in the red coat, she may be happily playing in the yard, still because she is wearing the red coat the crunching wheels of the street car come back with the vision of her.

Just think what this meant to those mothers. From the time when they were six, seven, or eight years old on through their girlhood and womanhood they carried this mental soot and throughout that time all the wonderful stories of nature and field and brook, the beautiful story of the growth and development of flower and animal life, were tainted with the smudge of that first impression. No wonder the mothers were embarrassed in the discussion of these things with their children. No wonder they hesitated in carrying out what they knew to be their duty as parents. It all could have been so easily avoided by a little timely instruction.

We cannot decide whether a child should receive this information or not. The fact is, the child will receive it, and the best we can do is to decide through whom he may receive it. Let us then for a starter teach the child the right names for the special parts of his or her body, and the simple physiology, before the age of five. The child will name these things something. Let us have the right name and be done with it. As soon as a child needs a word he will supply it. Why grow into young manhood and womanhood without knowing the simple things about ourselves? We know the names of the parts of automobiles, bicycles, radios, phonographs, etc., and find it convenient. How long will we continue to call a spark-plug wrench a "thing-a-ma-jig"? Do you call the radiator a "do-queer" and the spotlight a "what-chu-may-call-it"? Why then in the name of common sense should we not know the names of the parts of our own bodies, and give each of them their own names? If we know the name of a thing, what it is, and what it is for, we can not only classify it but give it its value. If we know the right things we can use them when they appear. The wrong things can unceremoniously be dumped into the wastebasket like smutty words and smutty stories. Things that come to us that are partly bad we can use as the small boy does the peach. He eats the peach and throws the stone away. That's exactly what we can do with this kind of information. All that is good let us hang on suitable mental pegs and use. All that is not good let us cast away into the mental wastebasket as the small boy does the peach stone.

We cannot build strong buildings on weak foundations, and expect them to stand up. We cannot build strong bodies on weak ancestors and expect them to stand the rigors of our present rushing world. We cannot build sane, sensible thinking without careful preparation of the foundation. We can aid our children in building this foundation. For ourselves, we must do as the modern contractor does: jack up our mind and build beneath it, even now, a suitable foundation that our future mental life may rest secure. As I said before, what we think, and what we do—protective thinking—bear a great influence on our well-being.

Now if I have made myself clear that no amount of curative medicine will ever be able to eliminate venereal disease and that applied knowledge reinforced by a high ideal in the average person is our best hope, we are ready for the question of just how we are to go about this thing. We want to present protective knowledge. It must be scientifically correct, morally safe, and pedagogically sound. It must be given when the person receiving it is in a receptive mood, and will give it serious consideration. Why not teach both parents, during the pregnancy of the mother and the early infancy of the child, those things pertaining to sex that they need to know? At this time both are interested in the anatomy, physiology, and psychology of their reproduction. They are interested in constitutional disorders that affect the vitality of the egg and sperm. They are interested in heredity. They are interested in their social relationship and its possible effects on the well-being and success of the little one about whom they are building so many plans. Teach them real names. Thirty words are sufficient to eliminate all the soot. They won't forget. They need these words to talk to their physicians. They need these words to explain life-processes to their own children as they grow up. Let parents instruct the children at home. Teach the parents that they may be able to do this important work.

Perhaps the doctor will find it convenient to give a souvenir pamphlet or folder. It might be well for some organization to prepare such a one. It might stimulate the parents to ask questions, and also give opportunity for the doctor to begin instruction. Perhaps the obstetrical and pediatrical societies would indorse such a move and give it added impetus.

My belief is: If the mother knows how to make pretty things for her children she will do so. If parents value education and can give it to their children they will do so. If they understand and know how to present clean thinking, clean conversation, and clean social relationships to their children they will be only too glad to do so. Let's furnish the facts, encourage a wholesome attitude, point out sound and economic gains to be made by this procedure, and give the doctor a chance to do his bit for social hygiene in a professional and dignified way.

SOCIAL HYGIENE[1]

E. F. Van Buskirk, Executive Secretary, Social Hygiene Society, Cincinnati

This talk is in the nature of a report. It will treat of the activities of one of the agencies of our Community Chest, namely the Social Hygiene Society. The purpose of this organization is thus set forth in its constitution: "To advocate the highest standard of private and public morals, and

[1] An address intended for a civic organization.

to co-operate with all organizations that have for their purpose either the elimination of causes detrimental to wholesome social conditions, or the upbuilding of healthful and happy individual and community life." In conformity with these purposes, activities under two heads, involving co-operation with the general welfare program of the city, have been developed: (1) Social protective measures; and (2) Education.

1. *Social protective measures.*—Every morning two women employees of the Society attend the police court, which opens at nine o'clock and usually closes about noon. There is no woman probation officer in this court; nor are there any policewomen in our city. Our two social workers assume some of the functions usually performed by such officials. They also act as clerks and social workers as herewith described:

In the police court, these two women keep a typewritten card index of all female offenders. There were over sixteen hundred cases of this type last year.[1] The cards contain the following information: name, age, and address of the offender; date, docket number, charge, name of arresting officer, disposition of case, and name of judge upon the bench. If she is sent to the city's venereal disease clinic, information concerning her physical condition and attendance is also placed upon her card. If this work were not done by an agency such as the Social Hygiene Society, the city would have to employ a clerk to have it continued. The value to the court of the card records in the cases of repeaters becomes evident when it is understood that there are five municipal court judges, each one in turn taking the police court bench for the brief period of three months. By means of this plan the judge also is furnished with the services of two trained social workers—one white and one colored—to whom cases needing investigation may be referred.

The most important aspect of the service rendered in the police court has been to help protect the community against venereal disease infections. At present the city board of health does not possess sufficient funds to secure adequate social service follow-up work. Our court workers perform such duties. They attempt, and their efforts are meeting with some degree of success as will be evidenced later, to educate the women concerned to understand that it is for their own interest to secure medical attention. This kind of education is difficult with the type of persons under consideration, and other influences must be used to induce them to attend clinic. The method at present employed is for the judge to impose lighter penalties upon those who faithfully seek medical attention, which the city furnishes free of charge if they are unable to pay.

Before describing in further detail the method of procedure used in the present plan, it is highly desirable that previous conditions in our city should be understood. Before 1917 there was a "segregated district" and the usual methods of medical inspection and treatment of the inmates of the houses were employed. A prominent physician, who at one time made an official investigation, described the physical condition of the women as "unspeakably bad."

[1] See the Sixth Annual Report of the Cincinnati Social Hygiene Society, 1922–23.

The federal government abolished the district in 1917, and it has not been reopened. For a period of two years and nine months, shortly following the world-war, there was instituted a venereal disease quarantine ward at the city hospital. Practically all the women sex offenders brought into the police court were sent to this ward. If diseased, they were treated and kept in confinement for a period very seldom exceeding three weeks. The average period of detention was under two weeks. While there, attempts were made to rehabilitate them, but without success, many being remanded six, eight, ten, and even more times. The operation of the ward cost the city over sixty thousand dollars. In view of both the expense involved and the poor results obtained, this ward has been closed. The hospital no longer receives municipal court cases, but does treat such venereally diseased patients as need bed care and such institutional cases as are in an infectious condition and cannot otherwise receive proper treatment.

Carefully made estimates indicate that the venereal diseases cost our citizens through lost employment, doctors' bills, reduced efficiency, etc., over three-quarters of a million dollars annually. This, of course, leaves out of consideration any attempt at evaluating the misery and suffering involved. It is generally recognized that the "common prostitute" is the principal means of spreading venereal disease. With the closing of the ward at the general hospital, the only procedure which at the time seemed available for the treatment of these women was discontinued. There were certain good reasons for not sending them to the city board of health's clinic. There followed a period of over a year during which time practically no medical attention was given them, either by the city or at the hands of private physicians. This condition existed until the Social Hygiene Society formulated and proposed the plan which is at present employed. This plan, among other things, obviated the objections that existed to the proposition of the clinic assuming the responsibility of giving treatment. An educational campaign was conducted extending over a period of two months. Out-of-town authorities addressed public meetings, to which local newspapers gave helpful attention. By this means interest was stimulated with the result that our city officials adopted the plan[1] to which reference has already been made and which may further be described as follows:

When a woman is convicted of a sex offense the police court judge now remands her to the board of health's venereal disease clinic, and her case is continued for a week until a report of her physical condition can be secured. When she again appears in court, if she is not diseased, her case is thereupon disposed of. If she is diseased, the case is again continued, this time for twenty days, which is as long as the law permits. Upon her next appearance in court, the judge is furnished with the record of her attendance or non-attendance at the

[1] See the leaflet, *The Municipal Court and the Venereal Disease Clinic*, published October, 1923, by the Cincinnati Social Hygiene Society.

clinic, and disposition is usually thereupon made of the case, although occasionally cases are continued for another twenty days.

This plan has been in operation eight months. The three judges who have given it a trial pronounce it practicable. In spite of the fact that the law makes it difficult for the court to exert its influence for more than a three weeks' period, a considerable number of the women, about 40 per cent of the total, continue taking treatments even after the court's supervision has terminated. This result is largely due to the follow-up work of the Social Hygiene Society.

The figures of the eight months' attendance at the clinic may be summarized as follows: One hundred and one of the 138 women examined were found to be suffering from either syphilis or gonorrhea or both of these diseases. Of these women, 22 failed to report for treatment, 39 reported from one to three times; 24 reported between four and ten times; 12 reported between eleven and twenty times; and 4 have gone to the clinic over twenty times. In all, there were 521 visits for treatments. The average number of visits per individual has been a little over five. Up to the present, five women have completed the first phase of their treatment for syphilis and are entering upon the second phase.

In evaluating this work it is only fair to note that whatever has been accomplished is just that much more than would have been done toward reducing the incidence of venereal disease, if some such plan as the one described had not been adopted. It is also worth noting that a considerable number of women are availing themselves of the chance to receive a much more prolonged system of treatment than was provided by the plan in force during the time that the quarantine ward was in operation. We believe that another advantage of the present method is that it does away, to a great extent, with the compulsory nature of the former mode of procedure.

Besides the services already described, the social protective measures program includes reporting to the police violation of laws or city ordinances which may be brought to our attention; and, at times, acting in an advisory capacity for private social agencies that may be confronted with problems relating to the venereal diseases.

2. *Education.*—As a society, we have devoted most of our attention to educational work, especially by way of supplementing, as far as it has been deemed desirable, the work of institutions and agencies that have for their object the training of children and young people. The outstanding local institution of this kind is our public school system with its splendid grade schools, high schools and university. Our work in this field has already been described in leaflets[1] and time permits but a brief summary here.

For three years a course in sex education has been offered under the auspices of the College of Education of the local university. The course at the

[1] *Educational Activities of the Cincinnati Social Hygiene Society.* Reprint from *Journal of Social Hygiene*, February, 1923; and *Social Hygiene Education*, published by the Ohio State Department of Health and the United States Public Health Service, December, 1923.

present time consists of fifteen lectures of one and a half hours each. Most of the students taking the work have been mature persons—parents, teachers, social workers, ministers, nurses, etc. In addition, two other courses in social hygiene have been given: one in mental hygiene and sex education, and the other in community aspects of social hygiene. In all, about 250 students have enrolled in these courses. Lectures have also been given to classes in the colleges of Liberal Arts, Education, and Medicine.

In the upper grades of many of the public schools, and to some extent in high schools, our lecturers have met classroom groups of boys and girls segregated according to sex. The talks given have been based upon, and illustrated by, certain selected placards taken from the United States Public Health Service sets, those for boys entitled, "Keeping Fit," and for girls, "Youth and Life." This work began three and a half years ago in six schools and now includes nearly thirty. Several thousand boys and girls have received this instruction.[1] It should be stated that the subject of venereal disease is entirely omitted in the talks to upper-grade children, and that in other respects as well positive rather than negative instruction is given.

Upon request, short courses have been arranged for the Federation of Mothers' Clubs, Y.M.C.A. groups, two women's civic organizations, and a group of nurses. One or more lectures have also been given to over forty local mothers' clubs, several groups of Boy and Girl Scouts and their leaders, church organizations, fathers' and sons' and mothers' and daughters' meetings, factory workers, civic societies of both men and women, social workers, and the general public.

The question may well be asked: "To what extent has this educational work lasting value?" Time permits the mention of only a few facts. First, the social hygiene courses offered at the university have helped to stimulate the giving of more attention to social hygiene in other university courses in which this subject has a natural place. Second, teachers, parents, and social workers have affirmed that as a result of taking the work in the special social hygiene courses they have been able to render more effective service to the young people with whom they have come into contact. Third, in one of the large high schools, the Society has been instrumental in introducing social hygiene material into a health course which is required of all freshman girls. This course has been given for three years and has been well received.

Large municipalities such as ours have not only a duty to their own citizens, but also a moral obligation to assist smaller communities. The local Society has recognized this fact and, working through, or in conjunction with, the United States Public Health Service, the American Social Hygiene Association, and our state departments of health and education, has actively co-operated with many other communities in our state, as well as in neighboring states. We have also

[1] For further information concerning this work see the appendix to the Sixth Annual Report of the Cincinnati Social Hygiene Society, 1922–23.

prepared for our state Parent-Teachers' Association a leaflet treating of sex education in the home.[1] In performing such service outside our own community we are not only helping others, but ourselves as well, for in so far as our program is wise, it results in bringing prestige to our Society and to our city.

NEGRO HEALTH WORK

THE NEED OF HEALTH EDUCATION AMONG NEGROES

Algernon B. Jackson, M.D., Director, School of Public Health, Howard University, Washington

I have a habit of saying that I should much prefer seeing my boy or girl the possessor of the C.B.H. degree—clean bill of health—than an A.B. degree without the C.B.H. One is essential in order to get the most out of and put most into life. The other is not. You do not have to possess a college degree to be a regular human being, but you must have health. From what I so often see I am sometimes inclined to think a degree frequently stands between certain persons and that attribute of humanness which should always be the highest concept of true education. In the light of present day thought any scholastic process which neglects to inspire the student with an appreciation and love for personal health and a regard for the health of his fellow-man is nothing short of an absolute failure.

There is indeed both a need of and a desire for health education among Negroes, which is so sincerely expressed by the efforts my people are putting forth to increase their efficiency along all lines toward making them more valuable and acceptable citizens. But on the other hand there is a very vital and definite need to educate the whites to understand that the question of health is a national rather than a racial one, which demands national consideration and treatment, or our whole scheme for human betterment breaks down. When it is considered how closely the races are brought in daily touch, it must at once become apparent that any effort intended to conserve the health of a nation must include all. If it presumes to dictate who shall be benefited and who shall not it results in little or no benefit to anyone. In short, the white man must be educated to realize that his health problem cannot be solved so long as he is careless or indifferent regarding the Negro's health problem.

Up to the beginning of the world-war very little care or study was given to the question of the Negro's health beyond a rather indifferent generalization which declared the race decadent and reeking with sickness and death. In the face of this general notion the following note from the report of the provost marshal general must be considered at least interesting.

[1] *Parents Are you Prepared?* published by the Ohio Branch of the National Congress of Mothers' Clubs and Parent-Teacher Association, May, 1924.

In the first draft, in June, 1917, there were 737,628 colored registrants, or nearly 8 per cent of the total registration of the country. Of the first group of 208,953 colored registrants examined under the call of November 12, 1917, 36.23 per cent of them were accepted for service. Of 2,873,996 white men examined at approximately the same time, 24.75 per cent of them were accepted. In groups representing nearly an identical proportion it will be seen that in relative military fitness the Negro race outranked the whites by about 12 per cent. A still later report, Table 53, shows that for every 100 men examined physically, the ratio of colored men found qualified for general military service was substantially higher than the ratio for white men by just 5 per cent, viz., 74.60 per cent as against 69.71 per cent.

These reports are interesting from two standpoints. First, they show that the American Negro is not altogether the unhealthy menace we had heretofore regarded him, and in the face of these facts we owe it to him and our nation to see that he gets a human chance for that education so necessary to preserve and stabilize his health integrity.

For some time I have contended that physically the Negro is a better specimen than the white man, and now the latest anthropometric report from the Surgeon-General of the United States Army proves the righteousness of this contention. In every measurement he excels, except in breadth and depth of the chest. But in spite of these glowing reports the Negro still has both a higher morbidity and mortality rate than his white brother, due to no other reason than his general ignorance and indifference regarding the rules of health and self-preservation. In order to emphasize the need for a campaign of health education among Negroes permit me to relate the following story. A dear old Negro woman called at the home of a white woman for whom she regularly worked, to get the week's washing. The kind-hearted, intelligent white woman met her at the door and said, "No, Amanda, I shall not let you take my clothes to wash, for my children have the measles, and I don't want your children to get it." "Oh, that's all right," exclaimed the Negro wash-woman, "my children's done had the measles two weeks ago!" This we can charge up to ignorance and nothing else!

No amount of intelligence can possibly save the educated from the menacing effects of the uneducated, unless that intelligence is wisely used to dethrone ignorance and superstition, and carry the light of reason and well-being to all mankind, black and white alike. Just recently a book entitled *Public Health in the United States* by Dr. H. H. Moore, of the United States Public Health Service, has been issued by Harper and Brothers of New York. In the Preface of this book bearing this comprehensive title the author makes the following statement: "It is hoped that these data and facts thus compiled may be useful to members of the health committees of various civic organizations, to students in high schools, colleges, and schools of social work, and to the administrative and legislative officers of local, state, and federal governments, as well as to those engaged professionally in public health activities." Of course I most naturally wanted to see what the book contained concerning the health of Negroes. Imagine my shock and surprise to find, on page 20, not quite twelve lines on the subject, and

they merely mentioning that the death-rate of the Negro is higher than that of the whites. And this from a book which purports and presumes to serve as a guiding light to the many classes of persons mentioned in the author's preface.

Thus to dismiss such a subject so important to American interests is little short of criminal, and in my most charitable moments I find myself compelled to declare the author's judgment certainly a bit myopic. Yet except in a very few instances this is a fair example of the attention civic, state, and national organizations are giving to the education of themselves and to the education of Negroes upon this very vital matter concerning the health of twelve million American citizens. Most certainly this is the moment for all of us to open our hearts and minds to a keener and finer understanding concerning the health of these our fellow-creatures for in no way can anyone who is not himself educated carry knowledge to that uneducated group hampered upon all sides by social, economic, and general living restrictions.

Good health must be regarded as a national asset always purchasable, equally important in time of peace or war. This is an investment which will yield perpetual dividends of comfort, happiness, protection, and safety. Many philanthropic persons have seen fit to devote large funds for preserving and protecting the health of white Americans, but comparatively nothing in the preservation of the health of black Americans. Here lies a wonderful virgin field for righteous immortalization of some good unbiased American, to establish a foundation for the study and improvement of health, social, and economic conditions among Negroes. Such a fund could and would do immeasurable service to the Negro race and to the nation. For the past fifteen years I have been extending this invitation from press and rostrum, but up to this moment there has been no response and no organized honest effort made to get at the bottom of the Negro's health problem. I am hoping that on this occasion my words will not fall again upon stony ground, but upon some soil rich in human love from which will spring the urge to do a real human service for God, man, and nation.

Booker T. Washington has said: "Without health, and until we reduce our high death-rate, it will be impossible for us to have permanent success in business, in property-getting, in acquiring education, or to show other evidences of progress. Without health and long life all else fails. We must reduce our high death-rate, dethrone disease and enthrone health and long life. We may differ on other subjects, but there is no room for difference here. Let us make a strong, long, united pull together." When he said the foregoing he was speaking to the Negro, but these words should fall upon the ears of our whole nation. The whole-hearted methods adopted to preserve the health of white Americans, when compared with the half-hearted methods to preserve the health of black Americans, make a jest of the whole procedure. The Negro always receives the by-product of expended energy in this direction, yet he is expected to measure up to the same physical standards as those who enjoy every opportunity and

privilege in the matter of conserving health. This bi-racial tendency which prevails in America regarding all matters great and small is not consistent with our boasted intelligence and foresight in our attitude toward national health and its relation to national economics.

However, in a great measure left to our own initiative, guided by the light of education, we are beating down our high morbidity and mortality rates. To Dr. Booker T. Washington and the National Negro Business League, of which he was a founder and president up to his death, we are indebted for the establishment of a national Negro health week. More than any other one factor, this movement has called the attention of Negroes throughout the nation to the value and importance of good health. Like most things this great man did, the health week was introduced to our race in a plain, practical way, calling to our attention the most elementary principles of good health and how to attain it. Negroes all over the land both North and South have caught the spirit and inspiration of that great teacher and they are making a practical application of the lessons he taught.

Just recently I sent out a rather comprehensive health questionnaire to sixty-two Negro colleges and universities. Thirty-one of these replied, and the data obtained has been tremendously encouraging and enlightening. Fourteen require a physical examination of all students upon entering; twenty have compulsory education, and all are making some attempt to emphasize health teaching. In each, provision is made for giving medical care to sick students, and all express a desire to give a glad welcome to advice and financial help relative to establishing a working health and welfare service. Most of them are struggling along as best they can by doubling up their science teachers to give instruction in health and hygiene. The amounts estimated to place their health department on a working basis were in each instance all too low, for the average amount was set at $1,000 a year. Suppose we could divide $50,000 next year among these thirty-one schools which are in dead earnest, and have that amount devoted to health teaching and student welfare service, can you not see how far-reaching the results would be?

If we are going to carry on health education among Negroes there must be a national awakening and national interest injected into the process. Our schools and colleges afford the finest possible opportunity to vitalize the health idea and make it profitable to both the individual and the nation, but they must have help and support or they miss the mark. That the Negro has done much within the past ten years to improve his health condition is made manifest in recent reports issued by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the United States Public Health Service. These two agencies are united in saying that between 1912 and 1922, Negroes have increased their life span by more than five years, which is indicative of marked racial progression. Quoting from the United States Public Health Report of April 11, 1924, we read, "The colored show even more improvement than the white in expectation at birth in the past

ten years." Unquestionably this is due to education and better economic conditions, but still we have much more to do, for even our present-day expectation of life is about that of whites thirty or forty years ago, so you can see there is still much need for health education among Negroes. In fact we are just beginning what is bound to be a profitable campaign. If a thought, an incident, or a truth strikes us as important to our welfare, it arouses our interest and takes a place in our mentality, and if we are just to ourselves and to our God, we at once set out to translate our interest into the most practical terms of humanity. Let us have no longer an aristocracy of snobbishness, but an aristocracy of service.

No man, whatever his motive may be, can help lift up his brother man without lifting up himself. In the very act he must bend to the task, and when he arises therefrom he brings up two men, himself and his brother, and the close human touch has made both better men. All unconsciously, perhaps, that altruism taught and practiced in the life of Christ has trickled down into the hearts of both, making one content and fit to save, and the other happy and fit to serve.

THE NEGRO'S PSYCHOLOGY AND HIS HEALTH

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The most prominent and constant factor in my own conscious intellectual life is the interrogation point. It tantalized my childhood, lured my youth, challenged my young manhood, puzzled my middle life, and now it guards the gate of old age with grinning defiance.

I begin here with a question: "What was the ethnic entity in the mind that framed this subject?"

Tabulations of statistics or generalized deductions and observational inferences must, therefore, necessarily form my subject-matter. I elect the latter, as the time limit excludes statistics. I learned in my youth, "Words are the signs of ideas." I now think that ideas are the driving-power of words—the powder in the ammunition of thought—the voltage in the electric current of life. To estimate the value of a man's words one must understand the ideas generating his thoughts.

Accepting psychology as "mental science," we will fix our meaning by defining mind. "I want to use mind to mean almost everything that acts as a control of animal or human behavior. . . . . Mind in nature is surely something much wider than that special manifestation of it as a function of the human brain."[1]

This description of the word "mind" makes the word "psychology" in our title connote two ideas: (*a*) character in its essence, as "the sum of the inherited and acquired ethical traits which give to a person his moral individuality";

[1] Vernon L. Kellogg, *Mind and Heredity*.

(*b*) character in its extent, which lies deeper than will or belief or mental process of any kind; which enters into the very warp and woof of our being—from the protoplasm of the germ-cells to the volitions of the matured personality.

Now as ontogeny is phylogeny in miniature, this definition applies to a group as well as to an individual. "Health" is an abstract noun whose basic meaning is wholeness, completeness, self-sufficiency. This is seen clearly from a study of the congenerous words: hale, hallow, whole, holy, etc.

"Healthy, Healthy, Healthy, Lord God Almighty!" would not in the least change the etymological implications of our well-known matutinal orison. Physically, health connotes the ability to function without fainting; to bear the stress of life without damaging strain. Its psychological connotations and spiritual implications are equally comprehensive; to will without wobbling, as well as to work without wearying; to trust without trembling, as well as to fight without failing.

Biological continuity is also comprehended in the word "health"; for the healthy individual is not only able to live and function, but to reproduce individuals who can live and function and in their turn reproduce individuals who can thus live, function, and reproduce.

"The Negro's ability to think and to live," would be a fair explanatory amplification of our subject. What is he thinking and how is he living? According to some critics he thinks only of heaven and is "living at a poor dying rate." Let us see.

> My Lord calls me, he calls me by the thunder,
> The trumpet sounds within my soul,
> I ain't got long to stay here.

1. The Negro is religious, fearfully and wonderfully religious. His song is as sincere and soulful as the Scotchman's litany:

> From ghoulies and ghosties,
> And long-leggit beasties,
> And things that go "boomp" in the night—
> Good Lord, deliver us!

Notwithstanding superstition and ignorance, religion is a potent factor in health as well as a determining influence in psychology. The mind and body react upon each other. Faith heals the hurts of the body as well as hallows the altars of the mind. Religion is the polestar of the Negro's intellectual night, and the land-locked harbor in the sea of his physical weaknesses. This is the key to his cheerful serenity and long-suffering endurance. He finds sustenance in song:

> Jesus is a rock in a weary land,
> A shelter in the time of storm.

He will not

> Learn to chant the cold dirges of the baffled,
> The sullen hymns of defeat.

But "Through the clear apocalyptic air," he "Hears new songs of ages yet to be."

2. The Negro is more devoted to personality than to principle. He believes more in people than in their professions. It is a peculiarity of Negro psychology that three centuries of injustice and oppression have not developed the hatred complex. For some unknown reason which only God may ken, the colored man has faith in the white man.

"The hexiology of the Negro is distinctive. He has an adaptability to circumstances unsurpassed by the children of men. . . . . He has received the most magnificent reward that ever fell to the lot of an oppressed people—the friendship of the world's best spirits."[1]

The Persian dream of truthfulness, the Grecian dream of knowledge, the Jewish dream of righteousness, the Roman dream of power, and the English-speaking peoples' dream of fair play will all fructify in the patient, persistent, kind-hearted good nature of the American Negro.

Lord Macaulay says, "Nine-tenths of all the calamities that have befallen the human race had their origin in the union of high intelligence with low desires."

The Negro's desires frequently rise above his intelligence. He is one of the few sons of men whom the frown of science has not made melancholy, and whose soul has not been frozen by the chills of penury.

The different emphasis placed by different people upon the same evidence is one of the most striking phases of popular psychology. The Negro concedes the white man superiority in but one thing—diabolism or dishonor—the ability to be unjust. At his psychological worst the white man thinks the Negro a beast; the Negro at his psychological worst thinks the white man a devil. If either or both be right our civilization is gone.

3. The Negro often manifests that inferiority complex of oppressed peoples which forbids self-criticism. He thinks telling the truth an evidence of enmity. He ignores the law of causality and substitutes the whine of emotion for the why of reason. He dissociates himself from the confluence of things and becomes self-centered and irritable. He thinks not of humanity but of himself, forgetting that the whole includes the parts. Fear leads him to attempts at deception where frankness would be a winning policy.

This psychology grows out of his unique position. Speaking the language of democracy and equality, he has been expected to graft the virtues of freedom upon the opportunities of slavery and to fulfil the responsibilities of citizenship while maintaining the bearing of a serf. That a confusing psychological complex should result is not strange. The condition cannot continue indefinitely. Education must progress or recede, culture must triumph or die. The Negro must become a citizen or a serf. Western civilization must evaluate men upon their cultural worth, or perish. Liberty and opportunity are for all, or for none.

[1] C. V. Roman, *American Civilization and the Negro*, p. 228.

This generation can decide upon the terms of civil life: Equality of opportunity and peaceful progress, or inequality of opportunity and progressive disintegration to the elemental starting point.

Even on this program, colored people are listed to talk about themselves only. Personally, I would much rather have talked upon sex hygiene, illegitimacy, or crowd psychology. Whatever the motive of the powers that be, the tendency is to promote ethnic egomania in the colored group.

Moral health is the dynamics of life. Undue racial egotism means disaster. Unlimited self-determination, whether racial or individual, leads to destruction. The Negro being judged by group, too often thinks that way—by group. "Christianity is the only religion in the world which regards each human individual as a child of God the Father."[1] Yet in Christian America individual evolution of character is systematically denied the Negro. We speak English as a mother tongue, not as an alien brogue, and are legitimate heirs to the conceptions of life embodied in that language.

"By the middle of the nineteenth century this older Negro English had ceased to be possible as a genetic representation of Negro speech."[2]

It is a noteworthy incident that the date of the Negro's mastery of English is coincident with the most vicious and heartless attempt at his repression. But tyranny does not always suppress; it sometimes rebounds and explodes. The Negro mastered English by 1850—then came the Fugitive Slave Law—then war—then emancipation. His mastery of English-speaking methods of thought means the appreciation of that conception of liberty and citizenship; final possession is inevitable.

4. Nature has built no more effective physiological machine than the American Negro at his physical best. Why then is his vitality the sneer of actuaries and his mortuary statistics the despair of health officers? The excessively high death-rate and morbidity incidence are due to situation, and not to any defect in the Negro's constitution or his psychology.

The American Negro, individually and collectively, is immediately responsive to healthful surroundings. Patent medicines, garbage, bad water, sewerage defects, housing, dope-peddlers, and low dives are civic administrative sins against the Negro's health and social well-being, over which he has little or no control.

The systematic exclusion of colored nurses and physicians from health departments, public hospitals, penal, and eleemosynary institutions where race distinctions are emphasized, is not only a grave injustice to the Negro, but a menace to the general welfare. It is not humanly possible to be fair to one regarded as an inferior. The assumption of superiority, whether individual, social, religious, or racial, always connotes injustice and cruelty. From the divine right of kings to the divine right of democracy, the evolution of society

[1] Hume, *World's Living Religions.*

[2] George Krapp, *American Mercury*, II, No. 6.

furnishes no exception to this fundamental law of psychology. Comparative racial statistics from such sources are practically valueless. A prejudiced mind cannot know, much less tell the truth.

The Negro's mental reaction to these conditions is often one of bewilderment at the contradictory attitudes assumed by his white fellow-citizens. Charged with low aspirations and degenerative tendencies, he frequently finds his upward way deliberately barred and the downward ways ostentatiously and flagrantly opened.

One of the most serious phases of race contact is forcing Negro culture into comparison with Caucasian squalor. Negroes able and willing to build beautiful homes are too often compelled to place them where they contrast with white poverty and ignorance. The locations of practically all of our colored schools and colleges illustrate this point. This adds social jealousy to race prejudice—a mixture that is brewing the sociological poison that is hampering the welfare of the nations.

5. The Negro is as worth while as any racial entity in our modern civilization. He has more elements of compatibility and companionship in his psychology and more units of strength and durability in his physical make-up than any other people. He is not going to die out and he is not going to be pushed out. By construction he is an integral part of the constitution of things—fate's final factor in anthropology, the acid test of democracy, and the residuary legatee of providential dispensation.

I believe in one God and in one humanity. The capacity for every emotion and every thought is in every people. The "will to believe" is the explanation of many of the conclusions of the doctrinaires of racial inequality. Creeds express thought, and organizations incarnate purpose; but the human spirit seeking a meaning for things gives dignity and "worth-while-ness" to life. Poets and hymnologists are often prophets and seers.

As I close, there rises before me the vision painted in Walt Whitman's interrogatory poem, "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors," and I accept his prophetic words: "Be not disheartened, affection shall solve the problems of freedom."

THE EFFECT OF HEALTH EDUCATION ON NEGRO MORTALITY AS SHOWN BY THE METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY'S FIGURES

Louis I. Dublin, Statistician, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York

The note I wish to strike today in my brief paper is one of optimism. The Negro in America has proved himself thoroughly capable of profiting from the public health campaign which was developed in recent years. The pessimism which prevailed twenty-five or thirty years ago with regard to the future of the Negro is no longer even remotely justified. A race still living in many areas

under primitive conditions of sanitation, and often from hand to mouth, is today enjoying a life expectancy just about that of the white people of America only thirty or forty years ago. In 1920, the average expectation at birth among insured lives was well over forty-one years; it is now over forty-six years. These figures are about the same as for a number of European countries before the Great War. The Negroes are only a generation behind the achievement of the white people of the country—not a serious handicap to overcome when we consider that they have had control of their destinies for only a little more than half a century and have been served by health-conserving agencies for even a shorter period. The recent gains in longevity and general well-being hold out the greatest promise for the future of the Negro in America.

The facts which you have asked me to present concern close to two million Negroes who are insured in the industrial department of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. They include men, women, and children at all ages; they are engaged in every conceivable occupation. They live almost altogether in the towns and cities of the country. This is important to remember, because it is especially in the cities that the health conditions among Negroes have heretofore been found very unsatisfactory. In the registration states of the United States for the last year available, 1921, the death-rate among Negroes living in the rural part was 13.8 per 1,000 as contrasted with 10.6 for whites, whereas the rate in the cities was 19.7 per 1,000 as against 11.8 for the whites. In other words, while the mortality in the rural parts of the country was only 30 per cent higher for the colored than for the whites, it was 67 per cent higher in the cities. The experience of the Metropolitan is accordingly among a large group of people who have in the past lived under unfavorable conditions. The Negroes of the cities would appear to have been out of their element, where they were not as yet adapted to the climatic conditions, to the prevailing industries, or to the housing which was available to them. The record which I shall unfold to you, therefore, is all the more remarkable in its continuous and measurable progress.

The detailed mortality records of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company go back to 1911. In that year, the mortality rate was 17.5 per 1,000. In 1923, the rate was 14.5, which represents a drop of 17.3 per cent, or more than one-sixth. A very gratifying improvement also occurred among the colored people living in the registration states of the United States. This amounted to 27.9 per cent between 1910 and 1921. The improvement, when translated in terms of longevity, means that the colored males insured in the Metropolitan have in the short interval of twelve years increased their life span by nearly six years and that colored females have extended their expectation by nearly five years. Very much the same gains are found among the Negroes in the general population. That, of course, is an astounding improvement, in view of the short period in which it has occurred.

Tuberculosis has been and still is the outstanding cause of death among the colored people. One out of every six colored persons ultimately dies of tuber-

culosis. There has been a very remarkable improvement in this condition in recent years, however. In 1911, tuberculosis was responsible for 418 deaths for each 100,000 colored persons insured in the Metropolitan. In 1923, the rate was 246, or 41 per cent less. There was no improvement in 1923 over 1922, but before last year, the rate of decline was very rapid. Between 1918 and 1922, the rate dropped uninterruptedly from 391 per 100,000 to 246. The mortality among the colored policy-holders from tuberculosis is beginning to look like that among the whites only twenty years ago, when the tuberculosis campaign was begun.

Marked gains have been made by the colored people in conserving the lives of their young children. In 1911, the total mortality rate for children under fifteen years of age insured in the Metropolitan was 10.1 per 1,000. In 1923, this figure was reduced to 5.5 which is an improvement of 45 per cent. The colored children show the greatest improvement in mortality of any age group. Among the children under fifteen, tuberculosis has been reduced by about half. The four communicable diseases of childhood, namely, measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, and diphtheria, show together a decline of 33 per cent in the interval between 1911 and 1923. In connection with this, I should point out that the colored children enjoy a distinct advantage over white children in connection with three of these conditions, namely, measles, scarlet fever, and diphtheria. Their rates are uniformly lower than are found among white children of the same ages.

There has also been a marked decline, more than 50 per cent, in the mortality rate from diarrhea and enteritis among young colored children. The rates for the children of the two races are no longer very far apart, those for the colored children in 1923 being even a little lower than those for the white children in 1911. This shows that colored mothers have not been slow to learn how to care for and feed their babies in accordance with the best practice of the day.

There has undoubtedly been great improvement in the sanitary conditions which surround the colored people. This is evidenced by the decline in the mortality of such conditions as typhoid fever and pneumonia, both of which reflect the sanitary character of the environment. The improvement in typhoid fever is especially noteworthy. In 1923, the rate was only 10.4 per 100,000, which represents a decline of 77.5 per cent since 1911. The last rate from typhoid fever is identical with that for whites as late as 1917.

The improvement in pneumonia is not quite so great and yet it is significant. In 1923, the death-rate from all forms of pneumonia was 137.8 per 100,000 as against a rate of 160.8 in 1911, which is a decline of 14.3 per cent. But these last few years have been "pneumonia years," resulting from the extensive influenza epidemics which have raged in the late winters and early springs. The improvement in pneumonia would undoubtedly have been greater but for these occurrences. It nevertheless has been considerable and gratifying.

If the foregoing are encouraging items, there are those which are not quite so satisfactory. The still high mortality rate of the colored people at the present time results largely from the chronic degenerative diseases, like cerebral hemorrhage, organic diseases of the heart, and chronic nephritis. The first two, cerebral hemorrhage and organic heart disease, show substantial increases in their rates since 1911, and the last one, chronic nephritis, shows no improvement. Likewise, cancer and diabetes show substantial increases between 1911 and 1923. The five conditions mentioned above when combined account for 35 per cent of the total mortality of colored policy-holders, and it is disconcerting that such important diseases are not on the mend but are actually getting worse. It is difficult, with our present knowledge, to say exactly what is leading to these increases, but it is generally assumed that with the exception of cancer, the death-rates from the diseases mentioned reflect the type of personal hygiene which people practice. It is entirely possible also that the high rate of the degenerative diseases reflects the very great prevalence of syphilitic infection among the colored people. This is really the outstanding fact in the negative side of the health picture among the colored people.

Syphilis and its sequels are not declining but are indeed becoming more widespread and are causing more and more deaths among the colored people each year. In 1923, the death-rate from syphilis, locomotor ataxia, and general paralysis of the insane (the last two of which conditions are syphilitic in origin) was 38.7 per 100,000. This is almost double the rate of 1911 (20.4). It is possible, of course, that some of the increase is the result of franker and better reporting of these diseases by physicians; but I doubt very much that that is sufficient to explain so marked an increase. The fact remains that the rate for colored persons is close to four times as high as for whites. This unsatisfactory situation, of course, is not limited to the insured, but is found very generally in the colored population. In New York City, there has been an increase of practically 50 per cent from this cause in the interval between 1910 and 1923. The disease is apparently working havoc among the colored people who are congregating in the cities of the country. Possibly the worse effect is on the new generation. The disease takes its greatest toll among the infants in the first month of life and is, in fact, the principal cause of stillbirths that occur so frequently among colored women. The disease also accounts for a great many deaths later in life which are ascribed by physicians to heart and arterial diseases, as well as to other conditions, including tuberculosis. The greatest service that could today be rendered to the colored people would be to help them check the spread of this condition. The campaign against the venereal diseases has apparently not begun to be felt by the colored communities. A very profitable field for service is waiting to be opened up. Possibly much good may also come when more emphasis is placed on the importance of the annual physical examination among colored people. This should result in disclosing many cases of syphilitic diseases at a stage when they can still be cured. Prenatal

work among colored women which insists on a Wassermann test as a condition for the service should prove to be a powerful agency in disclosing syphilis and should lead to the treatment of large numbers of patients. The hope of the future among Negroes lies in their ability to bring the scourge of syphilis under control.

In bringing this discussion to a close, I must not forget to say that the last two years, 1922 and 1923, have shown significant increases in the mortality of the colored people. In 1923, the rate was actually 7.9 per cent higher than it was in 1921. We are not discouraged by this change in the tendency of the rate, because this is probably only a temporary condition. The progress of the race in increased longevity will soon be resumed. It is of interest, however, to find out what factors are operating to bring about a change in the general character of the mortality of the colored people. It has been generally assumed that the recent migration from the southern states is an important item. In the Metropolitan's experience, there was a very marked increase in the number of colored policy-holders in the states of Illinois and Michigan, largely concentrated, to be sure, in the cities of Chicago and Detroit. In both these communities, the mortality rates increased very appreciably—in Chicago, 27 per cent and in Detroit, 23 per cent, 1923 over 1921. On the other hand, very marked extensions of the business occurred on the Pacific Coast. This also represents a marked migration from the southern states, but in this area there has been no increased mortality. There is, in fact, a slight decline. The migration which centered in New York City and environs likewise brought with it no appreciable increase in mortality. The picture, therefore, is somewhat confusing. The migration is obviously not responsible for the whole increase, in view of the fact that the mortality rate even in the southern states showed pronounced increases. Forty per cent of the total number of colored policy-holders of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company still live in the southern and southwestern states, and in these states mortality in 1923 increased 12.1 per cent over 1921. In some communities, like Atlanta, Charleston, and Norfolk, the increases in the mortality rate were very marked indeed, and were even more striking than in Chicago and Detroit. It would seem, therefore, altogether more reasonable to account for these increases of the past two years on the score of other conditions than the movement northward. This is strongly suggested by the fact that the influenza mortality rate among the colored more than doubled between 1921 and 1923, and the pneumonia rate increased about a third. It is possible that the extensive outbreaks of influenza in 1922 and 1923, more especially in 1923, with their accompanying mortality from pneumonia, are sufficient to explain what happened. So far in 1924, there has been a pronounced decline in the total colored mortality from that of 1923 and the figures are back to where they were in 1922, but are still a little higher than those in 1921.

The improvement in colored mortality, to which I have called attention, has not come about without very decided effort. In this insurance experience,

the colored people have figured just as prominently as any other group of policy-holders in the health campaign of the company so successfully organized under the direction of the second vice-president, Mr. Frankel. They have availed themselves of every advantage which has been offered to them. In periods of illness, they have received nursing care and have in fact taken advantage of public health nursing even to a greater degree than white policy-holders. Public health nursing obtains its large results primarily through health teaching. In addition, they have received much help from the distribution of very simple but authoritative leaflets on personal hygiene and on the prevention of the communicable diseases. Millions of copies have been distributed among them. It is difficult to say just how much good such pamphlets have done, but there is evidence that the colored people read what is left with them, and also that they have a great deal of confidence in what the Metropolitan advises them to do. The important thing is that the colored people are showing remarkable capacity for reducing their mortality to reasonable limits. In my judgment, it is now largely a matter of extending the health and educational facilities to them in a greater measure. The colored people must learn to think more and more in terms of health as the key to their improvement in other respects. As they become more prosperous, they must learn to spend more money on facilities which bring about better health conditions. It will be very interesting to observe what the next ten years will bring about for the continued prosperity of the colored people in America.

IV. THE FAMILY

CASE WORK PROBLEMS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREATER SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN

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In reading the following current case records, I have tried to discover what the visitors have actually done in smoothing out tangled relationships between parents and children, and in so far as possible have sought the technique which was employed.

Case 1.—A little ten-year-old girl, Florence,[1] has been the real head of the S. family since her parents became dependent three years ago. Her brother Stanley, three years younger, had had epidemic encephalitis two years previously and the family's attention had centered on him from that time. Florence's father was found to have incipient tuberculosis and was finally persuaded to enter a sanitarium, from which he returned against the advice of the doctor. Expert medical care was found for the boy and since institutional care was unavailable the visitor has tried to change the attitude of the family toward him. Especially Stella, now aged nine, who used to make fun of him has been made to realize how ill he is and the parents have been shown that the other children must not be neglected for him. A blackboard and book were provided so Florence could help Stanley and also teach English to her mother. The family has been moved from an undesirable foreign neighborhood and the extra room formerly used for lodgers has been transformed into a living-room. Florence and her mother went on a shopping tour with the visitor to buy curtains, a rug, a rocker, and a couch cover. Stella cut out the pictures which the visitor brought, and Florence passepartouted them. When Christmas came the parents were invited to the district office to select presents for the children. The visitor took snapshots of Florence and let her use them for presents. Then the parents and Florence were given tickets to the Ukrainian National Chorus. Space does not permit other details of treatment such as dental care, glasses, tonsillectomy, assistance in citizenship papers, and vacations, but the visitor's

[1] All names used in case descriptions are fictitious.

influence was effective ten months after the first visit when Florence's father proudly showed the visitor three toothbrushes: "Two for my wife and myself and one for the children" (six in all)!

Case 2.—If the Family Welfare Association had practiced modern case work in the first half of the twelve years in which the A. family has been known to them, some of the difficulties of the last six years might have been avoided. Six years ago Annie, who was then only eleven, had become a "little beggar." The entire family of nine people were sleeping in one room before the mother had to go to the hospital for an operation and the father as usual was enjoying ill health. While the mother was in the hospital, the visiting housekeeper helped Annie to improve the housekeeping. A washwoman was supplied during the mother's convalescence, but in spite of close supervision Annie was imposed upon, being kept home from school and having no recreation. The mother refused temporary care for the two youngest children so as to relieve Annie. Both parents had been diagnosed as neurasthenics and spent the entire time discussing their symptoms. When $1,200 had been spent by the F.W.A. and the problem was no nearer a solution, a new plan was tried. All the children were placed until the parents were well enough to care for them. Annie and the two youngest were boarded with a woman who finally convinced Annie that coffee and lunches between meals were not the best diet for two- and three-year-olds, although Annie was at first very resentful. The tonic effect of removing the children was seen immediately. Instead of lying in bed all day groaning, the father secured employment and the mother, instead of lying on her bed complaining, found she was able to do the housework. The children were returned gradually and eight months later Annie returned. Although Annie, who is now a stenographer, agrees fully that the drastic treatment has been justified, neither she nor the visitor has ever fully convinced the mother, who believes "American children do not know what work is."

Case 3.—Mr. E. has valvular heart disease and about a year ago had a severe though temporary religious mania. His recovery was due in part to the devotion of his wife, which was the only discernible asset the family had besides the superaverage intelligence of the children. The house was dirty and unaired, the children's health neglected, and the three-weeks-old baby cried constantly unless it was held. Alice, the oldest girl, wanted to be a teacher and used to gather all the children around at night and teach them, but her parents could not be persuaded that a way could be found to realize her ambition, so she has become the chief wage-earner. Much has been accomplished in dental work for the mother, tonsillectomy for Alice, glasses for Josie, and attention to Bessie's infected eye, but the most interesting bit was the way the visitor explained to the mother what neurasthenia is, and asked her to explain to the girls so they would know how to treat their father.

Case 4.—The first four years of attention to the P. family could not be called case work. For the past seven years, however, Celia, who was thirteen when

the process began, has been the keystone of the family, especially when the father's repeated leaving of a job because of low wages, with no other job available, gave him more time to scold his anemic wife for not working, instead of caring for her eight children. The earlier items in treatment were additional beds, toothbrushes, dolls, and toys, and arguments to convince the mother that milk had greater nutritive value than coffee. When the ninth child arrived, the visitor was invited to be the godmother and find a man to be godfather, so as to save the expense of the party which would be necessary if relatives acted in that capacity. One of the most valuable lessons was when Celia found she could save $7.50 in buying a coat if the balance of her instalments could be paid at once, and the visitor enabled her to do that. Since starting work she has bought furniture for the living-room while her brother, a year older, has put into a Chevrolet the money he had been saving for electrician's training.

Case 5.—Sixteen-year-old Ellen was the only child of aged parents. Her neurasthenic father and crippled mother had quite unconsciously neglected her. She was a pathetic, undernourished, unattractive girl, who was consoling herself with an abnormal religious interest. It is difficult to say whether the improved health of both parents, brought about by dental care, tonsillectomy, and a change from chiropractic to dispensary care brought about a better understanding of the girl or not. But the lessened complaints of physical ailments certainly made the home atmosphere more wholesome. Ellen's health was more difficult to improve because of her unwillingness to eat nourishing food. The visitor arranged for warm lunches at school for her, gave her milk to drink at home, especially at night, talked to her and her mother of the need of fruit and vegetables in her diet, and aroused the girl's interest in increasing her weight. Although she was ill for a long time with appendicitis, in a year she gained sixteen pounds. When a special gift of $5.00 was received for the family, Ellen was consulted. Although she was strongly in favor of buying a Bible for her parents, she was finally persuaded that new sheets and another bed so she could sleep by herself in a room with the windows open was really more necessary.

Case 6.—The surviving ten out of fifteen children in the L. family are excellent examples of the need for case work. Although five of the boys and the father were potential wage-earners, the family of twelve was living, one year ago, in a tar-papered shack of two rooms and an attic. The visitor succeeded in getting them into a nine-room house, in securing work for the two youngest boys, and forcing the two oldest to go to work, besides getting the mother to start non-support action against the father. The children thought this an act of extreme disloyalty. How much the mother's discipline has been changed from shouting, nagging, and unfulfilled threats is not certain, but the household is now organized on a budget basis, and the parents realize the possible danger of losing the younger children unless conditions continue to improve. Violin lessons are being arranged for the fourteen-year-old boy who has some musical ability but has already been in juvenile court.

Case 7.—The standard of living of the J. family has been materially raised since 1910 when the parents and four children were living in one furnished room. But the inebriety, non-support, and desertion of the father, and the mother's lack of discipline and poor housekeeping have resulted in the delinquency of four out of seven children. For the last two years excellent case work has been done especially with Grace, the oldest girl, who is just twenty. But the failure to win the confidence of the man prevented the visitor's discovering the mother's delinquency. A year and a half ago Grace was helped in furnishing a living-room with the hope of encouraging the older children to bring their friends home. Neither the visitor's talks about developing responsibility in the younger children by giving them definite household tasks, nor the judge's admonitions had any effect upon the mother. She concealed her fifteen-year-old son so he should not be sent to the training school, she continued giving the children only the food which they requested, and upheld Grace in irregular attendance at business college where she had been given a scholarship. When the four oldest children were found delinquent, the home was broken up by court order until the mother could prove that she was capable of providing a proper home. Whether case work can save the younger children in this family or not is a question, but one wonders how different the results with the older children would have been if imagination and resourcefulness had been used in 1908 when the father started in to drink.

Case 8.—The P. family is an interesting example of a visitor's accepting her client's judgment about a relative without questioning the motive. Although she interviewed the relative, she failed to get information about the mother of three adolescent girls which might have enabled her to prevent Ethel's delinquency. The mother lived for two years with a drinking man before she married him, and at the same time punished Margaret, aged fifteen, for cutting school to attend movies with a boy. She used to go out to dances with her "star boarder," and then was amazed when Ethel, aged fourteen, went for a drunken joy-ride after running away from home. The mother was seriously ill during the first year and a half the family was under care, and the problem of adequate medical care was so serious that the visitor failed to see anything else. Although she saved the mother's life, it is questionable whether the girls can ever become law-abiding citizens.

In this brief recital of selected cases, you have seen, I hope, how the visitors have tried to develop leadership within the family; sometimes it was in a parent but more often it was in a child. Although difficult to distinguish chronologically in processes, it seemed as though winning the confidence came first and the changing of attitudes later. One striking method of treatment was not only frequent visits but well planned interviews with all the individuals involved. The only difficulty was that the process didn't go far enough. Case work started with the oldest child and worked down instead of from the youngest up. As one visitor expressed it, "we don't see a younger child in a family unless

he has an epileptic fit." There seemed to be a failure to see the relationship between the delinquency of the older children and the unsatisfactory management of the younger. The visitor's treatment was firm but kindly and very frank with the parents but the records did not show any evidence that this attitude was passed on to the parents as desirable in dealing with the children. In some of the families the co-operation of the oldest child was secured in enlisting a parent's interest in discipline but the training was directed toward the next oldest rather than toward the youngest child.

It is perhaps significant that the failures are the families which were known first to social agencies anywhere from ten to twenty-six years ago and the successes represent recent intensive treatment of from one to four years.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN JEWISH FAMILIES

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To discuss special problems with Jewish families might properly take us far into a discussion of social origins and racial psychology. It is a temptation that for the purposes of this paper must be resisted. That racial or cultural factors do condition case work with Jewish families is a fact that accounts in part for the separate organization of Jewish social agencies. But an attempt to correlate those factors with problems of maladjustment between Jewish parents and children leads into uncharted seas.

It is a readily accepted fact that the clientèle of Jewish case working agencies (and this is true of non-sectarian agencies as well) are largely immigrants or the children of immigrants. The nationality figures of a Jewish agency run something like this: Eastern Europe about 85 per cent; American, about 9 per cent; all other nationalities, about 6 per cent. The proportion has varied for the different nationalities in the past, but Jewish agencies in America have received their main impetus to development from the migration of large numbers of families from Europe. The number of native families today is on the increase. Two main factors are discernible in this latter tendency: first, the stoppage of immigration during and since the war; and second, the newer implications of case work, in terms of personality as against the older concept of economic adjustment. Whether we think of case work as we know it today, or in the terms of twenty years ago, the proportion of foreign-born in the case load is still overwhelmingly large. The simple corollary to this proposition is that adaptation to conditions of American life is so delicate and so hazardous a process as to afford manifold opportunities for the appearance of the very maladjustments that call for the intervention of the case worker. In other words, the act of migration itself is an attempt at adjustment of no small significance.

If then the special problems of the case worker with Jewish families are to be regarded as incident primarily to adjustments to American life, something must be said of the outstanding features of this migration. The Jewish immigration has been, more decidedly than that of any other group, a family movement. This is evidenced by the fact that in the period from 1890 to 1910, 56.6 per cent of the Jewish immigrants were males, 43.4 per cent females, and one-quarter of the whole number were children under fourteen years of age. The proportion of females in the total immigration for that period was only 30.5 per cent, and children constituted only one-eighth of the entire group. Compared with the Italians, for instance, we find 78 per cent male and 22 per cent female. In the period from 1910 to 1923, similar proportions prevail, the number of females here exceeding the males every year since 1917, excepting in 1919. It is evident, therefore, that in the Jewish immigration, the general tendency is for the father to come to America, establish a home, and send for his family. The period of separation, primarily due to this general scheme of migration, later prolonged by the war, and more recently by our unenlightened immigration policies, may be said to have increased the hazards to family life in this group. These hazards, where they affect the parent and child relation, may be either reduced or increased by the more rapid Americanization of the children than of the parents.

It cannot be too strongly urged that the parent and child relation and the delicate problems of adjustment within that relation have no very special Jewish aspects. The problems confronting the case worker with Jewish families do, however, appear quite definitely in this setting of adaptation from Jewish life in Europe to Jewish life in America. Since time is limited, I have selected for discussion just two of the phases of this adaptation as they affect the parent and child relation.

Take, first, the problem of religious observance. The vast majority of immigrant Jews now under the care of social agencies are orthodox and have lived most of their lives, if not actually within the pale, in a closely knit group of their own. The effect of political and social ostracism drew them more closely together and made possible a kind of self-determination in matters of religion that fostered traditional observances. They have sought in America freedom, and they find in place of the rigid limitations on their activities an absence of restraint that is almost unbelievable. But their positive hope of living according to the laws of their fathers is probably farther removed than in the Russia of the old régime. For restraint and discrimination are substituted all the essential competitive aspects of American life. The Jew who seeks work, seeks it in the open market. If he persists in observing the Sabbath, he is at once at a disadvantage. He may be willing to accept this handicap but his children are more pliable. If he compromises on the issue of Sabbath observance and still persists in observance of the Holy Days and the dietary laws, he has only reduced the size of his handicap. And the conflict arising between

parents and children on this issue "feeds on itself and grows by what it feeds on." Rabbis and religious leaders and whole group efforts like the Zionist and Young Judea movements are attempting to stem the tide of this defection from religion, as expressed in observance. It is easy for an individual parent to say, "My child is irreligious. He does not observe the faith of his fathers; *ergo*, he is disobedient, disrespectful, inconsiderate of parents, wayward, and lost." And the response of the children is almost a refrain in the ear of the social worker. The parents are unreasonable, old-fashioned, living in a world they brought with them. This is America; old-world customs are out of place. And then follow resentment, rebellion, and complete misunderstanding.

Second, even more hazards appear in the process of adaptation to American educational standards. In the Russia of the old régime (and our experience with the product of the post-revolutionary Russia is not yet ripe enough for much comment) education for Jewish youth was the privilege of the few. The age-old yearning of the Jew for learning was turned back upon itself and developed a vast and complicated machinery for religious education, much of which was really secular in content. In America, education is a mere fact of life, obligatory to a certain point, and fairly easy of access beyond that point. Here once more is opportunity in place of restraint. Again, the Jewish immigrant family faces the hazard of two tempos of adjustment. But here we find a phenomenon in the relation of parent to child that is so generally observed that it is not dangerously unscientific to call attention to it. If we were to divide all parents into two classes, there would be those who believe that what was good enough for them is good enough for their children, and those who believe in the progress of the world. It is rare to find a Jewish immigrant parent with the former point of view. If he had held that view he probably would not have emigrated.

There may be nothing essentially Jewish in the preponderance of Jewish parents who make unheard of sacrifices so that their children may go to college and enter the professions, thus creating by their own efforts an ever widening gulf of experience between themselves and their offspring. Yet a psychiatrist and a social worker assigned to children's cases in a famous psychiatric clinic, where the majority of cases are Jewish, recently reported that the Jewish parents who brought their children to the clinic showed rather generally a tendency to regard their children not as individual members of a complex society, but rather as links in a chain of hereditary development, the product of a long line. As expressive of this tendency, they cited an almost idolatrous attitude on the part of the parent, accompanied usually by a feeling either of unbelief or profound shame, when faced with positive defects or undesirable qualities in the children. In this connection, I read a number of cases in which parents had come to the clinic for help in a spirit of chagrin and despair, and in the vast majority of cases, even when decidedly pathological symptoms were the cause of complaint, careful examination led to the diagnosis, "spoiled child."

The spoiled child is, of course, as common a problem to the psychiatrist as the defective child, and psychiatrists are making a contribution of incalculable value to the society of tomorrow in recognizing and treating conduct problems and physical manifestations associated with "spoiling." The problem of the case worker or psychiatrist with a parent addicted to spoiling is probably more serious than the situation presented by the parent who beats a child until his rage is exhausted, when such a child has lied, stolen, refused to study Hebrew, or otherwise insulted his ancestors. The spoiling process among Jewish families is not innate. There is relatively little reason to believe that the present generation of parents were themselves spoiled children. European children generally are not spoiled. This is another feature of the adaptive process and is by no means necessarily indicative either of weakness or stupidity. An interesting example of this was disclosed in the case of nine-year-old Oscar, the fourth of five children, son of a fairly prosperous corner storekeeper. For two years the child has been guilty of petty thievery. He standardizes at ten years, according to the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon tests. Some time ago he was treated for mastoid, and since his thieving propensities have been observed, his mother, herself a neurotic woman, thinks—and she shares her ideas on this subject with her son—that he needs an operation on his head. The physicians have not to date concurred in this plan of treatment. Not long ago, Oscar came home one evening with a hen under his arm. He said he had found it. Since stray hens are not as common as stray dogs and cats, the persistent incredulity of his parents finally elicited the information that he had taken it from a neighbor. He was compelled, much against his will, to return the hen to its owner. The following week, Oscar's father bought him some chickens to raise. But before the chickens had reached any degree of maturity, Oscar was found to be in possession of an Eversharp pencil which had been widely advertised by his elder brother as missing from the desk of Oscar's teacher. The pencil was returned to its rightful owner and Oscar was promptly presented by his father with a replica of the one he had stolen. But this homeopathic treatment did not prove to be efficacious and after several more episodes of this nature, Oscar was brought to the psychiatric clinic by two distracted parents, who were especially dismayed at the insatiable nature of their son's acquisitive instinct. He was showing signs of wanting a bicycle. A prescription of well-selected punishment for pilfering, accompanied by the suggestion of the bicycle as a reward for continued respect for the property of others, has made Oscar a model of honesty and put a new meaning into what was a fine but ineffectual relation between him and his parents.

Whatever may be determined about essential differences between Jewish families and families of other immigrant groups, it is clear that the adaptive process affords a setting for the action of the case worker that constitutes at once difficulty and opportunity. Daily we are reaching deeper into realms of personal relations, and the time will come when psychiatry and social case work

will converge. For the children, heredity and environment are indistinguishable. Children may or may not inherit characteristics from their parents, but they live with these characteristics in very close association through all the formative years of their lives. The social worker with Jewish families has this persistent fact to face—that with all our so-called orphanages and child-caring institutions, almost 90 per cent of the children cared for or studied there return to their own homes within a relatively short space of time. The extent to which these homes can be aided in resisting the disintegrating forces of what we have called the adaptive process measures the skill of case workers.

Changes of cataclysmic nature in the content of social work are being prophesied as a result of the determined slowing up of immigration. The disappearance of separate Jewish agencies is even forecast by some as one of the features of the next score of years. Prophecy, however, is still rather the prerogative of sociologists and economists than of social workers. All that the case worker with Jewish families can say at this moment with any safety is this, that whatever else may be true of the immigration outlook, the coming years will measure not only case by case but community by community the effect of case work in adjusting relations between immigrant parents and their children.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN ITALIAN FAMILIES

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The challenging of the old order is the privilege of youth the world over. This is as true in Italy as elsewhere. But misunderstandings between Italian parents and children in this country are due in large part to factors which would not have entered into the situation in their native land. Here differences of opinion are based largely on the conflicts, real or imaginary, of two cultures. The parents want to conduct their family life according to old-world patterns; but the children want to behave in what they consider the American way.

The immigrant brings with him the traditional family relationships, and transplants them into new soil. Sometimes they take deep root. The Italian of course knows that here he will have to make adjustments to new conditions outside the home, but within his own four walls is hallowed ground, which he consecrates to the customs of his fathers. His conception of family life is simple and clear-cut. In the home the husband and father is the unquestioned head of the family.

A jarring note in the harmony of the home is too often struck soon after the children go to school. They learn English quickly. They reach out eagerly to what they believe to be American ways. The Italian child soon learns in school that he has started on the way to becoming an American, and he is assured that no greater good fortune could befall him. His geography lesson shows him

how big this country is; his history lesson thanks Columbus for discovering us—though really it is difficult to see how he could very well have missed such an expanse of land—and explains how Washington and Lincoln and a few lesser lights made this world what it now is; his civics lesson assures him that America, if not still the refuge of the oppressed, is indeed the home of the free. All these things are pleasant to hear about at school; but when he goes home at night, he feels a painful contrast between what he sees there and what he has been taught during the day. The teacher has said, for instance, that clean hands, clean clothing, and a toothbrush are essentials. But the father, as he comes home from work, and the mother at her household tasks, though they may not oppose these ideals, yet they hardly exemplify them.

Like all children, the Italian child tends to follow the crowd. He soon wants to go to the movies, to hike to the country, to join in all the amusements of his companions. It is the thing to do in America. The father is likely to object. What he has been observing has not given him confidence in his new surroundings. He has seen the boys of the corner gang indulging in hazardous fun which is likely to get them into serious trouble; and he has heard the loud laughter and the shrill voices of girls on the streets at night. What wonder that he determines to prevent his own children from joining such a dizzy dance!

An immigrant father finds it very difficult to understand what is happening to his children. If he thinks back to his own childhood, the surroundings in which he grew up are so unlike his present environment that it does not help much for him to try to remember how he felt and acted when he was a boy. His school days were probably few. While most Italian immigrants are not entirely illiterate, few of them have ever been in school more than four or five years. They come in large part from rural communities in the south of Italy. Many have been engaged in agricultural pursuits previous to emigration, and practically all of them have grown up in a relatively static community, in which a young man had few avenues open to him for the future. The concrete situations which the immigrant had to meet in his old home are so unlike those in which he finds himself here that his past gives him little definite help in solving his present problems.

Still more is he handicapped by the superficial character of his contacts with the America his children know, and so he cannot picture this country as they see it. The parents learn little English; their friends and acquaintances are of their own race; they live in a foreign colony, apart. When new problems come up, the father has not the necessary information for forming a new opinion; it is so much easier, too, for him to fall back on traditional lines of thought, as we all tend to do, and to solve the question with some proverb taught him by his grandfather.

The difficulties in making successful adjustments at home and in the community are in direct relation to economic and cultural status. The uneducated

Italian parent is peculiarly handicapped by his inability to present to his children his own point of view. He does not know how to make vivid to them the glorious achievements of the race from which he springs. No matter how illiterate he may be, he is conscious of belonging to an old civilization. He may not be able to read a word or to speak anything but a dialect, yet he thrills when he hears the name of Dante, of Michelangelo, of Garibaldi. When the children begin to learn in school what they interpret to mean that the United States is as relatively important in all respects as in her size, a flood of protest wells up within him. But he cannot make himself articulate. Though he feels that the history and art and poetry of his past is being trampled upon by barbarians, he cannot translate his emotion into coherent words. How bitter his humiliation when it is slowly borne in upon him that in the eyes of his own children he is a "dago," an inferior being!

As the children learn English, they begin to interpret for their parents and so to have a voice in family councils. Soon they feel quite able to make their own decisions, and in no need of guidance from their parents. This dependence on the children is most irksome to the father, for it deposes him from his position of authority and makes his children at least partners, if not leaders, in family enterprises. Little by little the children break away from control. When this situation develops, some parents who are weak or who have been too much worsted in their struggles, give up the contest, and their children go their tumultuous way quite unrestrained. Few parents, however, relinquish control without a struggle.

The storm center of domestic tempests usually gathers around the daughters of the family. The boys are allowed more freedom of action, as befits their future as heads of families. But the traditional way of looking out for the girls demands that they be always with their mother or with some other responsible person until they are married. Permitting them even to go out to work in a shop is often a concession to new-world ways and to economic necessity. After the girl becomes a wage-earner she gains a sense of independence. She wants to look like other workers and to amuse herself as they do. She is attracted by movies, dances, clubs, suitors with admiring glances and flattering words. On all this the parents look askance. Social workers often fail to understand why permission is refused for the daughter to go out at night, even to properly supervised places of amusement. But the parents understand their daughter's passionate nature. They know, as social workers often do not, that going out unchaperoned at night may have for the girl a fascination akin to trying to see how close it is possible to walk to the edge of a precipice without actually going over the brink. And they realize as no American can, how their daughter may forfeit the respect of Italian men who see her disregarding the usual conventions. At the root of the parents' objection to the girls' freedom of action is always the fear that she may be so compromised that it will be impossible for her to get a good husband.

Marriage is the future toward which the parents are looking for their daughter, not with a passive hope that it may somehow happen, but with the conviction that it is their duty to arrange an honorable alliance at an early age. But the girl brought up here is apt to rebel. She insists on having some part in choosing a husband for herself, perhaps by the elimination of several admirers before she picks out the most favored one.

In considering the problem which Italian families have to face in working out their domestic relations, we should not forget that in the nature of things a part of the problem cannot be solved by the individual families. No, there is often too much that is wrong, and degrading, and dangerous in their environment. An unnatural strain on family relations is the inevitable result.

When a social worker comes into the home, she cannot hope to help all concerned to think their problems through and to come to some reasonable adjustment, unless she knows what attitude the parents are likely to take in a given situation. This she must know, not as an isolated fact, but as a necessary link in a complicated chain of family and social relationships. When the father says, "I can't afford to buy glasses for my daughter," the social worker should know enough to be able to meet him on his own ground, and to learn whether he really has not the money, or thinks of glasses as a fad or a barrier to matrimony, or as making possible education which is superfluous or even harmful for a girl. Then when the parents see that the social worker understands their point of view and can put into words their own convictions, they will be ready to discuss with her what modifications of their traditional ways may be desirable under Western skies.

Understanding the children is not so easy as the social worker often thinks it is. At cross-purposes with their self-assertion is the pull of their early teachings and the demands of their emotional nature. By doing violence to their sentiment and affection for their parents, they are creating mental conflicts which promise storm and perhaps shipwreck in the future. If the social worker can talk to the children about the Italian language, Italian music, and sculpture, Italy's recent progress along social lines, their respect for the achievements of their race will tend to free the children from the sense of inferiority from which they often suffer. The child who is secretly ashamed of being an Italian, stands a poor chance of making a good American.

The reconciling of two cultures so as to keep what is best in each is a difficult task and one full of heartache. But when it is successfully accomplished, it immeasurably enriches life and broadens the reach of human sympathies. No social worker should feel that she can help to bring about a better understanding in an Italian home unless she has knowledge and respect and love for the potentialities of members of that race as well as for her own; unless she believes with both mind and heart that the Italians have a contribution to make to America, not only in their artistic use of pen and brush and chisel, but also in that higher art of harmonious human relationships.

SOCIAL TREATMENT THROUGH THE INTERVIEW

AN ATTEMPT TO ARTICULATE PROCESSES

Mary S. Brisley, District Secretary, Family Welfare Society, Minneapolis

Must each case worker build up her own technique of treatment at the expense of her clients, helped only incidentally by examples of what has been done with no explanation of how it was accomplished, or is it only that we have not taken the time to articulate our skill?

The senior visitors of the Minneapolis Family Welfare Association have been trying to find the answer to this question during this past year. The method of study chosen was simple. Each of the nine members selected an interview which had been successful in treatment. No other qualification was made, and an interesting variety of interviews was presented. Beginning with the moment that the client and case worker entered each other's sphere of action, the case worker reproduced the interview and her own mental processes as exactly as possible. The group interrupted and questioned at will, forcing the victim for the day to press back for the principles on which she had acted and the processes which she had used. As the bases of her treatment emerged and were put into words which the group agreed were fairly accurate, they were jotted down, with the understanding that after all of the interviews had been analyzed, the material would be gone over again. So far we have covered only three of the interviews in this second going-over, so you see I am presenting decidedly raw material. The most that I can hope to do here is to give you a bird's-eye, and, I fear, kaleidoscopic view of some of the processes which nine case workers of some experience use in case treatment through the interview.

The first group of processes deals with the use of the information which the case worker has already gathered. "We set the stage" came out crisply early in the analysis. Most frequently the process appeared as the apparently random moving of a chair that the fullest use might be made of those unvocal modes of communication, the eyes, and the facial expression. But the choice of the time and the place of the interview, the "getting rid of distracting influences," and all the small social graces by which the visitor creates the desired background for the interview were included. "We establish a sympathetic atmosphere," is the way the group phrased it, "we let the client know that we are at ease and that we have time to listen and to consider." "Be able to put yourself in the background, especially when there are two other people present or when the client is weeping or trying to regain his composure," and "wait until the client is ready to talk," are other suggestions made here. The use of different tones of voice to make ourselves understood was agreed to be important, especially, for example, employing a clear, low tone instead of opposing our shouts to an angry client's.

On the subject of the worker's attitude and approach to the interview, the group agreed that she should "maintain a professional attitude, and guard against emotion on her own part, or at least keep her own emotion in the background." Hard and unsympathetic? Not at all. Understanding and sympathetic she must be, but freedom of emotional response is a luxury which is apt to blur her reasoning ability and submerge her judgment so that she becomes just one more pitying or impatient friend. The statements, "we never adopt a defensive attitude, and are willing to discuss misapprehensions and prejudices frankly," "we avoid evasion," "we are willing to admit the possibility that we may be in error," might, if taken seriously, save bad moments for the visitor who is still laboring under the tremendous burden of the necessity for always being right; as might the suggestion that she "assume co-operation from the client" help the over-fearful.

With the client and the visitor comfortably seated, there are other suggestions for the case worker. "Watch your client's mood and keep yourself responsive to it"; "when you come to a stone wall, recognize that fact, and do not try to break through by main force, but divert the attention by some definite action, and then use another method of approach"; "maintain a genuine respect for the personality of your client"; and then, "talk your client's language."

The real case treatment is apt to begin with building up the client's self-respect, and here the group formulated another set of processes phrased as warnings. "Do nothing which will lower the client's self-respect"; "never humiliate him before others"; "do not put him on the defensive"; "do not use detective methods," nor "take advantage of your own position of authority"; "do not coerce people mentally," and one which some of us who are over-earnest may need, "after proving an excuse inadequate, drop the subject and do not nag."

Although each of these interviews was a decidedly serious one both to the client and the case worker, they were lightened by a genuine appreciation of the client's efforts. "Agree with the client whenever possible" was one of the processes formulated; "show approbation, and say nice things when you can sincerely"; "pick out the favorable elements of the situation"; and "let the client know that you have a picture of him at his best."

The emotionally upset client came in for rather more than a fair share of discussion, probably because he is so frequently met and so hard to meet successfully. Ungoverned emotions are recognized enemies of self-respect, evidently, as we find such statements as "recognize the value of emotion as a driving force but do not allow it to be vented violently"; "help the client to retain his self-control, but once it is broken, let him get rid of the tension before proceeding with the interview"; "do not argue with an emotionally upset client"; "when there are indications of emotion do not attempt to get an explanation of this, but try to bring about a discussion of the main issue";

and "choose the least irritating aspect of the situation to start from." All these deal with the honestly upset person. For the hysterical client there is other advice—"ignore emotional reactions in a person accustomed to getting his way by them." And then "after a difficult emotional interview, help the client to make the transition back to normal things."

"Plan with the client" has become almost axiomatic in the upbuilding of self-respect. "Putting the initiative up to the client whenever possible"; "giving him a fair chance to make and to tell his plans"; "helping him to make his own decisions and to change his own mind"; "always giving him a chance to object"; and "persuading the client to do everything possible for himself," were precepts enunciated here. The next was included after much discussion: "Do not allow the client to feel that you are 'inevitable,' that he has to put up with you and do as you suggest until the need for relief is past."

Attention was also paid to the fact that respect of others feeds self-respect. "Emphasize the importance of personal appearance"; "help the client to make the best possible impression on his relatives and friends"; "make opportunities for him to build up the family's respect for him," and then "strengthen the children's respect for the parents, by having the parents make requests of them rather than asking them yourself, and by giving both parents and children opportunities to do things for the other."

The real effort of the visitor to help the client develop his own reasoning abilities and to make him a partner in his own case treatment stood out clearly in several of the interviews. The first statement may seem the psychiatrist's job rather than the case worker's but articulates a process frequently employed by the case worker. "When we can," agreed the visitors, "we explain to the client the bases of his actions," then we "try to show him the relationship and significance of factors, using facts given by the client himself." "Use your own skill to help the client analyze the situation, taking him with you step by step, helping him to use the same processes which you yourself find useful, giving him the practical benefit of your training"; "do not go any faster than your client is able to travel with you mentally"; "do not take up too many things in one interview"; occasionally "think out loud to your clients" in the effort to help their mental processes along. All these point to a genuine partnership of client and visitor on a democratic basis. The group further stressed the relationship by adding, "make the client understand that he is working in partnership with the visitor." As aids in this, the group suggested that we "keep the client informed of plans in detail, and make it easy for him to follow them"; that we "explain frankly the possibilities in treatment"; and that we "let him know that if the plan in hand does not work there will be other possibilities."

If the interview is to be really successful in improving the client's mental processes he must be kept somewhere near to the subject in hand, but isn't there a danger of curbing his initiative if he is constantly brought back by the

visitor? The study suggests here that we "watch for openings made by the client, guiding, but not dominating the interview"; that "we discuss or dispose of the interest which is uppermost in the client's mind"; and that we find and "appeal to the client's dominant interest." Again I should like to stop and discuss the next point, that we "use the visual path to his understanding."

The emotional client's mental processes need special attention, and in two instances a "needlessly worried and fearful client was brought to a realization of the true situation by a calm recital of facts." "Meeting excuses with facts" is another way of phrasing the precept that we should not "allow the client to bluff us or think that he is doing so." We are also to "overcome defense reactions," and—a saving grace—"appeal to his sense of humor."

The social integration of the client is not of course capable of being brought about in interviews with the visitors. Outside contacts are essential, but as a step toward broadening his social horizon, in a number of the interviews we found such processes used as "recognizing the family as a partnership and working out plans with all the adults"; "helping each partner to see the other's side of the matter"; "appealing to his sense of fairness"; "building up his confidence in others."

Whether the results of the attempt of this group of case workers to make their skill conscious and articulate will be of use in training new workers, we do not yet know. There is however no difference of opinion as to the benefit to our own work in the attempt to analyze our processes. As I have said all through, more work and discussion is needed, but we do have a hope that with these simple and often commonplace bases of our practice as a start we may arrive at a tentative formulation of the technique of treatment—a setting down of the "practical details" of the "art of human relationships."

OPENING THE WAY

Anna Vlachos, District Superintendent, Society for Organizing Charity, Philadelphia

There is a type of interview that might bear some such title as "Opening the Way." It takes place usually at a point of crisis in treatment and marks a turn in the lives of the individuals involved. The art of impressing the client with the worker's appreciation of his attitude, erroneous though that attitude may be, and with the sincerity of her concern for him, is probably the first requisite of such an interview. In an interview of this type, it should not be the case worker's intention to go much beyond the point of removing conflicts. She should allow time for reactions. Stimulating a client into formulating plans immediately following an unburdening, has proved to be futile sufficiently often to warn against it with much emphasis. On the contrary, giving the client time to settle down to the comfortable feeling of being free to think and

to make his decisions, has over and over again brought the best of results. The interview selected is meant to illustrate the latter point of view.

John and Margaret had been at odds practically since the beginning of their marriage some five years ago. It had been a forced one. Margaret's relatives knew this and in countless ways had made John feel that he was an undesirable relative, while Margaret had been given to understand that she was somewhat of a disgrace. John promptly turned his back on Margaret's people, expecting her to join him at once in his independent attitude. But she was a gentle little soul and clung to the protection of home ties even though given grudgingly and disapprovingly. John's growing resentment of the relatives expressed itself in increasing reproach of Margaret, especially after the first baby was born. John wanted to go his way alone, defiantly and independently. Margaret simply could not run along with him. They separated; Margaret went to live with her mother, John found employment in another city. But an environment of constant criticism and humiliation did not yield Margaret happiness and when John confessed that he too was lonely, they decided to try living together again. Then the second child was born, a puny little creature. John and Margaret both developed tuberculosis; he was forced to give up his job, and there was no income. The family case working agency was appealed to.

They were prevailed upon to accept sanatorium care; their belongings were stored with Margaret's sister; the children placed with unwilling relatives. Reports from the sanatorium were that progress of the disease might be arrested. For a few months all went well—then they left the sanatorium against the physician's advice. The case worker learned later that John was working in a nearby town on a bread wagon, and that Margaret and the babies had been taken in by her mother.

It was then that the case worker called John and Margaret together for an interview in her office. It was evening; the room was quiet, the atmosphere friendly and informal, the greeting cordial. The case worker complimented them on their willingness to come, and urged them to make themselves comfortable and to take all the time they would want to talk things over. Immediately John jumped to the defensive: "I suppose you wanted me to come here so you could tell me to go back to the sanatorium." Recognizing that resistance to such a possible suggestion was in the foreground of his mind, the worker said: "Oh, let's not talk about that just now. Tell me, how do you feel?" Both said that they were fine, John able to work and Margaret to care for the children. They defended their stand with much bravado, both nevertheless visibly fighting off tears. Realizing that this attitude on their part was assumed only because they felt so helpless, the worker decided not to attempt to break it down just then, but changing the subject, she inquired without any particular emphasis into the reason for their sudden departure from the sanatorium. Margaret made no reply, but John curtly stated that he had left because he had wanted to go to work; he had been tired of doing nothing. The visitor said that

she could well understand his wish to go to work, but why had he gone so suddenly?

She was careful not to ask why he had not let her know about his decision, nor did she put the sudden question, "Was that your real reason?" Such a question would only have strengthened his attitude of defense. John made no reply, so the worker gradually approached the point where he would be ready to talk freely, and therefore she did suggestive questioning. "Was the treatment not satisfactory? Recovery too slow? Food poor? Attention meager? Time heavy on his hands without occupation? Did he have too much time to think about things at home?"

By thus leading John from removed reasons to what the case worker thought might be the real reason, she stimulated him into wanting to speak for himself, and watching closely the collapsing of his resistance, she judged that the right moment had come for her to say: "I know you have been feeling badly; that you have been terribly up against it. Can't you tell me what was wrong?"

Immediately his assumed boast of good health changed into bitter complaint. Giving free rein to his pent-up feelings, he said that he was sore because he had lost his home, his children, his furniture, everything; even his self-respect was gone, for he had accepted help for his wife and children from people who despised him; he was of no account; he had been ignored; Margaret's sister had sold his things; he wanted to be a man, and play a man's part, and take care of his babies; he wanted to see them with Margaret—not with her relatives—because he wanted them to be happy; he would rather die than accept help from Margaret's people. This was his reason for leaving the sanatorium and going to work.

Margaret joined him in his grievances; her mother had been writing letters of complaint, and since Margaret had returned, she had seen that her babies were not welcome in her mother's home. They were considered a burden and expense; they were repulsed and their little appeals for affection refused. In their baby way they had suffered; they had not understood. Margaret, sobbing by this time, declared she would never leave them again.

Their minds were filled with the question of how to hold their own against the attitude of their people, rather than with the question of how to gain health and independence. For the present, hard work for John, and temporary misery for Margaret and the children seemed to them the only way. The visitor suggested that they dismiss the relatives from their minds for evidently they were not going to be very helpful. She let them know that she appreciated how hard things had been for them and assured them that as long as so much unhappiness had come to them through the relatives, these simply should not figure in their future plans. Perhaps there might be another way of bringing about a better situation all around.

John, encouraged, offered to make his position more clear; he had already started saving a little money, and as soon as he had enough he would

re-establish his home. What other way was there than for him to keep on working? The visitor agreed that most likely he would be able to save for a little while but she wondered whether he might not be losing out in the end. She pictured to him the state of exhaustion that she feared he must be in every night, at the close of a day of jumping on and off a bread wagon, and running up and down steps. She intimated that she knew a little about what exhaustion meant.

Identifying himself with the picture she had held up to him John asked the visitor whether he should give up his job. She said that she wanted him to use his own judgment; that she approved heartily of his wish to support his family, and suggested that they talk over what she might possibly do to assist them in carrying out their plans. John had not been looking for co-operation; he had rather been bracing himself against possible opposition. When he saw that the latter was not forthcoming, the last remnant of his resistance broke down. His whole attitude showed that he wanted to acknowledge his physical weakness, his mental weariness. There was a long pause, and then he told the truth; a few days ago he had had a hemorrhage.

The case worker gave no sign of alarm, and all mention of a return to the sanatorium was avoided. She talked in a general way about health measures, gradually narrowing down to the point where she could emphasize the advantage to John and Margaret of regaining their health and incidentally becoming independent of their relatives.

She talked encouragingly and when she saw that their emotional stress had subsided, and that the way to constructive thinking was opening up, she became a little more definite, and suggested that it might be comforting to them both to have a physician look them over, someone whose diagnosis could be relied upon. Neither of them offered opposition but rather talked about their preference for one doctor or another, finally deciding to return to their own physician. They promised to let the visitor know at once what he might say. Seeing that their thinking was focusing itself on their health interest, where she wanted it to be, the worker decided to terminate the interview.

A few days later John returned to the office. Their physician had found Margaret's condition the same, but John's a great deal worse; his work had done him much harm. John had already written a letter to his boss giving up his job. He worked out a plan to go to the Adirondacks where he loved to be, and where, without expense to himself, he could camp with another man. Margaret and the children were put on an adequate relief budget by the family agency, and living arrangements made for them in the country independent of the relatives. Thus they were free to work out further plans.

The problem presented to the case worker in this interview was the breaking-down of a barrier of hurt pride and resentment which stood in the way of her client's progress in working out their real problem—their ill health. She opened the way for them by turning the discussion at the very outset away from what

might have seemed to her clients a premeditated plan, to an expression of their immediate feelings. "What were their feelings?" Then, having been relieved emotionally, without any blocking on the part of the visitor, she led them to speak of their desires. What did they want first and most? In this instance it was independence from relatives, and the visitor accepted this as the basis for a plan.

Having assured them of her understanding of their point of view, she was in a position to direct their attention to the fact that the gaining of their desires lay through an intelligent approach to health.

Having given them full opportunity to express their own wishes and to defend their own plans, thereby freeing them from their emotional attitude, she could point to the first step in thoughtful planning, "What were they thinking?"

Finally, seeing that they were safely on the way to intelligent behavior, she did not press in on them with a program of her own making, but left to them the practical answer to the last question in her mind, "How will they act?"

METHODS USED BY SOCIAL CASE WORKERS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

ONE OF THE PROCESSES USED BY CASE WORKERS IN DEVELOPING PERSONALITY

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Personality development emanates from within and cannot be ingrafted, yet personalities are molded and influenced by outside forces. The case worker's task is in helping to bring about those changes in the attitudes, relationships, and environment of individuals which will offer them the greatest opportunities for development. You may recall the days of the drink cures which were slipped into the tea or the coffee of the drunkard, without his knowledge. It was an ineffective type of treatment. It is as inconceivable, with our present broad conception of case work, to think of attempting to help those we serve without a basis of full understanding of the whole situation shared by worker and client.

The social worker, because of his training and his impartiality as one outside of the family group, reaches this understanding of the whole situation by securing those facts which shed light on the many phases of it. Those facts are weighed and placed in their proper relationship to one another, so that he is enabled to make a true evaluation. The same sense of values is not possible for the clients no matter what their native gifts of common sense and good judgment may be. A skilled surgeon does not operate on members of his own house-

hold because his skill and judgment are hampered by the personal elements in the situation. It is even more true that we are swayed by our emotions and prejudices in meeting our social difficulties. Therefore, the case worker must share with those he serves his interpretation of the situation in such a way that the family or individual may recognize it and appreciate its significance.

A study of the processes by which this interpretation is given is valuable, for, while it is one of the oldest methods used in case work, it is often used unconsciously, and in such a way as to do more harm than good. The ultimate aim of case work is to teach people to help themselves, and yet I wonder if case work agencies have sufficiently stressed the educational features of their work as have the instructive district nursing organizations, which claim that 75 per cent of their work is educational. When a mother is told that her baby has rickets, she hesitates to face the fact because he seems perfect to her, but she doesn't fight to prove that it is not true. She rather sets about under the direction of the doctor and the nurse to do her share in taking remedial action. The social worker meets a more decided obstacle than the nurse, in his teaching process, in the attitude of his clients. For example, in contrast with the attitude of the baby's mother, take that of the widow with an only son whose character is distorted and crooked. Try to get her to recognize the fact so that she may help in the straightening of personality as the baby's mother did in the straightening of bones, and you are immediately confronted with a tremendously difficult undertaking.

It takes less courage, also, for a person to admit the truth about himself than it does for him to admit the truth in regard to one who is infinitely dearer than himself. This is the case worker's task, for she is concerned with an individual in his many relationships in his family and outside. Her interpretation is seldom made to one client. Doctors regret that patients refuse to recognize the indications of physical diseases and so do not seek treatment in time. Even more, we all have the tendency to conceal from ourselves and from others what is more vital to us than either our physical or our mental condition, that is, the complexities of our relationships with others, and difficulties due to our philosophy of living.

Probably most of us cherish certain illusions concerning ourselves and our relationships, and resist having them swept away in order that we may better conduct our lives. This, in aggravated form, is the problem which the psychiatrist faces. Psychiatry has developed a technique to interpret patients to themselves. To do this the psychiatrist brings to light the facts which are familiar both to him and to his patient, also getting at the causal factors. He then explains them to the patient in relation to his present difficulties, so that the patient has that thorough understanding of himself without which effective improvement would be impossible. When the patient has learned to face the truth concerning himself and knows what manner of man he is, he is well on the road to recovery. First, he must recognize the situation and must admit that

it is true. Next, he must have an appreciation of its significance, and then the desire and plans to meet it. The many readjustments that follow such an awakening of understanding require the direction of the expert, although the patient is ultimately responsible for helping himself back to a normal condition.

To interpret a person's self, his relationships, and his social condition to him requires ability, training, experience, sympathy, and tact. There must be, also, a consciousness of the terrific responsibility resting on the worker. It is an awesome undertaking. You are familiar with those mirrors that distort the object they reflect. You have seen pictures taken out of focus which misrepresent that which they are supposed to portray. Any misrepresentation of the facts by a social worker, whether wilful or unintentional, is most serious, because it may form a basis for action which will bring harm not only to one individual but possibly to his family and to many others. The success or failure of the case worker in carrying out the process can only be judged by the resulting attitude and the action on the part of those whom he is helping. There is danger always that fadism and personal bias because of some experience in his own life may influence the worker in his interpretation. For example, take the different periods in which extremists have based all physical and mental abnormalities on diseased tonsils. To some, at the present time, glandular disturbances are popular as the cause of almost everything. A social worker may be carried away in much the same fashion. For example, a young woman who had had a most unhappy home life from which she had escaped, believed that in every family which she visited there was unhappiness between parents and children, from which it should be made possible for the children to escape.

The worker should be sure that she has all the facts arranged in their proper perspective and given their true value. For example, take the Caponi family. Mr. Caponi who had been given a fairly good musical education had, by a series of unfortunate circumstances, drifted down to playing his violin on the the street, while begging. The uncertainty and meagerness of his income led to deterioration in the Caponi home and family. The case worker who came in contact with the family saw the present situation without a completed picture in which information about the past formed the background. She tried to show Mr. Caponi his situation, pointing out what a disgrace he was to himself and to his family; the shame of street begging, the miserable figure he made as father and breadwinner, with the result that Mr. Caponi continued as before. In other words, the case worker took the first step in the process, that is, helping the client to recognize the facts in regard to his condition, but she did not give that understanding of their significance based on a knowledge of underlying causes which might have given the incentive and the means to meeting the situation if the worker herself had understood it well enough to interpret it to Mr. Caponi.

In later contact with the family, another worker secured all the information available in regard to the early training which Mr. Caponi had received as a

musician, his father's ambition for him, and the reasons that he had given up respectable employment for street begging. Then, instead of telling Mr. Caponi what she had learned from these different sources, she arranged, first, that he have an estimate of his worth as a musician from the master of a music school. This gave Mr. Caponi confidence in his ability. Next, she arranged that an employment agency help Mr. Caponi in securing work. This agency convinced him that he could secure a good position with his talent if he would not ruin his chances of legitimate employment by continuing to beg with his violin on the streets. The renewed contact with the relatives, made possible through the worker, again recalled to Mr. Caponi his own early ambitions and those of his family. The whole was interpreted to Mr. Caponi in various interviews, assembling the situation part by part until it was finally clear to Mr. Caponi. As a result, he once more became a self-respecting, self-supporting man, with the inevitable improvements of the entire family. Mr. Caponi was made to recognize the situation by seeing it in contrast with what he might have been. Advertisements have used these methods of contrasting future possibilities with the present in order to sell various correspondence courses. It makes the picture of the present more clear and it makes the effort of the worker more constructive.

Another very good illustration of the processes by which the worker gives to the client that sense of proportion and values is that of the Thomas family. After Mr. Thomas' death, the Thomas family sold their little farm and moved to the city in order that the older children might get work and help support the family. Their earnings were small and before long the family was in debt, hopelessly discouraged, and living in conditions to which it was unused. When the social worker first called she found some evidence of better days in the white spreads and table-covers but, in spite of every effort on her part, these evidences gradually disappeared and Mrs. Thomas became careless of her own appearance and that of her home. Even the children began to be ashamed of it. The worker was baffled to find a means of helping Mrs. Thomas to recognize the situation and bring about a change.

Although the worker had complete information concerning their life in the city, Mrs. Thomas had been so reticent that it was several months before the worker came to learn of her early life and up-bringing, of her people, and the comfortable homes which they had. Mrs. Thomas, in shame over her condition and in her false pride, had cut herself off from those who could have helped her, but she was willing that the worker should see them. Although they lived at considerable distance, the worker herself visited them with the hope of getting that understanding of the situation which would make it possible for her to so interpret it to Mrs. Thomas that she would have some incentive to meet her difficulties.

As a result, there was a reuniting of the ties of relationship under the case worker. She first talked with Mrs. Thomas about the homes of the relatives

whom she had visited. Following this, there appeared little changes in the appearance of the apartment which showed the change in Mrs. Thomas' attitude. Then came gifts and promises of visits on the part of the relatives. The preparation for these visits made the next step in Mrs. Thomas' development. Their final coming helped her to keep in mind the sort of home she wanted to make for her children and to sense very clearly the disadvantages which their unhappy and unattractive home had added to the hardship of their leaving the place where they had been brought up, and coming to a new environment. The improvement has continued until Mrs. Thomas is once more making the sort of home to which her children love to bring their friends, and a change in Mrs. Thomas from one of discouragement and hurt pride to happiness and real pride. The worker's realization that she did not have all the facts in the first place and her patience in securing these facts gave her the right perspective which made it possible for her in turn to give the opportunity for the development of personality to the members of the Thomas family. If she had called to Mrs. Thomas' attention only the discouraging condition of the home, and the harmful effect on the children, there would have been nothing constructive on which Mrs. Thomas might build. It was the waiting to interpret these facts in terms of causes that made it possible for her to have some success with all it meant to the future of this family.

To summarize, personality development is only possible when individuals understand themselves, their relationships with others, and the sum total of their social condition. Therefore, one of the most important services the case worker can render is to give an understanding of these three elements, by taking the facts familiar to worker and client and interpreting them in the light of underlying factors, showing their true value in relation to present difficulties. This process properly carried through should lead clients, with the assistance of social workers, to make those changes in themselves, their relationships, and their environment which will make possible the greatest development in themselves and their families.

THE WORKER'S ATTITUDE AS AN ELEMENT IN SOCIAL CASE WORK

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It is really a very simple thing I want to try to do with this word "attitude." I want through it to answer this question: Shall we try to think about life in terms of social case work, or about social case work in terms of life? How shall we treat any man's case? In terms of his own life and of the daily lives of all of us, the art of living under the laws of life common to us all? Or must we rest content with seeing any man's case, studying it, treating it, discussing it, and interpreting it in terms of the technique of social work, in terms

of our own efforts and those of other professions from whom we can borrow terms of their specializations?

The only way I can find of answering these questions is to outline my own philosophy of social work and life as an interpretation of the word "attitude." Attitude is significant in social case work (which is a subhead under social discovery and social education) because it is significant in the art of living under the laws of life common to all of us—client, social case worker, and the rest of the world alike.

I believe that social case work is a search for the truth for creative purposes in the personality of the client, and in all his relationships. It will share in the creative purposes of social discovery and social education in proportion as it rises out of a creative attitude on the part of the worker. I am assuming that one's attitude depends upon one's religion, one's philosophy of social work and of life, and upon the plans of action resulting therefrom and checked up by experience.

I conceive of attitude as describing the application to human affairs of the dominant spirit of an individual; it may be good or bad. If it's the kind of thing that can be put on and taken off, like a coat, it is apt to be bad, I think. If it's the kind that rises to meet the given situation, each time as if for the first time, like the current with which the magnet meets the needle, it is very likely to be good. The pre-Christian use of the word *deimon* or *daemon*, of which I have recently come across two usages, helps in part to show what I mean by attitude. A great modern scientist, speaking of that small but important entity, the germ-cell, remarks that "although we do not understand how, it is not merely protoplasm, but deimon, as well." More dramatically, Shakespeare makes someone in *Antony and Cleopatra* remark:

> Thy daemon (that's thy spirit which keeps thee) is
> Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable.

Attitude in this sense may be said to represent the application of spirit to human affairs, in the same sense that Emerson speaks of justice as truth in its application to human affairs. But besides suggesting the thing that is innate in every individual and capable of cultivation and development and change, I choose attitude because it may represent at the same time beliefs and principles and plans of action. I cannot remember the time when the phrase, "not only with our lips but in our lives," did not ring in my ears; and it is because it stands for both states of mind and behavior that follows from them, that the feeling I have about attitude seems to transform that somewhat colorless word into one of glowing significance.

Mr. Bly, the window-washer in Galsworthy's *Windows* has something to say apropos of the attitude of search for significant states of mind rather than of immediate application of rules alone to the facts of the situation. His daughter, an unmarried mother at eighteen, had suffocated her baby (she didn't

want to kill it, she said, she only wanted to save it from living; it didn't know it was alive). She had been on trial and Bly, in recalling the incidents of the trial, made the following comment:

Bly: Why, I've known people who could see nothing but theirselves and their own families unless they were drunk. At my daughter's trial, I see right into the lawyers, judge and all. There she was, hub of the whole thing, and all they could see of 'er was 'ow she affected 'em personally. One tryin' to get 'er guilty, the other tryin' to get 'er off, and the judge summin' her up cold-blooded.

Mr. March: But that's what they're paid for, Mr. Bly.

Bly: Ay, though which of them was thinkin' 'ere's a little bit o' warm life on its own, 'ere's a little dancin' creature. What's she feelin'? What's 'er complaint? Impersonal-like. I like to see a man do a bit of speculating with his mind off of himself for once.

What are the conditions under which the attitude we most desire, which might be called the creative attitude, toward one's self, one's fortunes, and other people, is likely to express itself? Creative possibilities depend upon the same factors for client and worker alike. Briefly expressed, the creative attitude expresses itself in social case work in two ways: First, when skill is used in individualizing, i.e., in seeing the man behind the handicap, or the individual human beings in their relationships in the situation. And second, in relating the situation and the people in it to some vital concept of social work and of life. I should like to suggest five ways in which skill in individualizing may be increased: (1) by flexible imagination; (2) by being "non-shockable," keeping a light touch; (3) by working steadily through the positive, that is, by finding and building on the strength rather than on the weaknesses of human nature; (4) by seeking skill in using the forces of expertness and authority rather than relying on the whip-hand; and (5) by developing a capacity to learn out of failures, evaluating them with one's self and the client.

Skill in relating the situation and the people in it to some vital concept of life and of social work may be advanced by keeping the standard of expectations high, that is, not helping people by premature or partial classification, by false sentiment or other means, to the evasion of their own realities; by defining and coming to an understanding as to common purposes in a given instance, recognizing in conflicts the third thing that may be greater than the original wishes of either; and by continuous, direct, and purposeful search for bodies of knowledge which may contribute to social education and to reform and change when needed.

[These five points were discussed and illustrated by examples from literature and life and the paper brought to a conclusion with the following comment.]

So much for making the most of case work in the lives of client and worker; but this is not enough. Social case work is also a means of search and discovery in which client and worker jointly share. I choose the point of view of social case work as a subhead under the art of living under the laws of life common to all of us, because it seems to shake the subject into some sort of perspective. We all become human beings—ignorant, to be sure—but filled with a common

desire to understand more about this business of life in which we are all engaged. The most astonishing thing in years of social work continues to be the response of all sorts and conditions of men and women to this idea, important because it opens up possibilities of gathering not only bodies of knowledge about people's behavior, but also bodies of knowledge about states of mind.

Bodies of knowledge as to backgrounds of individuals and groups, of a kind that influence the attitude of workers, are rather rare. In my experience they are best illustrated by the type of work done by Miss Hull in studying Sicilian backgrounds and, on a larger scale, by *Old World Traits Transplanted* (Park and Miller) in the series of "Studies in Methods of Americanization" edited by Allen T. Burns.

There are already recorded and unrecorded evidences of great variety in different fields of work, in Massachusetts alone, which bear out the recognition of states of mind as basic to plans of action. Dr. Walter Fernald's recognition of the desire for approbation of others in many of the feebleminded has led to a special education which develops self-respect through a well-grounded sense of usefulness to others. Dr. John E. Fish of the Hospital School for Crippled Children, knowing that it is the attitude of mind of the cripple which determines his career, bases the plan of life and education for crippled children under medical care on this fact. When Mrs. Hodder asks you to postpone visiting the reformatory for women with a class of students until she has had a chance to consult the prisoners about such visits in general and reminds you that it might be fairer to judge of them on a single occasion by seeing them in a performance of *Iolanthe*, you know upon what principle she is basing her plans of action. Mrs. Chesley's new little book, *Who are the Benefactors?* is a recognition of other than economic values in the lives of human beings, shown in attitudes toward life that enrich the lives of all with whom they come in contact. Carleton Parker's studies of casual laborers suggest the direction in which studies of states of mind of groups in the community might move on a larger scale.

When I had finished this paper and shown it to Dr. Cabot, he remarked: "Attitude, then, is the expressed juice and essence of one's experience, religion, or philosophy; what one has not forgotten; what is genuine and not wordy."

Perhaps I have only taken a long way of saying that treatment of personality actually occurs and the basis for social education is secured only in proportion as worker and client accomplish that give and take in points of view upon which human understandings depend.

We arrive at these understandings not when we think of life in terms of social case work but when we think of social case work in terms of life.

THE USE OF THE TRANSFER WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE OFFICE INTERVIEW

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Under the general topic, "Methods Used by Social Case Workers in the Development of Personality," I wish to discuss the use of what the psychoanalyst would call the "transfer" within the limits of the office interview. The discussion will be made from the viewpoint of a psychologist who is forced to depend upon office contacts almost entirely for any direct treatment, but it is assumed that where an interview proves to be therapeutic in its effect, the processes are the same whether carried on by psychologist or case worker. The type of interview referred to would exclude technical psychoanalysis, but in my own case would be guided consciously by a psychoanalytic psychology.

The work which a psychologist does in his office presents interesting illustrations of the use of the transfer, because the situations are separated from work on the environment, and sometimes show rather unusual results even from a single interview. You must understand that I am far from believing that the interview with the psychiatrist or the psychologist is magic, and that I am convinced that for children, certainly, re-education and readjustment must be a continuous process carried out in the home from day to day over a long period; but the office interview gives an opportunity to analyze processes within a well-defined, limited situation where the mechanism is a little more superficial and apparent.

A girl of seventeen was reported from the high school because of the poor work she had been doing during the last term, whereas her work had hitherto been satisfactory, and because she seemed to be brooding over an unfortunate experience which had taken place about ten months before when she was seized by two men, forced into an automobile, but rescued from an actual sex assault by the appearance of police officers. From that time on the girl had seemed to become more and more timid and could not be induced to go out alone or leave her home even for a vacation. In her interview with the psychologist, the girl, although self-conscious, was unusually frank and outgoing in her attitude. There was no difficulty in getting her to talk. She was an attractive, likable youngster who appealed to the psychologist, and a comfortable rapport was established at once.

The social history and a few questions brought out these salient facts. Anna had always been rather timid and very much attached to her mother. In fact she seldom went anywhere without her. She could not bear the idea of ever leaving her, even to go to camp. This attitude had not altered materially since the abduction. She was perhaps more afraid of being out at night, but her chief new difficulty was inability to forget the incident. Her mind seemed always to be dwelling on it. She had never been interested in boys.

Her mother did not want her girls to have boy friends. Even the oldest sister, who worked, was not allowed to go with anyone. The mother had no use for marriage, always talked against it to her daughters, and thought childbearing a terrible thing, to be avoided if possible. The father drank sometimes and was not as much interested in the family as the mother.

The mother had given no sex information until forced to, when Anna at fifteen worked in a mill and heard things from the other girls which made her ask questions. What she knew about sex, she knew only from her experience of assault and the unlovely picture given by her mother.

The psychologist, using sex instruction as a vehicle, tried to get over to Anna a sense of the value of sex, and of her own normal but repressed interest in it. Anna had denied erotic daydreams, all interest in boys, as well as interest in the love part of love stories. Everything on the sex side seemed quite sincerely to be a blank except the fact that she was always thinking about the abduction.

During the talk on the biology of sex, in which the illustrations in Stowell's *Sex for Parents and Teachers* were used to make things as clear as possible, the psychologist lost no opportunity to present the positive attitude toward the opposite sex, toward the sex act and toward childbearing. She even attempted to give the girl a sense of the pleasure values as well as the emotional significance of sex in all human lives. She endeavored to show that nature had left nothing to chance, but had made sex a powerful force in all of us, however much we might try to believe otherwise.

Incidentally, in talking about the universality and normality of sex interest, the psychologist spoke about the sex curiosity of almost all little children, and of the kind of exploration of their own bodies to which it often leads. At this point Anna made her first shy but spontaneous admission, "I guess I was no different from the rest."

During the interview from time to time the psychologist kept the girl from feeling herself criticized or shut out, by recalling attitude and experiences of her own youth similar to these now making life difficult for Anna, and carefully refrained from anything which might be interpreted as disapproval of the mother herself, although her point of view toward men and sex had to be opposed.

The ugly aspects of the girl's only sex experience were not minimized but faced frankly, and the necessity for understanding the sex needs of human beings even when they were not useful or beautiful was put to her in as simple and appealing a way as possible. Then the point was made very gently that a majority of girls and boys of Anna's age, even when they feel a strong disgust for the idea of sex most of the time, do sometimes yield to thoughts and daydreams connected with sex matters which they would be ashamed to have anyone know about and which they would ordinarily deny even to themselves. At this Anna nodded a shamefaced assent, and admitted that she couldn't keep her mind on her school work because she was always thinking about what had

happened to her last fall. "Were they old or young men?" asked the psychologist quickly. "Oh, they were not old, they were nice looking young fellows," said Anna. Then the psychologist, with a touch light enough to be almost humorous, said, "I guess I know why you can't keep your mind on your studies, Anna, and why you can't keep from thinking about the young men who attacked you. I have a good notion it is because underneath, in spite of yourself, you are really interested in what happened, and you can't help wondering what it would have been like if the policeman hadn't come when he did, isn't that so?" Anna, abashed but relieved, nodded, and then her sense of humor got the better of her and she smiled at her own self-deception. From that point on there was no resistance to the psychologist's viewpoint that all young girls are normally interested in young men, and that if Anna were able to accept boy friends and go to parties and have good times with other young people she would probably forget all about what happened last fall. When Anna left at the end of the interview, there was an atmosphere of warm friendly feeling and a sense of comfort and relief which was unmistakable.

What has happened in this interview? Nothing permanent probably unless the mother can be reached, but within the narrow boundaries of the office, on this single occasion, a very shy inhibited child who has had a violent sex experience, accepted by herself and her family and acquaintances as horrible and revolting, has suddenly been enabled to drop all of her conventional standards and habitual sex repression, and see, however temporarily, with genuine insight and without fear her own underlying interest in the whole affair.

Anna also accepted the psychologist's assertion that too much of her emotional life was being centered in her mother, that it should be going into the interest in boys and the friendships with girls which were normal for girls of her age.

You may try to interpret the foregoing interview as the successful presentation of a number of new ideas to replace those formerly accepted, but the thing which can't be explained on an intellectual basis is why the same set of ideas equally well presented, having succeeded with one case fails completely with another. Ideas of themselves have no dynamic character. They become active only when charged with the wishes and needs of the individual, only when they prove to be acceptable tools for the solving of an inner conflict.

In Anna's case, we start with a child whose conscious attitudes are dominated by her attachment to the mother. Her mother condemns sex, therefore Anna must repress any consciousness of sex interest. This repression might have been fairly successful, had it not been for the sensational experience, the medical examinations, the breaking down of all secrecy regarding sex information, the curiosity and interest of school companions, and the good looks of the two youths who attempted the assault. The whole affair gave a powerful impetus to the repressed interests already stimulated by adolescence, and brought about much more active and conscious daydreaming which, under the disguise of

breeding fear and horror, became less offensive to the conscious standards of Anna as well as her family. How could she help thinking about this terrible thing which had happened to her? It surely was not her fault if she could not forget her fear after such a shock. In short, this abnormal sex experience constituted the first allowable outlet, however negative, for Anna's normal interests.

The interview was able to relieve her conflict, not because it presented ideas, but because an adult, who for the time being stood to her in the place of a mother, gave her freedom from the repression of the real mother's standards and made her needs not only articulate but legitimate and approved. There must be first the existence of a need for which the idea may become the tool, and second the reassuring and uncritical emotional medium which makes it possible for that need to become conscious.

The more interesting and valuable use of the transfer lies in the long-time contacts where the interviews are repeated as often as necessary over a considerable period of time. Here the emotional rapport gives an ideal basis for an educational or re-educational process. The ideas and interests to which the client is introduced during this period become dynamic through their identification with the person who suggests them, and become in time natural channels for draining off a large part of the emotion which has been going into the transfer.

Possibly some of you may realize, if you stop to think it over, that your present calling is due to its connection with an emotional experience of long ago which lent its radiance to certain lines of thought and activity now self-sufficient, well-organized interests, quite independent of their original source of energy.

Rebecca gives an unusual example of what such a relationship can do over a long period to give a dynamic character to ideas and interests which have educational value. Rebecca came in contact with the psychologist as a child of fourteen. She has kept up this contact for four years, off and on. She came as a girl who was repeating the fifth grade for the third time, and was considered "dumb or crazy" by her family and neighbors. She was obsessed with her own inferiority, retarded in all of her processes, mental and physical, given to day-dreaming, to the serious detriment of normal interest and attention, antagonistic toward her family, and in great conflict over her inability to understand or completely repress sex ideas and impulses.

In the psychologist she found someone who was willing to maintain quite steadily over a prolonged period the ideal relationship which she had longed for but missed completely in both father and mother. This relationship was, of course, only symbolic, and was satisfied with comparatively few contacts, confined almost entirely to the office. Rebecca proved to be a girl of intelligence, who could comprehend a point of view, and who had the basis for some understanding of human relationships. It soon became evident that she was beginning to build a psychology of her own. Advantage was taken of the transfer to build up her beginning interest in sex, in nursing, in children, by the intro-

duction of reading matter, a book on the biology of sex, a book on education, on nursery schools, on the behavior of children.

In four years a girl who was supposed to be subnormal and hopelessly maladjusted has developed an intelligent comprehension of her own and other people's difficulties which would do credit to a well-trained day-nursery worker, and which is not far from our own case work point of view. She sees little children with genuine insight. She realizes what may lie back of bad behavior and it is reported that she manages children very well.

Much of the emotion which was originally centered in the transfer to the psychologist has become attached to the ideas and interests which the psychologist represents, and is becoming organized and elaborated into an enriched mental life with an autonomy of its own, which will ultimately detach itself completely from its original source.

I do not mean to imply that this constitutes the whole of the treatment Rebecca has received. She has been under the care of a child-placing agency during the entire period, and the most painstaking case work has assisted in giving content and concrete realization to her new interests, and has provided new experiences in personal relationships which have also drained off much of the surplus emotion.

There is no need to argue about the value of the ideational elements in case work treatment. The case plan, the new point of view, the releasing idea, are accepted without reservation. The purpose of this paper is to call to your attention the nature of the underlying forces used consciously by the analyst and unconsciously by the case worker to vitalize ideas and plans. The emotional going-over of the client to the case worker breaks down old fears and inhibitions and provides a safe medium in which the growth of new thoughts, feelings and habits becomes possible.

The case worker who has seen to her own adjustment first, before undertaking to bring about adjustment in other human lives, need have no fear of the transfer, but will find in its conscious, skilful, and impersonal use her most valuable tool.

THE APPROACH TO SOCIAL CASE WORK

CASE WORK IN THE HOSPITAL

Mary Antoinette Cannon, President, American Association of Hospital Social Workers, New York

It is not the approach so much as the leave-taking that makes social work in the hospital different from social case work done elsewhere. Health, to be sure, is always a part of the case problem in the hospital, but so it is in any case problem. The presenting symptom to the hospital social worker may be lack of money, of language, or of parental control, just as it may be to the family or

children's worker. The hospital social worker, medical or psychiatric, must, just as other social workers must, try to understand the essentials in any social situation in order to attempt constructive treatment. But the hospital social worker must usually stop treatment when the hospital has accomplished its object and discharged the patient from its care, and this means that the hospital social worker must from the start have an eye to social difficulties which are likely to outlast the patient's sickness, having no cause or effect relation to it, and must provide for the meeting of such difficulties by bringing in other help if necessary. It is here, in analysis, in selection of work to do, and in use of social agents within and without the home, that the worker in the special field has every chance to be confused and to waste labor or neglect a responsibility.

Let me insert a word as to the point at which the hospital accomplishes its object. This is not necessarily the discharge of a bed patient from the ward. It often happens that the period spent in the ward is only a segment in the patient's sickness and treatment. He may, it is true, leave the hospital able to resume his normal life, but he is far more likely to need further care before he is ready to do his best at living. Therefore the hospital's object is not achieved until the necessary medical and social work has been done to re-establish him, and often the major part of the social work is done after the patient leaves the hospital. However, when the patient is again self-sufficient, or responsibility for his medical care is transferred to another institution or individual, then presumably social treatment provided by the hospital ceases. This should make for no less careful thinking on the part of the social worker than if she were to carry out unlimited social treatment.

A student in a seminar this spring, when asked to illustrate the discussion of social problems arising in a clinic, cited the case of a woman under treatment for arthritis, who has a husband who is a tailor and a nineteen-year-old son who does not keep a job. Omitting the case history, the following is the student's analysis:

> Aside from the husband's seasonal trade, there are two elements in this family's trouble: a disabled mother and a vocationally unadjusted boy. Neither condition is cause or effect of the other. What is the job of the medical social worker?
>
> I believe she must reckon from the outset on the part played in the situation by the boy's attitude toward his work, and must try to understand it, realizing that it may be beyond her capacity to deal with it. The mother's treatment plan may depend upon the boy's earning power, but in any case the boy himself has a claim to help if he will use it. The social worker from the clinic may be able to give the help herself, but she may do better to bring it to him from some other source which will be available to him irrespective of his mother. The hospital's object is the cure of or the achievement of satisfactory care for its patient. The social worker has an interest in the social adequacy of the family. To get health for the mother at the expense of neglecting or injuring the son would be like making a patient exercise heavily for posture while he has an active lung infection.
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> Use of medical information is not by any means peculiar to social analysis in the hospital, yet it ought perhaps to be especially good where facilities are immediately at hand. There is, I think, room for improvement on this score in social work of all varieties, including that within the hospitals. The social worker is too often satisfied with a single diagnostic term, which

usually means but little except as it is interpreted for the particular patient. Sometimes the report of one specialist is accepted as if it were the whole statement as to the patient's health, when in fact the patient has a diagnosis in four or five different departments of our highly specialized medical organizations. It is the part of good medicine to sympathize as well as to analyze the patient, and the social worker must ask no less of the physician.

A large part of the social work done in the hospital consists of small fragments. The giving of a single service, piece of information, explanation, or recommendation is of value in proportion as it rests upon a truthful analysis of some person's need, and so applies the individual or case method to an individual. Case workers in the hospital can save waste that comes from routine, therefore indiscriminate, handling of individual patients. By application of case method even the smallest piece of work may be made to fit into place in a complete plan of treatment. On the other hand, the most intensive treatment a social worker can give in any case is likely to be more or less fragmentary. A student works two months to improve the hygiene and the discipline in a delightful but riotous Russian Jewish home where three little girls manage their own and their parents' affairs. In that time she sees the family daily and visits schools and hospitals on their account; in that time a beginning is made in better habits and correction of defects, but not without the active participation of seven doctors, four dentists, three social workers, seven nurses, nine settlement residents, and two school teachers. Some of this cooperation was earnestly sought by this particular worker and some of it was unavoidable. It is not in our crowded cities that one worker alone can put through a program for a family. The best one can do in most cases is to accomplish one's own part in a composite of forces and try to conflict as little as possible with the other parts. Think of thirty professional adults working day after day to get twelve-year-old Sadie to get her teeth filled, to go to bed before ten-thirty, and to "cut out" candy from pushcarts, and Sadie resisting them all. She is one and they are fragments; each of them gives a little time to making her do right; she spends all her time doing as she pleases. Smaller case loads would get us farther. Multiplication of impacts after it reaches a certain point becomes unmanageable and defeats the purpose which inspires it.

Specialization necessarily results in fragmentation and multiplication of agents, yet it is increasingly necessary. The answer seems to me to be better general foundation for us all in power to analyze social problems. Upon this power rests our ability to work with other specialists and also without them.

The essentially common characteristics of the case problems confronting social workers in the special fields was evidenced in a joint seminar conducted at the New York School this spring by the departments of family, medical, and psychiatric social work. In the course of the seminar nine cases were discussed, three from each field.

All these cases presented family problems, all presented problems of social relationships, of attitudes, of behavior, of mental, and physical health. Not one was in its nature outside the province of a case worker in hospital or clinic, in a court, in a community at large. Only one case did not involve at least one child. In planning for all those cases the same procedures must be followed, of gathering facts, of reasoning out relations between facts, of setting steps of treatment in order. In all of them the family must be studied and also the individual; in all, the more understanding we have of physiology and of psychology the nearer shall we come to radical solution of the trouble. Our equipment is not nearly mixed enough.

The practice of medicine is an inclusive business. We can learn much from it. This year a study of clinic practice was made in the medical department of one of New York's institutions. The plan for the study included a record made by doctor and social worker to cover not only the usual items of a medical history, but also in detail the patient's disability at first visit, the doctor's guess as to degree of ability that could be attained, with the time estimated roughly, the recommendations as to treatment and further examination, and on each visit after the first the patient's following of the recommendations, the reason for failure, if he has failed, and finally the condition upon closing or at the end of the study. It is evident that such a study must put much emphasis upon the patient as a factor in the treatment.

Among the questions that arise in this attempt to get at causes of failure and success are these: "Is the patient's disease capable of cure or improvement?" "Does the cure seem worse than the disease?" "Does the treatment advised require courage, character, persistence, or intelligence on the part of the patient?" "Is it known to be within his power to follow?" "Have there been unnecessary obstacles within the institutions?" "Has antagonism been aroused by any part of clinic treatment or handling of patient?" In my own experience in this study the two treatment plans most likely to get negative response are surgery and change of habits. Costly or disagreeable examinations are also likely to stall the patient. It seems to be the exceptionally strong or the completely dependent patient who gets the most out of a program including such measures. This brief mention of a few of the elements entering into clinic practice may serve to indicate that in the medical institution the approach to social work, if not different, is inevitable.

CASE WORK IN SCHOOL COUNSELING

Edith M. Everett, Supervisor, School and Scholarship Counseling and Training, White-Williams Foundation, Philadelphia

One afternoon a good many years ago I happened to be sitting next to two small boys in a trolley car. We were passing an armory, where a huge bazaar was being held. The boys discussed it eagerly, and one leaned impressively forward to say, "Do you know, at night children have to pay fifty cents, just the same as people!" Children have been growing to be more and more like people in the last two decades—in fact for some of us it seems that they are the people—and no one is more imbued with this attitude than is the social worker in the school. The school child is her client, and her whole approach to social case work is through him.

School social work arose from the recognition of the present limitations of the school in meeting the complex needs of the child in relation to his environment; subsequently of the necessity for the adjustment of the school to meet these needs. It requires on the part of the worker, in addition to her case work skill, a specialized knowledge of school systems and educational methods, of principles of child study and mental hygiene, of industrial conditions and recreational facilities. It involves an ability to interpret the social needs of the individual child, and on the basis of cumulative evidence derived from cases, to recommend changes in school procedure. Its technique is the social case work technique, for only through thorough and painstaking practice of that method can we accumulate enough information to justify our claim to reliable conclusions. Its chief objective is the socialization of the school's point of

view, and it is therefore essentially an educational job, which requires the case work method not only in dealing with the child who is the client but also with all those who are closely associated with him, and who are primarily responsible for the difficulties with which the social worker has to deal.

She approaches her task of socializing the school through her effort to effect a better adjustment for each child referred to her. To help him adequately she must study his behavior in all his relationships—with his teachers and his schoolmates—his father and mother and brothers and sisters. She must know his reactions to classroom and home and neighborhood environment and interpret these reactions in definite terms of treatment. It is her task to make use of the more or less protected situations of his school years, when it is still possible to redirect his interests and give him faith in himself, to build up a personality which recognizes its powers and its limitations and has a sufficiently steady drive to be persistent and intelligent in seeking happy, healthy adult expression.

Many adjustments may be made without entering deeply into the family situation, though practically all require an understanding of what that situation is, and all could undoubtedly be handled more satisfactorily and with more lasting results if the work were done in co-operation with parents and with teachers. Since this is not always possible, the school counselor must often be content with creating a better understanding between teacher and pupil, with stimulating more constructive spare-time interests, or developing with the child a plan for his future which he can interpret in terms of his present activities.

Although the need for the counselor may be more obvious among older children, whose behavior difficulties make them conspicuous to the teachers, she feels a stronger urge to work with the younger children, because she feels that with them, before habits of thinking and acting become fixed, she is most hopeful of accomplishing her purpose. It is in working with them, too, that she finds her greatest temptation to depart from her own specialized field into that of the family case worker. Perhaps no relationship is harder for the school social worker to define—no line harder to draw closely, than that which marks the boundary between the amount of family case work she may permit herself to undertake and the situation which the limitations of her peculiar position require her to turn over to the family agency. This must be decided anew with each case. Her limitations are obvious. She realizes that all the children in her school are potentially her clients—that to do a well-rounded job and to make herself felt in the school, she must be ready to meet many demands to help in all sorts of adjustments. Every school difficulty may be—in fact usually is—a symptom of something awry in the child's attitude toward himself, and the cause must be sought and corrected. The school counselor must be accurate in building up a composite picture of the child against the background of school, home, and community and steady in holding this picture in mind as a diagnostic requisite toward checking the tendency of parents and teachers to see only one

phase of the child's behavior. She must be optimistic and resourceful in discerning the potentially creative factors in the child and his composite background, whether relatives, teachers, friends, or other social agencies, and in enlisting the participation of each in planning and carrying out treatment. She is called upon to do a large part of her case work within the school organization, in bringing teachers, principals, and other school officials to take an objective and constructive attitude toward individual children, so that the school as well as the family may be stimulated to assume a growing measure of responsibility. At the same time, she must learn the assets of her community for recreational, church, and health co-operation; and she must expend much energy in stimulating the adult members of the community to supply what is lacking in those respects. Most time-consuming of all, because it is the essential task which is the very heart of her work, is the slow building up in the child of an understanding of himself and his reactions to school and family, standing by him, helping him to make new adjustments as he progresses in school, being the person to whom he has learned to come freely for help and advice or for commendation and encouragement.

Two distinctive features of school social work are not only that the focus of attention is the child, against the background of a family who are of professional interest only as they condition his personality, but that the control of the work is the school—from which, as a base, all the activities of the counselor are directed.

I believe that the tendency at present in school social work is toward being of as much service as possible to the children in the school, while accepting only a comparatively few cases for very intensive study and treatment. But the extent to which the school social worker is justified in undertaking to handle a distinctly family problem is a question on which all those who are seriously considering the outlining of policies in this field have reached no satisfactory conclusion. It is one on which we hope to receive some light from a conference such as this.

It has been the habit of schools to think of children in groups—of education as a process which goes on only within the four walls of a school building—of behavior in terms which fail to take into account anything beyond the fact of how the teacher reacts to what the child does. If the school counselor is to have a really socializing effect upon the schools, she must prove in her practice, so completely that she cannot be denied, the opposites of these old attitudes. Children must be people, individuals who cannot grow under treatment that follows one pattern for all—teachers must realize that education is a twenty-four-hour-a-day process which starts almost at conception and lasts until the last breath, and that they cannot set apart five hours a day for eight or twelve years, and say, "this is what counts in teaching you to live." Most of all, teachers and parents must be helped by specific interpretation and illustration to acquire an objective scientific attitude toward children's behavior so that

they cease to be emotional and judgmental about it—try at least to understand it and their responsibility in it.

Since the ultimate purpose of all school social work is in this sense educational, it can be accomplished only by taking teachers and parents step by step along the way with the study and treatment, making them feel themselves a part of it, and leaving it in the end with the consciousness that what all together have done for one child will result in more intelligent attitudes toward all children.

It is as true of school case work as of case work in other fields, that its success depends upon the personality of the worker, and her ability not only to build up a good working relationship with all those whom she must carry along with her in her treatment, but to effect a real attachment of the child himself to her. Only by identifying herself with him in his interests and emotions can she help him to build up the kind of personality which will make him a free, effective individual.

The principal of a school, who had watched the work of a counselor for several years, said to her one day, "I've only just realized what it is that makes you able to get what you want from these children, when all the rest of us fail. It is that you make them feel that you love them, and so they love you and are happy in working with you." It sounded sentimental, and perhaps, in a way, it was, but it has a basis of sound scientific truth, for only a warmly emotional response can bring about the receptive state of mind in which the case worker can plant the seed of the new attitude which will bring the desired change in behavior. Am I wrong in thinking that this is especially true of case work with children—whose first relationship outside the home is with the school? We all know how ready children are to expect from teachers the same attitude that they have found in fathers and mothers, and how easily they idealize them. It is a power too little understood and used by teachers—and perhaps one of the most important functions of the school social worker in relation to education is to bring it home to them by example and explanation.

If the right use of that relationship were once accepted by the teacher as an essential part of her equipment, the next step in the influence of the social worker on pedagogical attitudes should be easy. The teacher who is interested in her pupils as individuals, and who interprets correctly their affection for her as one stage of their natural development, will use the opportunity it affords to study their interests and direct their effort, and she will demand that school curricula and administration be made elastic enough to bring a chance for real success to each child, not at some time in the vague future, but daily in enough of the activities of school life so that he will have the satisfaction of knowing that he is filling well his place in a plan which he has had a share in making.

I may seem in these last paragraphs to have wandered from a discussion of the approach to school case work, to that of its end or aim. But, after all, work would be vague indeed if we did not direct our attack by the light of what we

hope to accomplish by it—and to my mind the thing that we most need at present to accomplish is this, that schools be brought to realize that for real education they must give up the old way of trying to force children into molds made long ago by patterns that no longer fit the needs of their lives, and be content to provide the necessary tools and leadership for each child to design and build his own house of life.

CASE WORK IN CHILD-PLACING

Albert H. Stoneman, Superintendent, Michigan Children's Aid Society, Lansing

All good case work rests on the same principles and is judged by the same standards, no matter in what particular division of social work the activity may be found. Yet there are slant lights to be thrown on it from each of its several special departments, such as that of the medical worker, the visiting housekeeper, or the school visitor, which have value for the whole profession. So it may very well be that, although child-placing is in fact family social work, and its case work is essentially family case work, still child-placing does have its peculiar point of view and brings certain emphases which are sufficiently important to deserve the attention of all case workers.

Child-placing may be diagramed into three parts, although every child receiving attention does not actually pass through all these divisions. This threefold classification corresponds in large measure to the chronological treatment of the typical case, and also to the somewhat different kinds of activities comprising child-placing procedure. The first division has to do with the child while in his own home. The second, while temporarily placed in a receiving home, boarding-homes, etc., for care and treatment pending future disposition. The third, after the so-called permanent placement, whether it be in a foster home or back with the child's own natural family.

Approaching a case in each of these three divisions, the child-placing agency brings its own special emphasis. Although these emphases cannot be hung exclusively each to one only of the three divisions of the handling of the problem, yet it will not be far amiss to treat them one by one as corresponding more especially to the first, second, and third classifications.

Entering then the first division, where the child is found in his own natural family. Here, in passing, it is worth while to say that the case work involved in getting family and personal history, assembling the facts, and interpreting them for the purpose of diagnosis and decision on treatment, will be such as is always required in good family social work. If the case occurs in a community where there are both a family agency and a child-placing agency, this preliminary investigation may be made equally well by either, or according to some working agreement which should exist between the two organizations. If the case is

found in town or country where there is no family case working society available, then of course the children's agency does this family case work as part of its own necessary service. Having said this, what is the special point which a child-placing agency ought to make in this division of its work?

There is a fundamental issue which has been before civilized peoples for many centuries and which in our day has come into great prominence. It is the question which has presented itself in many guises and only occasionally clashes in the open. It is simply this: "Which is of greater importance, the individual or the family?" The orthodox say, "The family." The radical says, "The individual." Many will say, neither, or both. This same fundamental problem is in the midst of social (case) work. Family welfare workers have been crying out in protest against the practice of a host of child-placing institutions and individuals because countless children have been picked up out of their own homes and families and placed in foster homes for adoption, while in a large percentage of cases measures might have been taken to keep the child in his own home, or make a restoration later. Undoubtedly this criticism has been merited because of the hasty and haphazard methods often in use by such children's workers. Consequently there has been a swinging over to the other extreme by many social workers who insist on keeping a child with his own natural family or relatives at almost any cost.

It has accordingly become the duty of the child-placing representative to present and keep in the foreground this fundamental question, which will be not only superlatively important but extremely difficult to answer: How much if any, should the interests of the individual child be sacrificed in health, in morality, and in cultural standards, for the sake of keeping the family intact? Put it another way: How much lower may the natural family be than a prospective foster family, to warrant the social worker in deciding to leave a child in his natural family? Stated again, it is a question of the relative right of a child as an individual to the best possible personal development, and that of the family to subordinate the interests of the individual child to the collective interests of the family as a whole.

Perhaps, extreme champions of the cause of the family home have been inclined to be too abstract in their thinking. It may be claimed, to be sure, that monarchy at its best is exemplified by the patriarch and his family; democracy at its best is seen in the family circle, and socialism or communism is illustrated most happily in the members of a family. But this is true only of the family at its best. On the other hand it may be said that monarchy and democracy and socialism or communism all find their worst and most unhappy exemplifications in the family; and in those families especially which actually are involved in the plans of social case workers.

The children's worker should be just as anxious as any other to preserve the contact of the child with his own family if that is for his best interests; because the child's best interests are her objective, and not a placement.

On the other hand the children's worker brings with her this warning, that the natural family shall not too much overshadow the child; and she brings with her also this suggestion, that it is still an open question whether after all the individual is not the supremely important unit of society, for whose sake all groups, including the family, are organized.

Now let us enter the second division of the child-caring program, that in which the child has been removed from his own home and is cared for temporarily in receiving home and boarding-home, pending later disposition. What slant light is thrown on case work in general from the child-caring position? It is an emphasis on this important truth, that change of environment is one of the most valuable elements in the development of personality. It has almost unequaled possibilities both in checking wrong tendencies and encouraging growth in right ways. This procedure which is so largely associated with children's workers should be utilized more and more by family agencies. Here is a place where the family and the children's societies have already begun in many cities a most effective co-operation; the family agency calling in the child-placing agency at this stage of their treatment of the family problem. In many other communities the family organization might to advantage call into co-operation the facilities of a child-placing society for the temporary care of children in new and better environment while a case worker proceeds to help the family get ready for a probable restoration of the children.

In this connection it is in order to emphasize the wide range and varieties of service to be rendered to children in temporary boarding-homes. Specialization on the part of boarding-mothers has made surprising progress during recent years, so that some of the most difficult types of children have been found to be successfully treated in boarding-homes, children who heretofore were called "unplaceable" or "institutional type."

The third emphasis which child-placing should bring to social work is that child care must and does involve case work. This suggestion is hooked on to our third division of child-placing activity, that which begins with the so-called permanent placement of a child in a foster home or back in his own family. We bring it up in this connection because it has too commonly been assumed that case work continues until the child is taken into custody, and that thereafter there is "simply" the work of child care. Accordingly many a children's society, while insisting on having trained workers for the investigation department, will use the less trained and less competent person in the child-caring department. Children's executives are, some of them, just waking up to the truth that a visitor of foster homes where children have been placed out should go not as an inspector, nor merely as a reporter of the home on a question-and-answer blank, but a person of finest insight, mature judgment, and native common sense; and withal a case worker. For she must have in mind and use wisely all previous case work done with the child's natural family; also the child's own personal history, and personal equation; and in addition, the make-

up of the present foster home into which the child has been introduced and where she is to help in bringing about the greatest possible happiness and success.

There are, then, these three slant lights which child-placing may throw upon the general field of social case work: first, the emphasis on the superlative importance of the individual child's interests when these seem to be in conflict with the group interests of the natural family; second, the high value of change of environment in the development of personality; third, the reminder that the child-caring job is not outside the realm of case work, but requires for its own success the finest technique and rarest qualities of personality which the case worker can bring to any service.

CASE WORK IN A FAMILY AGENCY

Betsey Libbey, District Supervisor, Society for Organizing Charity, Philadelphia

The approach of a case worker in a family agency to the family problem is direct and deliberate. The family—the problems that are common to all its members, their relations to each other, the needs of each of them individual by individual—this is the field of the family agency. Here the approach to problems that are individual is indirect through the problems that are common to all. It is some combination of circumstances that is affecting every member of the family that brings the family case worker into the situation.

In the J. family it was Mr. J.'s loss of vision amounting almost to blindness that made it impossible for him to continue his work as a machinist and to support his family. Any such grave difficulty in the life of the father, or for that matter of the mother, of a family of young children must indeed be a great shock to the family life, and doubtless creates a problem that transcends the adjustment of the individual more often than difficult problems in the life of the children do. Every member of the J. family was being affected in a variety of ways by the situation that had arisen because of Mr. J.'s blindness. His personal tragedy was so great that for the moment it seemed as if the whole problem was his instead of being intricately involved in the adjustments the other members of the family would have to make. His ability to become a wage-earner in spite of his blindness or because of improvement in his vision, or his failure to become a breadwinner—either one of these would be a conditioning factor in the adjustment his wife and children would have to make. Likewise, their adjustment to the new situation and their attitude toward him would have much to do with his finding his way through his difficulties. Clearly Mr. J.'s blindness and the situation resulting from it is more than his own problem—it is a family problem.

One might ask why the family case worker's interest in the individuals in the family should not be limited to the way each of them affects and is affected

by the family problem. Certainly it is not thus limited in those instances where a skilful family case worker has the time and opportunity to do what she considers a well-rounded job. One reason for this is that while we believe in the importance of family life, we also believe in the values that come to an individual from having a chance to live his own life. Again, when a case worker is interested in an individual it is difficult and almost impossible to refrain from entering into all the phases of his life and problems. So we find case workers in a family agency doing a highly specialized job with different individuals in the family, not only in their adjustments connected with the family problem but in their other relationships in life. And this interest in individuals outside of their relationship to the family problems is not confined to those particular members of the group who are having difficulties of one kind or another to meet. It is the day of prevention, and the family case worker, like every other social worker, is seeking her opportunity for preventive work.

Lack of time alone would be a sufficient explanation of why a balanced piece of family case work is the exception rather than the rule today, for no family agency has a staff anywhere nearly adequate to deal with all its problems in this thoroughgoing way. But granting an adequate staff and sufficient time, there still are pitfalls in the way of doing a balanced family case work job where the individuals are seen through the mirror of the family problem, each one receiving his share of attention and interest in relation to the needs of the others.

Two types of case work are often seen in a family agency that are abortive attempts at balanced treatment. The first might be called the "protagonist" type. Most family dramas have a protagonist when the case worker is introduced to them. In the J. family it was Mr. J. However, the visitor's interest in him was not out of proportion to his needs in relation to the needs of all the others. She might have worked with Mr. J. or Mrs. J.'s problems pretty much to the exclusion of the others. In doing this she would have made one or the other of them the protagonist from the point of view of treatment. The visitor who works by interest is perhaps more prone to do this type of work than others. The member of the family who makes the most appeal becomes the protagonist in the treatment. Any family case worker who is not ever watchful is liable to be led into this type of treatment by the outstanding tragedy and needs of some member of the group, such as Mr. J.

It should be mentioned here that there is a difference between a case worker in a family agency singling out one individual in a family for treatment, and the treatment of an individual by an agency specializing in the problems of individuals. The family case worker is called into the situation because there is a problem affecting all the members of the family. Usually a major adjustment in the life of the father or the mother is involved. Specializing on the needs of any one individual means missing the mark, which, in this instance, is the family problem.

The second abortive attempt at balanced family case work might be called the "blurred" type. Eunice Tietjens has so well described what I mean,

though in reference to something quite different, that I am going to quote her: "In wishing to capture everything he seems to do justice to nothing. Everything is blurred a little in the process. Nothing stands out sharply."[1] A little is done here and a little there, but always aimlessly, without affecting the family problem in any marked way, and too scattered to make much difference in the life of any one member of the group. There is never enough concentration at a given time on any phase of the problem, nor enough unity in the "piece work" to make any real advance in treatment.

There is another angle of approach which is peculiarly a problem with the family case worker and that is the question of where and how she shall begin in relation to the various personalities in the family group. The trial and error method used in the K. family reveals this problem of approach better perhaps than a case where the visitor's first efforts were successful. Mr. K. had always worked steadily and had supported his family until his illness which had lasted many months. Again a major adjustment in the life of the father created a family problem. Mr. K.'s rôle in the family life had been largely that of provider, for the leadership had always been Mrs. K.'s in the seventeen years they had been married. She was a frail looking woman of nervous temperament, strong willed, determined, and confident of her ability to plan for the family. Mr. K. was as docile and unaggressive as she was the opposite. At the time the case worker came into the situation the family doctor and the physician at the clinic thought he was in good enough condition to work again. However, Mr. K. felt that he was not able to work. He was easily fatigued and more easily discouraged. The visitor tried various ways of motivating him. She recognized how unsatisfactory to him his rôle in the family life must have been, and thought that this might be a factor in his present difficulty, since there was no apparent physical basis. She began to discuss the family affairs with him and tried to get him to take some initiative in making decisions and plans. This was of no avail in helping him make his adjustment, and probably was a hindrance, for it antagonized Mrs. K., who now began to encourage him in his belief that he was unable to work. The whole situation was further complicated by Mrs. K.'s ill health and the sickness of the sixteen-year-old daughter. The visitor had no influence with Mrs. K., so suggestions regarding medical treatment were never accepted, and the visitor's approach to the daughter was cut off by the mother's antagonism. It was plain now that the way to all the problems here was through the mother. Recognizing this the visitor has set about winning Mrs. K.'s confidence and is trying to help with the problems of the rest of the family by utilizing Mrs. K.'s leadership, which has the prestige of nearly a decade in this household.

So the personality relationships in the family and the rôle of each in the family life are conditioning factors in the case worker's approach to family problems that are often involved and complicated. Sometimes it is only

[1] "The Lyric in Poetry," *Poetry*, June, 1923.

through experimentation that the successful approach can be discovered, but more often the right one could be found in the beginning if this particular problem of approach were recognized and pondered over in each case.

In the past it was generally agreed that a family should be dealt with by a family agency when it was apparent that there was a family problem. Too often, perhaps, the need for relief, and the economic approach were the determining factors in deciding that there was a family problem. In reviewing the J. and K. families the adjustments of the father and mother seem to be more significant in indicating them as family problems, than the need for relief which existed in both cases. If we are agreed that family agencies have no monopoly on family case work, we shall need to have new criteria for determining which families should be referred to a family agency. The problem now is to discover what is the family agency's share of the family case work that needs to be done in the community. Until some provision other than relief—whether it be social insurance or another social device—is made to enable families in the low wage group to meet their financial disasters, family agencies probably will continue to accept cases where relief is needed over a long period. However, the reason for this is historical and not inherent in the function of a family agency. Perhaps we shall find that an analysis of the approach to the family problem in each situation will in the future be our best guide to the family agency's share of family case work.

V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

ETHICAL FORCES IN ADVANCING STANDARDS IN INDUSTRY

REPORT OF COMMITTEE

Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, Chairman, Research Secretary,
Federal Council of Churches, New York

In presenting this report the committee does not wish to have it appear that each sentence is precisely in accord with what the signers writing individually would have said, but rather that the report as a whole has the unanimous approval of the committee.

The National Conference of Social Work has in the past given much attention to industrial standards. The attempt made in 1912 to erect a tentative form for protecting the interests of industrial workers was typical of the earlier approach to industry as a field for social work. It was during that same year that the "Social Ideals of the Churches," sometimes called among Protestant communions the "Social Creed," was promulgated by the Federal Council of Churches. Its sixteen articles for the most part resemble the National Conference standards in that they are concerned with goals rather than with processes, with objectives rather than with dynamics. The emphasis has been changing since that time as one readily discovers who reads the recent literature of industrial problems. We are now concerned more with function and with the release of power than with the definition of fixed objectives and the staking out of specific claims with reference to the division of the industrial product. The changing emphasis is strikingly illustrated by a comparison between the Social Ideals of the Churches and the more recently formulated Catholic Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction, with its impressive insistence upon democracy within industrial organization. Many of the post-war pronouncements on industrial problems by religious and civic bodies typify the new emphasis. Within the labor movement itself the trend has long been apparent.

Your committee has approached its work in the light of this changed emphasis, as, indeed, its terms of reference required. We are asked not merely to canvass standards and ideals but to discover forces, i.e., to find centers of moral influence which are contributing to progress in industry. It seemed to be a logical method of approach to inquire first how progress comes about, and what criteria of progress are, in the ethical sense.

The nature of ethical progress.—Nothing is more evident than that changes of material status cannot measure progress, although they may serve as one of its indexes. The concept of ethical progress, as we use it, implies the solution

of significant conflicts within and between social groups, where these solutions result in the removal of obstacles to freer activity and wider expression on the part of those concerned. There are, of course, solutions that are not real solutions, but only social patchwork, because they do not result in an onward movement to new areas of discovery and to fresh conflicts. There are also some conflicts that are not significant, i.e., they are not typical of social processes. But, broadly speaking, it is in conflict, and especially in group conflict, that we find our social compass, and out of such conflict spiritual energies are born.

But this is by no means equivalent to saying that the creative element in a crucial industrial situation is in the mere process of "fighting it out." Detachment on the part of a group from the life of the community as a whole makes against progress, not for it. And, as a matter of fact, such detachment is seldom achieved and never maintained. The enormous growth of industrial propaganda in recent years is evidence, were any needed, that the status of a contending group with reference to the good-will of the many other groups that make up the community is a powerful factor in the issue. The community is the repository of social gains and the ultimate arbiter of social struggle. It might even be said that the sensitiveness of any group to social sanctions is an essential element in its equipment for survival. Such a regard may cut directly across immediate group interests and aims, as when the great transportation strike in England in 1919 collapsed because of the insupportable burden of collective public disapproval, a burden which not only cumbered the activities of labor but bore down its spirit as well. Mr. Thomas, the head of the transport workers, declared it intolerable that one part of the community should be arrayed against the community itself. This must not, of course, be confused with a situation in which the non-industrial portion of the community is manipulated or betrayed into an attitude which is partisan or which takes account of a very limited range of values. In such a case a group may revolt against a public decree because of its regard for a higher future social sanction, appealing from the community drunk to the community sober.

The form which the community's "reaction" to a group contest takes, expresses a social "ideal." The actual accomplishment of ethical advance in industry involves two major phases which we propose to consider in this report—the emergence of ideals as such, and the validation and correction of these ideals in industrial experience. Whatever contributes to either phase of the process we have considered an "ethical force."

The function of ideals.—What place, then, have ideals, as such, in industrial progress? There are many who even today put their faith entirely in the efficiency of force and the compulsion of numbers. To all such our various moral pronouncements concerning "rights and wrongs" are but feeble gestures, the epiphenomena, so to speak, of the struggle between material forces. The exponents of economic determinism are by no means limited to the labor movement. There is a large element within the business community, and even in

the churches, which remains consistently opposed to the formulation of ethical ideals in industry, holding that this area of human affairs is governed by the play of economic forces, that economic laws are "immutable laws," and as such are "God's laws," and that men's idealism is futile with respect to them.

It must be said that in the light of the history of industrial relations there is apparent justification for the view that it is only when force is marshaled against force in the play of powerful class interests that things are changed, that "right" is but a euphemism for the execution wrought by the heaviest battalions. It is disconcerting and often amusing to see one or another group in a great industrial controversy clothing its demands in ethical language and appealing to the public conscience for the support of claims which are born of a class interest and may have been formed with a cunning regard for the exigencies of industrial politics.

The psychological implications of this question are now the ground of much controversy. But we may be sure that social behavior cannot be accounted for by a single formula. It may be conceded at once that the formulation of ideals of conduct proceeds in some definite relation to the development of material advantage. This is the essence of a functional view of the whole matter. Some would put it more bluntly: that the conscience of the community or any group in the community lies very close to its stomach. Nevertheless the mere formulation of an ideal may have an important reflex influence upon a situation. An illustration of this fact is furnished by the American public's attitude toward the great coal strike of 1922, and toward the railroad shopmen's strike of the same year. There can be little doubt that the vastly greater hostility of public opinion to the unions in the second of these contests was in part due to a definite mental set on the seniority issue. Uninformed though this attitude was, it represented the conventional moral reaction to a claim on the part of workmen to a vested interest in jobs which they refused to work at. As such, it was quickly capitalized by the executives, who began to clothe their pronouncements in ethical terms. The conditions of any conflict are in considerable degree set by the community, partly, to be sure, with reference to its immediate material interest, but also in no small measure as an imposition of social mandates. It must be recognized that the increased possession of power that our phenomenal industrial development has brought about has not been accompanied by a corresponding sense of responsibility for its use. But there is a growing distrust of all philosophies and programs of action that are centered in the "will to power," and a quickening sense of social responsibility is evidenced by both labor and employing groups.

Furthermore, the sanction of one's own conscience or of the conscience of a group is undoubtedly an important part of the equipment for struggle. One of the ablest labor leaders in America, at the head of what is commonly considered one of the most radical labor unions, was asked what part he thought ethical considerations of right and wrong played in the labor struggle. After

a moment's reflection, he said, "At least this is true: it is when a man is sure he is right that he can fight to win." One must not, of course, press such a statement too far. Victories are often won temporarily by sheer force of group interest which makes no appeal to higher sanctions, but this labor leader's statement signifies that such sanction is a very considerable factor in any struggle. It is this factor that we have in mind when we speak of the "moral isolation" of a political party or a nation which is forced to bear the burden of maintaining itself against the moral sentiments of the community or of the world.

The peril of "pronouncements."—It would be fatal, however, not to recognize that the formulation of ideals may have precisely the opposite effect to what we have indicated. It undoubtedly often happens that a sensitive conscience finds satisfaction in giving formal recognition to a principle without any attempt to make it the basis of life and work. It is the same sort of thing that happens when one whose activities are for the most part dominated by unrelieved self-interest finds compensation by going through the motions of philanthropy. We feel that at the present time church groups are taking excessive satisfaction in having "gone on record" for this or that ideal without feeling the responsibility of securing increasing recognition of the principle in action.

Indeed a recognition of this fact is undoubtedly lessening the interest of socially minded people within and without the churches in formal pronouncements that deal with abstractions. Many persons who have taken a prominent part in the making of standards are now feeling that we have passed the stage of formal pronouncement-making and that attention must be given to the discovery of methods by which specific improvements can be brought about. There is a new emphasis upon experimentation. Not only that, but there is a greater disposition to question the value and even the validity of abstract pronouncements which have little reference to the concrete situation which is faced, and to the economic requirements of getting things done. There is less of dogmatism concerning what ought to be, and a more wholesome respect for facts and a more prudent regard for the limitations which they place upon us.

From theory to practice.—A change has come about also in the public attitude toward industrial problems due to the acuteness of the industrial situation which followed the war. Many things which were taken for granted during the war period, such as the right of labor to organize, and the validity of trade-union collective bargaining, were sharply called in question when the industrial depression set in. While many of us supposed that the battle in industry would be in the field of property rights and the relation of individual to state initiative, it was found that the real battle was staged among the most elemental factors in industrial relations. Mr. Graham Wallas relates that during his doctrinaire socialist days he was talking with a conservative English business man in an effort to explain his social philosophy. With some impatience his companion

asked, "What is your attitude toward the trade unions?" Preoccupied with his theories, Mr. Wallas replied that he did not believe in trade unions. Extending his hand the business man said, "If you and I agree about the trade unions we can get on together." Upon which Mr. Wallas departed, he says, a sadder but wiser man. We have been thrown back into elemental situations with no equipment to deal with them save an armful of finely phrased ethical ideals. It has often been unnecessary for conservative employers and labor leaders to take these ideals seriously because they lacked reality in the face of the actual situation.

Perhaps a more serious aspect of the matter is the fact that large numbers of earnest men who are industrial employers are today quite unable to make consistent progress toward what they themselves regard as valid ideals. The socialization of industry is in no small part a matter of liberating and directing the idealism of successful and influential men who have the spirit of progress and of public service. As social workers, educators, or religious leaders, we render them slight service by reiterating idealistic phrases if we give them no place to take hold. All social progress is a problem in engineering, and the trouble with us is that with respect to our industrial ideals we are strong on snapshots but weak on blueprints.

The "living wage."—Consider, for example, one of the foremost industrial standards and ideals that we have been talking about during the last decade. What is the net result of our advocacy of the "living wage"? That this concept, merely as a slogan, was helpful in connection with the budget method of determining wage issues cannot be questioned. Yet we are no more able now than we were at the end of the war to give definite content to the term. In the nature of the case, this is inevitably true. The term "living wage" defines a continually receding goal; the enrichment of the worker's life increases the minimum requisite for its support. But this is not all. The establishment of a minimum wage involves a careful scrutiny of the market. In practice, minimum-wage commissions find it necessary to set the minimum so low that the majority of the workers in the occupations covered by the award are not affected by it, so difficult is it to apply an arbitrary principle within the field of modern aggressive industrial competition. There are industries that are permanently underpaid in which the fixing of a minimum comfort wage would put the product entirely off the market, unless it were possible to effect a complete readjustment of the consumer's budget. This is notoriously true of the textile industry, throughout the major portion of which, both in the United States and in Canada, the payment of a wage commensurate with the most modest requirements of a workingman's family would mean revolutionizing the industry. The answer to this is, of course, that the industry should be revolutionized, but this cannot be accomplished by fiat. The only effectual approach to such a problem involves joint responsibility of workers and management for the efficient continuance of the industry, growing out of the realization of joint risks.

The concept of a living wage can have no definite content without reference to the product and to the social efficiency of the industry as a joint enterprise.

What is a "long day"?—Or let us consider the question of hours of labor. In this respect we have obviously come nearer to meeting the human requirements of the situation than in the matter of wages. Yet, here again, we have sought to make a motto do duty for a system of adjustments. We do not know how many hours a person should be allowed to work. We do not know how many hours it is needful from the viewpoint of the community's consumptive requirements that he should work. Nor is this the worst aspect of the matter. We do not know whether or not as a question of social policy we should aim at continually shortening the hours of labor toward the fancied minimum of three or four hours a day which many persons assure us would be ample for the performance of the necessary work of the world. Article XIV of the Social Ideals of the Churches assures us "That the churches stand for gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life." But what is a "reasonable" reduction of hours and what is the "lowest practicable point"? And what "degree of leisure" is consistent with the "highest human life"? This article of our so-called "social creed" could not become authoritatively operative even if it encountered everywhere nothing but good will, for the reason that it does not define a comprehensible ideal. A truer view of the problem would take account of its essentially experimental character and the impossibility of imposing a standard from without. All such questions depend not only upon the nature and conditions of employment, but also upon the extent to which the industry capitalizes the natural impulses of the workers, and associates them in a co-operative, creative enterprise.

Is collective bargaining ethically mandatory?—Even the issue of collective bargaining cannot be settled objectively in accord with any slogan that either group in industry may invent. It is not a simple question of right and wrong; it is a way of industrial action along which the parties to industry must negotiate their passage in a spirit of give and take. Is it any wonder that we are marking time in the matter of securing recognition of the principle of collective bargaining when we try to prescribe it as a duty rather than as a highly experimental undertaking which indeed promises large rewards, but only on condition that a high price is paid in terms of responsible, energetic action and good faith? Collective bargaining may mean much or little. To be sure, it is of more than ordinary use as an ideal principle of action, for the reason that it is essentially dynamic rather than static. But to insist that an employer must recognize a union is of little use or meaning save as the question is asked, "To what end?" The more progressive labor unions recognize this fact. They understand that in this connection, as in every other, self-determination has no moral quality save within the sphere of socially creative effort.

Fallacies of arbitration.—Let us consider one more commonly acclaimed ideal in industry—the principle of arbitration. There could be no better illustration than this idea affords, that to impose a formula of action upon industrial groups is an ethically barren procedure. Arbitration has little in it to commend from the ethical point of view, unless it is a device self-imposed, merely as an incident in the process of social adjustment within industry. When imposed by the community it may perhaps be justified as an emergency measure, but it is essentially a negative and anti-social procedure because it puts an end to the only processes that can result in true solutions; it is terminal and static, not creative.

A newly discovered ethical force.—This phase of the discussion brings us directly into the field of "ethical forces" for which we are seeking. Within industry itself there is growing up an institution which gives much promise as a factor in its ethical reconstruction. We refer to the institution of impartial chairmanship for the continuous adjustment of differences under a trade agreement, a régime that has had a very notable development in the garment industry. Here arbitration becomes a constructive process, a means to an end, which is the development of self-government in industry, resting upon a code of industrial law, interpreted by an industrial tribunal. Here ethical ideas are hammered out of conflicts; they appear not as regulations imposed from without, but as the legitimate offspring of human impulse and effort in the processes of associated living and working. When this method of joint government is accompanied by an association of the employees for the free democratic consideration of their interests and for the study of the industry and their relation to it, the ethical possibilities of the situation are greatly increased.

The contrast between this procedure and that of compulsory arbitration from without is at once apparent. The latter process is largely one of "invoking the law" to meet emergencies which the law was ill designed to meet. The former is a means of discovering the equities in a complicated situation, and of working out principles of industrial law. The constant danger of this new movement is, of course, the tendency to fall into legalistic attitudes and method which may destroy its dynamic character. This tendency should be sedulously combated.

It should be said, however, that the elements of a useful, moral relationship between workers and managers are sometimes found even where no machinery of joint government has been developed. Wherever the old autocratic method of government has given way to a meeting of minds for discussion, even of the most elementary sort, the beginnings of a creative ethical force are to be found. Despite the absence of any mechanism for joint control or group discussion, the injection into an establishment of a spirit of moral adventure, backed by an impulse to experience larger fellowship, sometimes results in social discovery which gives rise to new experiences of co-operative achievement.

Labor education and research.—The Workers' Education Movement is an invaluable support to all such experimental undertakings. The chief concern of its leaders—and in this the social worker should be able to give important aid—should be to keep the movement within the bounds of scientific study and experiment lest it may become merely an instrument for clever manipulation, as the equipment of professional training has too often become.

Labor research, a most significant present-day development, has an obvious ethical value in that it is supplementing the economic resources of labor by an appeal to facts, and this is in itself a moral resource. It is creating among labor groups a scientific attitude of mind, which is a condition of social discovery. Here, again, it is highly desirable that labor should avoid a temptation to which employers' research has sometimes led—the temptation to use its results as a device for securing partisan advantage without regard to equity, rather than for promoting truth and establishing a basis for co-operative effort.

Voluntary efforts of employers.—There are also possibilities of ethical advance, which as yet are quite unmeasured, through the voluntary association of employers who have caught the professional spirit. An impressive illustration is furnished by the Business Problems Group of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends. Here is a group of employers who are undertaking by means of conference and counsel to work out the problem of industrial relations in their own plants. Some of them have submitted to the most searching criticism of their establishments by industrial experts in order to put themselves in line with every progressive movement.

The efforts of individual employers in this direction are not to be overlooked or discounted. Probably the number of men whose major interest has long ceased to be profit-making and whose chief concern is the discovery of a better way of industrial relations, is greater than most of us have ever surmised. To be really productive in their efforts such men must assuredly avoid a paternalistic method and must renounce the ever present temptation to use their employes as a means to carrying out pet hobbies of their own. Experimenting with industrial democracy is a fertile field for self-deception. The phraseology of religious idealism sometimes covers an innocent but unfortunate ineptitude in dealing with economic and industrial situations. Yet the employer who has an honest purpose and a fair amount of social imagination will usually find his way farther along the road of constructive effort than he himself would have imagined at the beginning of his efforts.

Emergence of ideals in the life of the community.—No account of existing ethical forces in advancing industrial standards would be complete without an appraisal of those influences and agencies outside of industry which communicate to it by one or another channel the results of the community's thinking in the ethical field. As compared with the processes within industry itself which we have briefly surveyed, these external influences are doubtless of less immediate significance, yet it is by these means that social sanctions become operative

with respect to group conflicts—sanctions to which even the most recalcitrant group must ultimately appeal to avoid social ostracism.

An increasing part is played, in the refinement of standards with reference to business and industry, by the public press. It is, of course, at once apparent that a morally subversive influence is being constantly exerted by organs of public opinion which are irresponsibly conducted and which tend to inhibit the integration of industrial ethics with general ethics. But one need not disparage the many investigations and exposures of such discreditable practices in order to point out that the faithful reporting of controversies and liberal editorial writing concerning industrial issues is a conspicuous asset in many a labor struggle. It is not unlikely that in the future higher standards of reporting and of editorial work will make the newspaper a much more potent factor in promoting salutary industrial changes. The work of the various social journals, supplemented by an increasing number of religious papers, is also coming to be an important element in industrial progress.

A socially efficient press could go far toward preventing such an occurrence as the strike of the Canadian postal workers. A similar strike occurred a few years ago after the efforts of the men in the postal service to secure relief from certain hardships had utterly failed. When a suspension of service called attention to the controversy, public opinion was found to be strongly in favor of the workers. Yet public apathy has again made possible a costly suspension of a basic public service. In industrial, as in international disputes, we are too exclusively concerned with eliminating a conflict after it has become inevitable. The ethical opportunities of every agency that is formative of public opinion in such a situation stand out with compelling clearness.

Industrial legislation is an even more important factor in ethical progress than is commonly supposed. Through it some of the ablest minds and strongest spirits of the community find a way to make their contribution to social betterment. It is not merely a method of crystallizing standards that have already been evolved; it is a means of working out under the spur of conflicting interests a philosophy of social control. It is a part of that educational process without which no real progress can be recorded. In the discussion of a concrete proposal for extended social control the community re-orients itself with reference to ideals of group relationships.

Ethical contribution of higher educational institutions.—We come finally to the consideration of those formal agencies of counsel and criticism which are making an unmistakable contribution toward ethical progress in industry—the colleges, the churches, and the numerous voluntary associations working toward a refinement of social ideals.

It would be difficult to overestimate the part played by some of our institutions of general and specialized instruction in laying the foundation for a more ethical order. Economists, sociologists, and psychologists in not a few academic institutions are bringing about a re-examination of traditional ideas

about the economic order and about human nature, and thus are laying a scientific foundation without which it would be impossible to make truly ethical progress. For on the scientific side ethical advance presupposes a better understanding of the facts of life and a better proportioned emphasis on the various factors of existence. We think that the economists of the classical school with their emphasis upon mechanism have left out of consideration important elements of fact. Our criticism of them is not that they have been too scientific but that they have not been scientific enough. They have been occupied with "cold facts," while, in truth, facts that have to do with economics are never "cold" for they are the facts of a human science and are loaded with passion. The institutional economists are a vital factor in ethical progress because they are socializing economic theory and putting it more in accord with the facts of life. The contribution of these scholars goes far toward offsetting the baneful effects of unenlightened control over educational policies which are too often apparent.

The part played by organized religion.—The most obvious function of the churches and religious organizations with relation to ethical progress in industry has to do with such formulations as we have already noted. Conceding their limitations and the perils which accompany this process of pronouncement-making, nevertheless, the objectifying of ideals in a platform to which one is morally committed has evident social value. But that is only the beginning of the possible service of the churches. A new generation of ministers is appearing who are taking the responsibilities of the pulpit very seriously, who are not satisfied with the proclamation of abstract principles but insist upon an analysis of concrete situations in the light of these principles. There could scarcely be a more significant demonstration of the influence of moral opinion than the definite undertaking within the past year to abolish the twelve-hour day in the steel industry in the United States. The heads of the industry had had before them for a year the request of President Harding that the long day should be abolished. On May 25, 1923, they gave out a statement announcing an unfavorable decision on this request, and belittling the issue as an artificial one created by persons outside the industry. A barrage of hostile opinion followed which organized itself about a sharp reproof issued in the name of the great church bodies of the nation. Early in July, the industry capitulated, reversed its decision, and declared in doing so that it was yielding to public sentiment. Such happenings are more eloquent than any words could be in setting forth the potency of moral opinion.

A beginning has been made by certain religious organizations in the promotion of serious study on the part of industrial leaders, of the moral questions involved in the exercise of their leadership, and also in giving to the constituency of the churches authoritative information upon which a valid judgment of industrial issues may be based. There is abundant evidence that such activities on the part of the churches may become a vital factor in the ethical reconstruction of industrial relations.

There is opportunity here for little more than mention of the educational efforts of such groups as the Catholic Industrial Conference, The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, and The National Conference on the Christian Way of Life. The last-named organization, which is commonly known as "The Inquiry," is making a new approach to the discovery and validation of ideals in the industrial field. In a less formal way, Jewish groups are also making their contribution to ethical progress. Outside the strictly religious field, the League for Industrial Democracy, the National Civil Liberties Union, and this great Conference of Social Work are demonstrating that so-called "intellectuals" who have no personal interest to serve can tremendously reinforce the efforts of those who are fighting at first hand the battle for industrial freedom. Perhaps the most important single ally of all these democratic efforts is the "Student Movement" which is growing rapidly both in the United States and in Canada.

The price of progress.—This outline of ethical forces and influences is in no sense exhaustive but merely suggestive. We believe that progress in the industrial field will be furthered by a more careful appraisal of these various factors, by themselves and with others, in the light of specific situations which call for the making of choices and the rendering of judgments. But with respect to any and all of these forces or agencies that we have enumerated, the price of an ethical contribution is a renunciation of mere formulas which give a spurious moral satisfaction to those who utter them; a willingness to be identified when necessary with a struggling minority group; and the courage and patience to revise opinions and to test judgments by laboriously ascertained facts. To such an achievement there is no royal road.

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THE ETHICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MODERN EMPLOYER

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While it is perfectly true that neither commerce nor industry could ever have existed except upon some working basis of moral relationship, and that to the present moment the very foundation of business is confidence that men will make good on their contracts, and while it is equally true that in the earlier stages of business and industrial development a very simple set of rules like the

biblical injunctions was adequate, yet in modern times the economic situation has become so complex that new ethical relationships and understandings must be worked out.

The average responsible business man is pretty well out of the jungle so far as concerns the primary commercial virtues of honesty, credit, and contract. He is more in the shadow with regard to his social, political, and labor relationships. Granting he has emerged at all, how do you account for the fact? And why the divergences in attitude toward the several phases of his ethical responsibilities?

Almost from the beginning of the new industrial era social reformers, through government and law, have campaigned to moralize industry. Beginning with the factory acts in England, we witness a long train of industrial and commercial legislation designed to limit unfair competition, protect consumers against fraud and misrepresentation, protect workers against accident, sickness, loss of wages, indecent hours, etc. The process is still going on. I believe that it has been necessary, and I assume that it will continue to be necessary, for law to register certain convictions, certain rules of the game, which industry must accept, and which in the long run will prove desirable and beneficial, not only to business and industry, but also to the consumer, that is, the general public.

Alongside the social reforms registered in law can be traced the ethical convictions and active moral agitation of various religious groups. While it is true that their pronouncements on business and industrial problems have been more to the front in recent years, this does not signify that they are a novelty. During the early part and middle of the nineteenth century men like Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice were very vigorous and open in their admonitions to business and industry. But within the last ten years, the church has become much more articulate in its attempt to offer ethical guidance to complex modern industry. Usually these church programs counsel the employer, but not the employed. So far as I am able to make out, the only significant exception to this rule is in the case of the Unitarian program, published by President Eliot in 1919. It is significant, however, that in the industrial conferences put on during the last two or three years by the Federal Council of Churches, in various communities, invariably a responsible representative of the employer is included in their program; and this not simply for the purpose of introducing the employer to ministers and to representatives of labor, but actually to give opportunity for presentation of the employer's business, industrial, and ethical problems in his dealings with the consuming public and with labor.

From the distinctly American business man's point of view, perhaps the most outstanding figure in the attempt to moralize industry is Mr. Roger Babson. For several years he has been incessant in his preachment to business men that they must apply the principles of Jesus to their business. He has not hesitated to send out circulars on this aspect of business along with his regular

service of circulars on bonds, stocks, labor news, and other phases of his profession as a business forecaster.

But quite apart from these episodes in business ethics must be reckoned the movement for business ethics from within commerce and industry itself. I need only cite such evidences as the nation-wide move for commercial arbitration; the wide support given to the activities of the Federal Trade Commission against misbranding; the very aggressive work of the association of advertising men with their slogan, "Truth in Advertising"; the realtors' code of ethics; and finally, the so-called "money back" policy of both manufacturers and responsible retailers.

While it is true that these codes cover primarily commercial relations it cannot be said that they overlook the labor relation which has been the solicitude particularly of the churches and to a certain extent of government. Those industries which have gone in rather elaborately for so-called industrial government have been inclined to emphasize strongly labor relations. The recent code of ethics adopted by the International Associaton of Garment Manufacturers covers relations with customers, with fellow-manufacturers, with those from whom manufacturers make purchases, with their employees; but places the latter relation at the very head of the code. The Associated Industries of Massachusetts, in 1923, worked out a tentative code of relations between management and employees and recommended not only the acceptance of the code, but its publication, along with a series of expository articles.

But more important than all of these, because of the agency from which it derives, and also because of its recency, I should place the principles of business conduct worked out by the Committee on Business Ethics of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and unanimously adopted by the Chamber at its meeting in Cleveland May 6–8, 1924. That code seems to me so important that if time permitted I should quote it verbatim. At any rate here is the preamble:

> The function of business is to provide for the material needs of mankind, and to increase the wealth of the world and the value and happiness of life. In order to perform its function it must offer a sufficient opportunity for gain to compensate individuals who assume its risks, but the motives which lead individuals to engage in business are not to be confused with the functions of business itself. When business enterprise is successfully carried on with constant and efficient endeavor to reduce the costs of production and distribution, to improve the quality of its products, and to give fair treatment to customers, capital, management, and labor, it renders public service of the highest value.
>
> We believe the expression of principles drawn from these fundamental truths will furnish practical guides for the conduct of business as a whole and for each individual enterprise.

Two of its fifteen principles deal with bettering conditions of employment, and equitable consideration for employees, the remainder with elaborate principles of confidence, fair dealing, arbitration, contracts, and the like. Nobody claims that this is a Sermon on the Mount. In all conscience its wording is general enough to satisfy the greatest strainer at gnats. And for obvious rea-

sons. It may not be a Robin Hood's arrow, but it certainly does sound as if somebody were stringing a bow.

There is one other source of possible ethical influence upon industry which must be given increasing consideration, namely the university schools of business. While it may be perfectly true that these schools are still groping their way to develop this phase of instruction, and while some of them may frankly confess that they are, as one who expressed himself to me recently as being "quite overwhelmed by the field of thought that such ethical questions raise," yet here again the trail has been blazed for a considerable time. By all odds the most distinctive ventures in this field, I think, were the Barbara Weinstock Lectures on the Morals of Trade established two decades ago at the University of California. Another blazed tree along the same trail were the Yale University Lectures on Everyday Ethics and Morals in Modern Business, fifteen years ago. The most outstanding schools of business are beginning slowly to recognize the necessity for emphasizing this field. One school tells me that it has never given any thought to the subject of business ethics. But another, working on the case or problem method, has already collected some cases involving the ethics of business, and in future plans to gather more of them. It concludes a recent bulletin on business as a profession with the frank dedication of its efforts to "the advancement of the profession of business, and its practice along sound and ethical lines, and to the training of men in the essentials of character, integrity, and sound thinking." Another school which labors under no illusion as to the difficulty of the problem, believes that although a code of ethics generalized for all industry might have some inspirational value, the chief reliance must be placed on individual trade organizations. Meanwhile its faculty work in questions of ethics as part of the training in the fields of marketing, accounting, bank management, and other specialized fields in business administration.

Now, let us pause a moment to review our course. We have answered two more questions: "Have employers' organizations considered ethical questions?" "Do business men consider business as just business, or do they admit some elements of public service?" Not very satisfactory questions, perhaps. And no thoroughly satisfying answers can be reported until business men take on a professional attitude; for I am convinced that you cannot have a real code of conduct without professional organization and professional spirit. Nor can these answers satisfy everybody until ethics becomes a science with its absolutes and universals.

I can hear you say, we asked you to tell us what the employers' ethical responsibility is, and you have told us only how they might attain it. What is it in fact? It is to employ capital and labor in such a way as to satisfy legitimate needs of the consumer. But shall the employer "make work"? Is it his duty to employ people because politicians or union business agents say he must? Shall he retain loafers on the pay-roll? Has he a right to discharge? Is there any absolute rule of ethics which forbids him to discharge if he believes that

further employment is wasteful, or injurious to fellow-employees? To place final jurisdiction over hiring and firing in an arbitrator or some other outside party may be expedient and interesting, but is it moral?

It is the employer's duty to pay adequate wages. But what are "adequate wages"? Has anybody yet worked out a satisfactory method of computation? Shall he pay by individual contract? By result in individual output? Or by collective bargaining, regardless of productivity? Which is more absolutely moral? Is piece work less moral than time work? Shall size of family or mere cost of living be the final ethical determinant in wage questions? Who pays wages, anyway? The consumer. How shall we moralize him into handing over to the industrial manager sufficient wherewithal to pay adequate wages? The most elementary grasp of economics or sociology will convince you that consumer and producer are inextricably bound together on this question of wages. Both employer and employee must dance to the tune the consumer plays.

It is his duty to furnish continuous employment. Nothing more to the employer's taste, if the public will buy continuously, and enable the manufacturer's plant to operate throughout the year. It saves overhead, as well as labor efficiency.

He shall pay wages during slack time or unemployment. Right, and as near full wages as the consumer of the product will stand for in the price. If the public will not pay the price, whose morals shall prevail? If it comes to a show-down, will anyone say absolutely that the marginal producer who cannot stand the gaff of these production costs and goes to the wall is any less moral than his competitor who manages, through successful financing, to weather the crisis?

He shall maintain decent and safe working conditions—that is, he shall look after the health, sanitation, and safety of his employees; he shall endeavor to create a satisfactory working atmosphere. No question about it. It is not only ethical, but economical. Welfare pays, if properly administered.

He shall submit disputes to arbitration. Well, arbitration is usually less costly and more intelligent than labor warfare, but it isn't in the Ten Commandments, and has not yet achieved a place among the absolutes; nor does it look good to a large number of typical labor leaders.

He shall deal collectively with his employees. That is one of the great sorrows of giant business. Remember on the one hand that only 7 per cent of manufacturers in the United States employ over 100 persons. Hence most industrial establishments are small, and permit of individual dealing between employer and employee. Whether either employer or employee avail themselves of the opportunity this situation creates is another matter. On the other hand the gradual trend toward corporate ownership and employment must be recognized. From 1904 to 1919, corporate establishments increased in number one-third, in value of product one-fifth, and in employees 22 per cent as

compared with declining ratios in individual establishments. This fact plus the fact that about three-tenths of all employees work in establishments employing between 250 and 1,000 people or more, places squarely upon the large employer the responsibility for an effective personnel policy and set-up. There will surely be no debate over the assertion that an adequate personnel policy is moral as well as economical. But remember, further, that orthodox trade unionism may be only one way of collective bargaining. Consider also that collective bargaining savors of the oriental bazaar, and of *caveat emptor*, and before giving it a place among the absolutes, see if it cannot be rebaptized as "scientific co-operation" or "collective adjustment." Remember, again, that to many sincere employers, the open shop is more ethical, more Christian, than bargaining with the union.

He is responsible for the wise management of invested capital, both what we might call financial capital and human capital. He is responsible for its conservation and its application. He must prevent its waste and degeneration. He must make it more valuable, and more efficient. This means not only skill in buying and selling; it means skilled administration; it means the ability to detect and to utilize capacity in the workers; it means proper promotion, proper education, proper foremanship; in short, a proper personnel policy.

This leads me to state what I consider to be the most needed ethical readjustment in industry today, and that is a new incidence or allocation of responsibility. The greatest tragedy in industry today is the spirit of irresponsibility. It is not only a tragic waste ethically, but also economically. And when I speak about creating a new sense of responsibility in the workers and in the management I do not mean a new adjustment of bossing or authority, because unfortunately both managers of industry and labor leaders are perfectly willing to boss, but are not always willing to assume and to recognize full responsibility. This economic and ethical waste through irresponsibility will not be overcome until the workers themselves are more highly educated, until they perceive more fully the nature of business, until they are trained to take greater responsibility and to carry out those responsibilities effectively. Paradoxical as it may sound, I believe that industrial management does not satisfy its full ethical responsibility unless and until it gives intelligent support to labor's attempt to educate itself through the co-operative movement, through its ventures in banking, and through its experiments in adult education.

And so I might go on; but I have said enough to convince myself at least that we are in for a period of conscious experimentation in business and industrial ethics. It is too early to work out a detailed code; and in any event such a code could probably not with advantage go very much into detail.

Already certain resolute, fearless employers have stood out against inherited prejudices and the childish ignorance of their fellows, and have attempted to face positively and define their ethical responsibility as industrial leaders. It is not too much to hope that their efforts, combined with the efforts of the

churches and government and the professionalizing spirit of the university, should be able to hammer out an ethic which will help business to put aside childish ways and to get out of the jungle.

THE PARTICIPATION OF LABOR IN ETHICAL STANDARDS

George Soule, Labor Bureau, Inc., New York

Industry is beset by a multitude of ethical counsels, conflicting and having little intimacy with its day-by-day processes and devices. The result is a lacuna between our ethical standards and industrial behavior. While the "ethicians" produce ethics, industry goes on producing goods, conflicts, riches and poverty, health and disease.

Sometimes industry tries to placate the ethical experts, but often when it is acting in the most self-conscious ethical manner it is farthest from finding any real solution of its problem. A case of this kind was recently supplied by a certain railroad, whose management was forcibly told—and believed—that a great moral issue was raised by the shopmen's strike and that it must at all costs defeat the union men. This it accomplished, although the union men were the skilled and efficient employees, and the task of running the road while replacing them cost many extra millions of dollars and produced no visible benefit to anyone.

The trouble with deductive ethics seems to be that there is no assurance what the result of the application of any given explicit authority to a practical situation will be. Authorities differ, their interpreters differ; who is to judge among them? What are we to do when the pronouncements of authority do not become effective or cannot be made so without unforeseen and disastrous results? In the presence of this confusion, a new view of ethics has arisen which applies a more pragmatic test. Ethical standards applicable to a particular situation must be worked out by experiment in that situation. They must be developed and sanctioned by those in contact with the problem. In so far as they are anything but phrases, they do not come all at once, but unfold with experience. This is not to say that there is no such thing as ethical authority, or that general principles of ethics may not exist. Those to whom it is inconceivable that there is not some such ultimate conceptual reality must admit, however, that if the forces working in a given situation are on the right track they are doing something that brings salutary results, not simply shouting and striking attitudes. An ethics that could lead only to the latter outcome could show little to justify its authority. Without going far into the philosophical discussion of absolutism versus instrumentalism, it may be pointed out that both schools may be reconciled in practical ethics by the statement that if there is an eternal ethical order inherent in the world, only that action which is right works well for all, whether the participants are informed by principle or not,

and that if there is no such inherent order, we can approach the creation of one only by experiment and practical tests.

Now it is obvious that if we are to build up an ethics of industry which may be practiced, we must rely on industrial forces themselves to do the experimenting and the practicing. This is not merely the best way of education and discovery; it is the only way. It is on this account that labor organizations are, in and of themselves, ethical forces, no matter how little they may be conscious of the fact. Any group or organization which assesses a situation in which it is implicated, which adopts practices, rules, and standards, and which brings about the operation of those rules and standards, is an ethical force. I do not mean, of course, that its every action is necessarily right in the long run. I mean merely that without such a force we should not have ethical action at all, we should not have the opportunity to apply the conscience, the intelligence, to a social situation, and so to learn what is right for one's self to do.

It may be said that in this sense every individual is an ethical force, and that the statement does not necessitate the existence of unions. That is true to a small degree, but everyone will admit, I think, that the collective intelligence and will of the workers is more continuous and powerful in dealing with industrial practice than their separated individual intelligences. If we conceive the participation of the workers in industrial processes and social problems as being of any importance whatever, we must, I think, admit that it is well that labor should be self-organized for the purpose. To deny the value of unions as a condition of ethical experiment is as illogical as to deny the value of organized churches, social workers, citizens, lawyers, doctors, or any functional group in society attempting to employ collective resources and develop historical experience.

Too often labor organizations are conceived as merely selfish forces, attempting to gain something for themselves by the exercise of economic power, just as employers try to increase their profits. Of course, within limits there is nothing to be urged against the effort to get things for one's self or one's family. But it is too little realized how much of ethical action beyond this simple standard there is implicit even in the more elementary activities of unions. If to achieve individual gain were the only motive, the easiest course would be to curry favor with the employer, try to outdo one's neighbor and seek promotion, or, if that were impossible, favor piecework and bonus plans by which one would by hard work earn as much as possible. Yet these are precisely the reasons advanced to workers by anti-union employers for not organizing. Such reasons are frequently effective. Before organization is possible, a collective spirit must be aroused. The individual wage-earners must be convinced that their fortunes are bound up with the welfare of others, and they must often be prepared to risk sacrifice for that principle. The formulation and gaining of union demands in matters of wages, hours, and trade practices is a social act with ethical implications. Such demands are in the nature of standards derived

from experience in industry, and conceived to be of benefit to the welfare of all concerned. To enforce them requires an adherence to the general program on the part of each individual, a willingness to risk the loss of one's livelihood rather than to desert the general cause, and a confidence in the good faith of one's fellows. To take this step from the individual to the group standard is a real education in the sort of behavior which is essential if social control through co-operation is to be applied to mechanical civilization. Still more important, the ethical standards involved are self-discovered and self-applied; they are neither imposed nor granted from outside. They are, therefore, likely to be really pertinent to the situation. In this connection it must be remembered that the derivation and application of such union standards is not merely a matter of spectacular conflicts with the employer in industrial crises, it is a continuous process day in and day out, demanding an efficient administration and a high degree of loyalty on the part of the union members.

At this point I should like to raise the question whether most of the ethical pronouncements on industrial matters by those who have little direct connection with industry have not been based upon standards actually arising from the experience of unions, employers, engineers, or others directly involved. At least this seems to be the case with those standards which have concrete meaning and are pertinent to practice.

Is it not sometimes the case, some one will ask, that groups of organized workers, having attained power and established standards, practice an exclusiveness and a carelessness of the welfare of other groups comparable to the self-seeking of the individual worker which they have overcome? Undoubtedly it is true, though perhaps not so often as charged. Such restrictions often have much to recommend them which does not appear on the surface. When judged by the exigencies of the situation, restrictive practices may be the necessary counterpart of other more deplorable customs over which the group in question has little or no power, and which cannot be abandoned without a general readjustment. Thus, strict limitation of apprentices or make-work rules may be measures protecting the wage-earners against the growth of cut-throat competition, superior bargaining power on the part of the employers, or against the uncertainties of employment incident to the business cycle. If they were abandoned without the alteration of the conditions from which they arose, no one would benefit in the long run. And I have yet to find a labor organization in which the effects of strictly selfish practices were not outweighed by the general benefits derived from the sum total of its activities. To denounce the existence of trade unions because of such practices is to throw out the baby with the bath.

Nevertheless, unless unions showed signs of making adjustments and developing standards in consonance with the welfare of other groups and more inclusive interests, their ethical performance would be limited and might degenerate. The union's function as a unit of industrial experience would be in

danger if it did not look without as well as within. This is, if you like, an ethical imperative, but it is also a natural consequence of the necessary interdependence and co-operative nature of a complex mechanical society.

Steps in the direction of such external contacts are seen in the development of bi-partisan impartial machinery of adjustment in various industries which tends to codify industrial practices and build up a sort of constitutionalism, in consumers' co-operative societies, in labor banks, in the new contacts of labor with farmers' organizations, in the growing interest of labor in broad political measures. It is not the present purpose to discuss these subjects. I should like before closing, however, to direct your attention to one experiment which seems peculiarly fitted to illustrate the growth of ethical standards in industry through labor's participation—the plan of co-operation for public service first tried in the shops of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and now about to be installed on the Canadian National Railways.

Some time before the shopmen's strike of 1922, William H. Johnston, president of the International Association of Machinists, which includes one of the largest groups of workers in the railroad shops, announced that he was looking for a progressive employer who would grant full recognition to the union and accept union standards, and on that basis would agree to encourage the union's co-operation in improving production, on the understanding that any benefits derived would be shared fairly between the parties responsible. Mr. Johnston's thought was that ordinary union standards are a good basis on which to build efficient production. He felt that the struggle to gain and maintain them caused a terrific waste which ought to be ended. Once they were taken for granted, unions could go ahead to more constructive measures, and could apply their organization and experience to improving service, and economy. In order to remove a usual inhibition in the way of such co-operation, it would be necessary to assure the men that all gains made by their efforts would not accrue to the employer or owner.

After the strike an agreement of this nature was made with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and an experiment was tried at a single shop point. The officers and members of the local shop unions were called together by their national officials, given a chance to debate the idea, and after considering it from all angles they approved it. They instructed their regular shop committee, consisting of their experienced local officials, to meet regularly with a committee of the local management to find the obstacles in the way of good and economical work in the shops, and apply remedies. The union had its own graduate management engineer, O. S. Beyer, Jr., on the spot to advise it and help solve the difficulties uncovered.

I will not attempt here to summarize the technical details of the obstacles discovered and the measures taken for their removal. It is a long story. But it is well to point out that there was no installation of piecework and bonuses, no speeding up, no stimulation of individual desire for gain. Rather the prog-

ress was along the line of better co-operative organization of the shop, accessibility and adequate supply of tools and materials, invention of better methods of work, reduction of labor turnover, the installation of an employment office, better routine, and the elaboration and display of progress charts, so that each man could visualize the work of the whole unit and his part in it. Little by little the management and the workers discovered and defined their mutuality of interest. On the side of the management, delays were minimized, better quality of work turned out, unit costs were reduced, and more locomotives were assigned to the shop. On the side of the men, interest was stimulated, conditions of work were improved, better feeling prevailed, employment was increased and regularized, wage-incomes grew, remedy of grievances was hastened. So successful was the experiment regarded by both sides that it was extended to all shop points on the system.

What is the ethical significance of this experiment? Simply that it is a further growth of standards, practices, and group habits, and a growth which explicitly takes into consideration the interests not merely of one functional group, but of all groups, including the consuming public. It is an advancement of industrial standards, not by the deduction from without of general principles such as "collective bargaining," "industrial democracy," "the eight-hour day" or "regularization of employment," but of their induction and detailed application, on the basis of a specific agreement between the forces directly involved, in a purposeful manner that works out well for all concerned. If we are to have a world in which salutary ethical standards may prevail, it must be achieved by just this sort of building up of fruitful group habits, of group adjustments, of the practical technique of co-operation in direct dealing with the machinery of production and distribution for agreed-upon ends. This demonstration of what a union may do when its existence and function is fully recognized is a bit of evidence leading to the hope that we may see a progressive flowering of ethical standards in industry if we release the constructive energies of the groups involved by permitting proper organization and encouraging the development of creative functions.

WORKERS' EDUCATION

WORKERS' EDUCATION FOR WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Agnes Nestor, President, Women's Trade Union League, Chicago

"Women in Industry" in the workers' education movement gives me a rather broad field because it has been the women who have contributed so largely to starting this movement in what Mr. Spencer Miller outlined to us as the second decade (1910–20). This movement started about ten years ago, the Women's Trade Union League pioneering in this through both the national and local leagues.

In 1913 the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union started its educational program in co-operation with the Rand School. This organization has 45 per cent women membership, so again the women played their part in the beginning. Later this union launched its own work and has developed a very extensive program of education, beginning in New York City and extending to other cities. It was for the women to plan the first resident summer school at Bryn Mawr College. The initiator in this was the president emeritus, Miss M. Carey Thomas.

Four distinct experiments have been carried on during the past few years. The National Women's Trade Union League voted in 1913 to open a training school for active workers in the labor movement. Trade union girls were to be given training, half of the time being given to academic training and the remainder to what is called field work, practice in the work of organizing, the making of trade union agreements, and the opportunity of other experiences that would be useful in their trade union work. This now consists of a six months' course for a limited number of from six to ten students, as scholarships are given to the students accepted. Young women are invited to apply for scholarships, women who have shown ability as organizers in their trade or their own city, or have awakened to a sense of their responsibilities to some branch of the labor movement and are willing to make the sacrifice which the labor movement demands.

The National Women's Trade Union League has just held a week's labor institute at Brookwood in co-operation with that college following the convention of the League held in New York. Different subjects were presented and discussed at each session. The institute was planned so th at the delegates attending the convention might participate. This, too, was an experiment by trade union women.

The Women's Trade Union League of Chicago held small classes in English following the garment workers' strike in 1913, but the main work began in 1915, when classes in short story writing and English composition and literature were held. From that time on the educational work grew until the fall of 1918, when the Chicago League asked the Chicago Federation of Labor to join in its educational work, since which time the work has been carried on jointly. In 1919 the name of the Chicago Trade Union College was adopted.

The most popular courses offered thus far have been in parliamentary law and public speaking. The younger trade unionists, ambitious to serve as officers, or eager to take the floor effectively in their local meetings, enrol in these classes. They want to know parliamentary usage, whether in the chair or on the floor. Last year we organized a course in word usage which was worked into the advance class in public speaking. This was at the request of the students. We aim to give the students what they want, not what we want to give them.

We wish someone could coin a name for an economics course or for one in labor problems which would attract students and help popularize that course.

From reports received from every labor college, this course seems to be the most difficult one to attract students. Those taking the course are interested, but to get them into the class is the problem.

This year in Chicago we are going to try the method of having lectures at union meetings. This will have a twofold purpose: first, to reach a larger number with certain instruction; and second, to stimulate enrolments in the smaller classes. We are asking the unions to set aside one hour each month for educational purposes and the organizations to select the subject they want presented. We are asking the unions to give scholarships to their members. We are also having the instructors visit some of the unions to outline their course. In this way the members will get acquainted with the instructor and become interested in the subjects offered.

It was in 1918 that the Boston Trade Union College was organized. While their educational program was along the lines of the work carried on in New York, and what we had been doing in Chicago, somehow the name "Trade Union College" caught the imagination of folks and it was heralded forth as a new venture in workers' education. Since then, similar colleges have been opened in cities in all parts of the country and the name has been generally accepted by each group. In the Boston Trade Union College, the Women's Trade Union League co-operated and shared in the work. In Philadelphia, the Women's Trade Union League was the main force in organizing the labor college in that city. The women aided, too, in organizing Brookwood—the only resident workers' college, which opened in the fall of 1921. This school is coeducational, and a good proportion of the students each year are women.

The Bryn Mawr Summer School opened in the summer of 1921, at Bryn Mawr College. It is managed by a joint administrative committee representing women in industry, the college faculty and trustees, and student representatives. This is a summer course covering eight weeks, beginning the middle of June. This committee recruits students from every part of the country. One of the values of the school is the national make-up, the selection of students representing the different sections of the country. They come from the Pacific Coast, West, and Middle West, mill towns in the southern states, and from eastern cities and the New England states. Each has much to learn, one from the other. Even counting the expense of the traveling from the distant states, it is worth the cost, and I trust, although other schools of this kind may be opened in other colleges, that this school at Bryn Mawr may remain national in the selection of students. One hundred students are enrolled. The requirement is that they be working at the tools of their trade, and not in a supervisory capacity. Clerical workers and saleswomen are not included. This is one of the most interesting experiments in workers' education now conducted.

The purpose of Bryn Mawr Summer School for women workers in industry is "to offer young women in industry opportunities to study liberal subjects and to train themselves in clear thinking. The teaching is carried on by instructors

who have an intelligent understanding of the students' practical experience in industry, and of the labor movement. It is conducted in a spirit of impartial inquiry, with freedom of discussion and freedom of academic teaching. The school is not committed to any theory or dogma. It is hoped that these students may acquire a truer insight into the problems of the industrial order, increase their influence and add to the happiness of their own lives." The work, as carried on at Bryn Mawr and in the local labor college, is entirely educational and not propaganda. Students are trained in clear thinking, and to search for the truth.

Each year about one hundred girls from the Bryn Mawr Summer School return to different parts of the country stimulated with a desire for more education. When they return, their great desire is to share some of the things learned at the school. I saw a girl during the winter taking out a worn-looking paper, and when I asked her about it she said it was her "reading list" given to her by her literature instructor at the end of the term; she had copied it for so many girls that it was worn to pieces.

It is hoped that the trade union colleges may furnish students for Bryn Mawr. Already preference is given to girls who have attended classes during the winter months. From Bryn Mawr we hope some students may be selected for the training school of the National Women's Trade Union League, as well as Brookwood. Girls who have studied during the year have at least some preparation for the eight weeks' course at Bryn Mawr, and girls attending the eight weeks' summer school have a general preparation for the more specialized work either at the training school of the National Women's Trade Union League or at Brookwood.

Workers' education has become an interesting and popular movement in this country during the past five years. The Workers' Educational Bureau was organized in 1920, because there was felt the need of some central bureau to serve as a clearing house and co-ordinating agency with the establishment of labor colleges in so many cities, and other educational experiments carried on by some of the unions. At the St. Paul convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1918 it was voted to appoint a committee to study the educational work carried on by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and other organizations. At the convention in 1919, a report was made by the committee commending the work as carried on; but a more specific indorsement came at the Portland convention in 1923. If this movement makes as great progress during the next five years as it has in the past five—and there is every reason why even greater progress should be made—then we have much to expect from this movement. It is a growing movement, backed officially by the labor movement, and aided by the hearty co-operation of college men and women as teachers and advisers. It will succeed and spread.

AN EXPERIMENT IN THE CANADIAN LUMBER INDUSTRY

Alfred Fitzpatrick, M.A., Principal, Frontier College, Canada

As a missionary of the Presbyterian Church I first became interested in loggers in the redwoods of California. But in my capacity as such I did not accomplish a great deal. Despite my best efforts, I felt that betwixt them and me there was a great gulf fixed.

Accordingly, after a short period of service and two semesters in research work at Leland Stanford University, I returned to Canada. Later, after being stationed temporarily at Webbwood, Algoma, in northern Ontario, I withdrew from the regular work of the church, having decided to give my whole time to the men of the camps.

The bunkhouses in which the lumberjacks lived were so crowded, that it seemed to me little could be done in the way of education without a separate building. In view of this, in the fall of 1900, I bought a carload of lumber to equip three log buildings at different camps to be used for purposes of study and recreation. Part of this lumber, including also a big box stove, some chairs, and a supply of camp lamps, I shipped on a scow across the Spanish River. I then hired teams and had the outfit hauled to the camp where I intended to establish the first branch of the Frontier College.

I walked into camp a few days later and carried in a packsack containing fifty books. On arrival I experienced difficulty in locating the lumber. Fearing that the supplies had been taken to the wrong camp, I asked the "bull" cook if a cache teamster had brought four loads of building material to the camp for me. He seemed evasive, but said in reply, "There's a stove over there by the stable, perhaps that is yours." I walked over and discovered that the article to which he referred was a stove without doubt, but badly shattered, its parts held in place by hay wire. I could get no further satisfaction from the chore boy.

I went to the office, found the foreman rubbing so much soap and water on his face that I could not patch his attempts at speech together. He did not seem to want to talk, but was kind enough to say, "You better go in and have supper."

Calling on the cook at the close of the meal to give him a tip for his kindness I noticed that several chairs adorned his end of the cookery. This was something I had never seen before in a Canadian cook-camp and struck me at the time as being a little unusual.

Later that evening I dropped into the bunkhouse, sat in the long bench adjoining the lowest tier of bunks, enjoyed a secondhand smoke, and tried to chat with some of the men. I recalled Emerson's sarcastic remark that "Great men surround themselves with quantities of unavailableness," and believed that had Emerson visited an Algoma lumber camp he would have had reason to attribute this same quality to the average lumberjack of northern Ontario. I

concluded that the education of men of so few words and so shy of approach would prove a Herculean task.

I walked out into the night a downcast man and felt that perhaps in quitting the church I had burned the bridges behind me too soon. "Can anything be done with men like that?" I reflected, as I strode down past the blacksmith shop and out into the woods. It was a beautiful moonlight night. I walked between two walls of stalwart white-pine trees and along the main road that led toward the dump. It was well-iced and as smooth as an automobile highway. I recalled the uncommon scene I had just left. One hundred young men in the prime of life spending twelve out of twenty-four hours in a building about 30 by 70 feet, with few lamps and small gable windows, with bunks three tiers high, two of the inmates sleeping in each, while four wheezing grindstones droned out their nerve-racking noises incessantly. There was nothing elevating in such a life. The men seemed to suffer from ennui. There was no literature that I could see, save the wrappings of a patent medicine bottle. The jests and stories were debasing.

Upon further thought, it struck me as strange that the bunks were fitted up with partitions and some even with cupboards and pigeonholes. True, this had aroused my curiosity when in the bunkhouse. Was it a luxury the company had provided for the men? Or could it be, as gradually became apparent, that these same improvements dated from the day that my lumber had arrived at the camp? It then dawned on me that the foreman, too, had new chairs in his office, and that the big stove, which kept his little building at a July temperature was suspiciously like the one I had just sent in to camp.

It was now clearly evident to me that the lumber and furnishings for the first branch of the Frontier College had been appropriated for the personal comfort of its probable pupils. I was somewhat discouraged, but decided that it would not be tactful to kick up a fuss. Men who worked as hard as these lumberjacks, were entitled to a little privacy, even if only that afforded by the board partitions between their bunks.

Next morning, on bidding good-by to the foreman, I said: "Look here, old man! I am going to send in four more loads of lumber. Will you see that it is kept for the 'Reading Camp'?" I was afraid to alarm him with the name college or even school. "Yes, and depend on it, I'll take care of it, and I'll have my men put the log frame together for you," he replied.

I have given you with some detail a few of the difficulties that confronted the first attempt of the Frontier College to enter these forbidden sanctums. It was blazing a new trail in education, and I am mentioning these incidents here because it indicates what was commonly encountered for many years by the Frontier College in other camps and in various parts of the country. Gradually, however, the reserve and undue conservatism of lumbermen and contractors have been overcome. The Frontier College is now indorsed by most employers of camp men, and is welcomed by the workers themselves.

But important as is the building itself, I have long since been convinced that the instructor is 80 per cent of the college, and that equipment and supplies are of secondary importance under the conditions usually existing in camps.

We now bend our energies toward securing the right type of man, and when we have such a type we begin work at once, with or without a tent, car, or building. Personality, brotherhood, service, are amongst the most significant words in the language for anyone who would help his fellows. The Frontier College instructors go a step farther than Froebel, who said: "Come, let us live with our students." Its instructors say: "Come, let us work with our students." An instructor who has manliness and common sympathy, who lives with the men, and is on the company's pay-roll as a worker, is the very first step in founding a branch of the Frontier College.

You may wish to know how an instructor influences a camp. I shall give you one or two examples. Some years ago the Canadian Pacific Railway had a large steel-laying gang, Galicians and Italians chiefly, on the Moose Jaw extension, near Coronation, Alberta. They worked Sunday and Monday. The Frontier College sent W. E. Givens, a graduate of Indiana State University, then a research student at Columbia. "I want the hardest job you have in camp," said the newly arrived instructor to the greatly surprised foreman. "Bucking ties with the Italians is the hardest job here. You can do that if you like," was the reply. Givens took it. In a short time he was offered the position of sub-foreman or "straw boss." This he refused, believing that it would weaken the bonds of fellowship with the men to whom he was becoming more attached every day. The Canadian Pacific Railway had generously supplied Givens with an old passenger coach for his work. In this he slept, and conducted his classes with most encouraging success.

One other result is worth mentioning here. Previous to Givens' arrival, Sunday work had been the rule, but owing to the coming of our instructor and the free use of the recreation car so kindly provided by the company, that was discontinued. The men through his efforts had fitting opportunity for relaxation. I shall read you an outline of the instructor's Sunday program: 8 A.M., a free shave and hair-cut for any who wished it; 10 A.M., a "sing song"; 12, noon lunch; 2 P.M., baseball; 4 P.M., a ride on the hand cars, and dip in the Red River.

This may not meet with the appproval of all, but you must keep in mind the needs of an isolated work-group where the only other alternative was ten hours with the shovel, or a day spent in gaming or vice.

I should add that there were many evidences of real friendship between Givens and his fellow-workers. One of these was that on several occasions he had found boots which he had discarded on account of holes, mended skilfully, and replaced at his bunk. Not until the end of the season was he able to discover the admirer who had done him this service, and only then from the lips of another.

I could tell of many others. I shall mention one more, Gunder Brocke, whom we placed at Wolfe Creek, mileage 117, west of Edmonton on the then Grand Trunk Pacific. The foreman at Wolfe Creek, Pete Hansen, did not want a preacher hanging around his camp, but said: "If your man will work as a laborer, he can come along." We promised to send him an instructor who we felt sure would satisfy him as a laborer.

Gunder bought a broncho in Edmonton, tied him in front of Alberta College, where Frontier College supplies were stored, and loaded him with a tent and a bag containing a complete school outfit. Taking also his violin, a fine instrument which his father had brought from Norway, and placing it on top, he cinched the horse rather tightly. The broncho responded by giving the citizens of Edmonton one of the best demonstrations of bucking they had ever witnessed. The result was that the broncho trampled everything, including the violin, under his feet and finally broke away. Gunder was not dismayed. He finally caught the horse and this time decided to load him more carefully. Determined that the men where he located should not lack for music of some kind, he purchased a new violin, and that same night, leading his pack horse, he set out on his hundred-mile journey. Following the trail along the broken grade and tenting by night, his trip consumed the greater part of a week. On arrival at Hanson's camp he sold the broncho to men coming out, for $50, thus breaking even on charges incurred in freighting his outfit. Three months later I paid Gunder a visit. It was evening when I reached camp. I went straight to the school tent where he was conducting a class consisting of fifteen young Scandinavians. Later I called on the foreman. "How is Brocke getting on?" I asked. "Brocke is the best man I have on the dump," was his instant reply.

In the last twenty-four years nearly eight hundred instructors—an average of fifty annually—graduates, undergraduates, and research students, have gone from the Frontier College to isolated gangs as workers themselves, in order to help men otherwise deprived of educational facilities. They have swung the axe, handled the shovel and crowbar, mixed cement, and engaged in other heavy work. Practically all of these instructors are convinced that this method of living and working with men is by all odds the best plan of reaching those of the camps and bunkhouses.

The universities of the United States and Canada have one instructor for every ten pupils. The Frontier College is trying to even things up a bit in the interests of the man outside the classrooms. To every camp of one hundred men we hope to be able some day to send at least one such instructor as Givens or Brocke. To this task we have set our hand.

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN CANADA

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The subject, "Workers' Education in Canada," is somewhat of a misnomer, as workers' education upon an organized basis and in accordance with recognized standards exists only in the province of Ontario. At the same time, I would be doing an injustice to the subject if I did not give some attention to the very excellent work being done in this connection by trades unions.

It is the average trades union which gives the workingman and workingwoman their first concept of the co-operative relationship and interdependence of the entire working class. It is upon the floors of our trades union meetings that workingmen and workingwomen are taught to think upon their feet. It is here that they learn to give expression to their thoughts and opinions, and it is here that they receive their first rudimentary knowledge of public speaking and mass action. More than that, it is the wide range of relationship between one local union and all other unions and the great volume of correspondence that is conducted one with another which brings to all a fund of information and knowledge which could not be obtained in any other way. Most of the great working class reforms that have been adopted from time to time by various nations have had their origins in the meeting rooms of the trades unions. So that when we speak of workers' education it must always be kept in mind that trades unionism is a mighty force along educational channels that cannot be ignored.

At the present moment there are 278,000 trades unionists in Canada, all, according to their light, contributing something toward human uplift and enlightenment. In addition to that great army of men and women, there is a considerable number of labor publications which also contribute something to the sum total of working class education.

Some place in the scheme of workers' education must be given radical organizations. These exist in various forms throughout Canada. There is a very limited number of the Industrial Workers of the World operating in some parts of western Canada. There is also a scattering of the One Big Union still in existence. Communists are organized into what is known as the Workers' Party, and in some places as the Plebeian League and as the Communist Party of Canada. There is, in a broad political way, the Socialist party, the Independent Labor Party, and the Greater Canadian Labor Party. All of these organizations are purely propagandist in their methods, nevertheless they do a certain educational work, and for that they must be taken cognizance of. They have publications of their own, including a considerable amount of pamphlet literature which is distributed among working people for educational purposes, some of which takes root and causes men and women to study their philosophy, and as a result they either become converts or opponents; and if it accomplishes

nothing more than to arouse otherwise lethargic minds into thinking activity, it must be treated in the light of having some educational value, and classed as workers' education.

The first real attempt to bring systematized cultural education to the worker was started in Toronto by Professor W. S. Milner of Toronto University. Professor Milner organized a class in political philosophy in the Toronto Technical School in the year 1917. This class was composed entirely of workingmen. In the year 1918 Professor R. M. MacIver of Toronto University undertook the establishment of classes in workers' education along the same lines as those prevailing in Great Britain, Professor MacIver having previously engaged in workers' educational work in England.

This attempt resulted in securing a total of 67 students, most of whom engaged in the study of economics under Dr. W. L. Grant of Upper Canada College, whilst the balance continued their studies in political philosophy under Professor Milner. From that small beginning the movement grew steadily until the present time, when in Toronto alone during the winter of this year there was an enrolment of 512 worker students. From Toronto the movement spread to Hamilton, thence to Ottawa, London, Windsor, Brantford, Galt, Kitchener. I will not burden the reader with the history of the struggles of this movement in these various localities, and its almost uniformly steady growth, in spite of one of the worst industrial depressions that Canada has ever known. Suffice to say that there are at present over 1,000 workingmen and workingwomen students in these classes.

In most localities there is a very close affiliation between organized labor and these Workers' Education Association classes. Each district elects its own executive from among its class members, upon which local labor organizations and the University of Toronto have representation. This, however, does not confine the class membership to trades unionists; in fact the majority of the students do not belong to any labor organization. The only qualification is that they be members of that great army of workers who in youth were denied the opportunity of securing a cultural education, or who through circumstances over which they have no control cannot afford to pay the price of a higher education.

The subjects taught do not conflict with technical education in any form, and it is not intended that they should directly contribute toward increasing a man's earning-power. The chief object sought is to promote straight thinking, and good citizenship. Wherever a group of twenty or more workingmen or workingwomen, or both, can agree upon some cultural subject, such as political economy, political philosophy, English literature, psychology, rhetoric, public speaking, journalism, hygiene, geology, botany, mineralogy, etc., the University of Toronto will provide gratis a suitable instructor for such class, the only charge to the student being the sum of one dollar for a course of twenty lectures beginning in October and ending in March. The dollar fee is retained by the

executive and utilized to promote the welfare of the local organization where the money is collected.

The subjects taught are all of university grade and standard, but no preliminary examination is required nor are there any final examinations unless requested. The tutor enters into friendly relationship with the members of his class, and no statement of his need be taken for granted. Every phase of the particular subject under discussion is open for free and impartial analysis. There is no propaganda in favor of any particular theory or philosophy. The widest latitude obtains for the free expression of opinion, and it is the principal duty of the tutor to promote this discussion and to keep it germane to the subject.

A mistaken notion prevails among some people that a first-class preliminary education is required to qualify for these classes. This is not so, and while a good preliminary education is undoubtedly a great help, it is not vitally necessary to the successful prosecution of these studies. The majority of the men and women at present attending W.E.A. classes have never gone beyond their second year in high school, and many of them are only public school graduates. The chief requisites are a willingness to learn, the possession of a good fund of common sense, and a real desire for knowledge.

The name of the organization, "Workers' Educational Association" and its abbreviation, W.E.A., are importations from Great Britain where this movement has made enormous strides during the last fifteen years, there being at the present time no less than 25,000 students enrolled in its classes. In Canada the movement is at present confined to the province of Ontario, but if it continues at its present rate of progress for another five years it will soon overflow Ontario borders into other provinces. The movement is fundamentally sound, and marks a growing intimacy between labor and learning that has been long overdue. Its possibilities are infinite, and the very least that it can accomplish will be to make all of those who take part in its courses better men and finer women.

In conclusion it is only fair to pay a tribute to that sterling enthusiast, W. J. Dunlop, B.A., Director of University Extension for Toronto University. His untiring zeal and self-sacrificing initiative has been a constant source of inspiration to those upon whose shoulders the responsibility of carrying on the promotion of W.E.A. work in Canada has fallen.

STABILIZING INDUSTRY AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

STABILIZATION OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

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In America "stabilization of employment" is the distinguishing feature of our approach to the unemployment problem. Most European countries have regarded unemployment as inevitable. They have looked upon maladjustments in industry as necessary evils to be tolerated; the victims of unemployment to be relieved either by charity or by insurance. The principal alternative suggestion was that the whole system of private industry be overthrown. Both methods have been tried in Europe.

But in America a different outlook, influenced no doubt by an economic environment which has afforded on this continent more generous returns for individual effort, has assured our leaders in government and industry that for the present the evils of unemployment in America can be more hopefully met without copying the European examples. This view in general is held by our most outstanding public authorities, among whom in the United States there is no one more earnestly devoting thought and energy to this question than is Secretary Hoover of the Department of Commerce. This view is generally held by industrial managers like Dennison, Procter, and Hatch, who have by their successful experiments made perhaps the greatest direct contributions to the solution of the problem. It is no less firmly held by Samuel Gompers and his controlling group in the American labor movement. It is a present conviction, truly representative of American thought on this question, that our system of competitive industry, although modified in an evolutionary way, is to be continued, that we in this country may sparingly utilize the various kinds of public relief and even some form of unemployment insurance; but that practically in dealing with unemployment our principal effort is to be directly toward the stabilization of employment.

Social workers perhaps more clearly than others understand the social tragedy of unemployment. They are familiar in the mass with its human aspect—with distress, bread lines, broken families. Four times within the last generation in the United States we have had industrial depression with millions of men out of work and billions of capital idle. Only three years ago we were faced with 5,000,000 unemployed, and their families. Recently there have been many indications that our industries are again, week by week, slipping into another period of depression.

Social workers have a right to definite opinions on the subject of unemployment. They have had opportunity to observe, and possibly the inclination to reflect upon, the attitude of the various elements in the community during

successive periods of unemployment. A very brief review of recent experience in the United States is sufficient to indicate how we have been drifting. And it will show how the stress is increasingly put upon prevention.

Back in 1912, at the National Conference of Social Work held at Cleveland, our committee presented a comprehensive platform of social standards in which it was declared that "the demand for insurance against unemployment increases with the increasing specialization in industry." And the conference then laid down the principle that "unemployment of able-bodied adult men under sixty-five years of age is abnormal and wasteful, and is as proper a subject for recognition by the public authorities as contagious disease or other abnormal conditions which menace the public well-being."

Two years later, in February, 1914, the Association for Labor Legislation, following several years of preliminary work, called the first national conference on unemployment at New York City. Representatives from twenty-five states and fifty-nine cities attended. Constructive legislative proposals for combating unemployment, including public employment bureaus and unemployment insurance, were discussed.

At the end of 1914 a second national conference on unemployment was held at Philadelphia. A practical program for the relief and prevention of unemployment was presented, which included, in brief, first, an adequate permanent public employment service; second, the more intelligent long-range planning of public works; third, the regularization of private employment; and fourth, unemployment insurance on the same principle as the successful accident compensation laws, with the emphasis upon prevention.

During the acute unemployment crises of 1914–15, through the co-operation of scores of social workers, a nation-wide investigation was made of the nature and extent of the depression and of the measures then being taken to mitigate its evil effects. Reports received from more than 300 organizations and individuals in 115 different communities fully confirmed the principles of the above program, and were of assistance in formulating more complete and detailed "standard recommendations" for the guidance of communities in the relief and prevention of unemployment. Here again the importance of regularization of industry was stressed. "Stimulate careful planning for this purpose by experts," it was recommended, "as part of the regular routine of business management." And within a few years a whole new profession of employment managers sprang up.

In thus laying the groundwork for the attack upon unemployment in the United States, the co-operation of social workers in all the principal industrial centers was of great and necessary assistance, not only in formulating effective principles of relief work in emergencies, but also, and of more enduring value, in substantiating the principle that the true solution of the problem lies not in temporary measures of charitable relief except as they are unavoidable, but in permanent measures of prevention.

How far industry had advanced by 1921 toward realization of its own responsibility for unemployment was made clearly apparent when the President's conference on unemployment was called in the fall of that year. It was essentially a manufacturers' conference. In its first task, that of agreeing upon measures for emergency relief, the conference adopted a program that was in line with, and strongly reinforced, the "Standard Recommendations" of 1915. Then the conference turned to a task that, in its own words, "looks to the future rather than the present, to prevention rather than cure." This it intrusted to a "continuing committee." Within a few months a report prepared under the direction of the National Bureau of Economic Research was submitted to the committee—a report which pointed the way to thoroughgoing action. The committee's final conclusions, while partially disappointing to some of us in that they largely ignored the need for public action to stimulate and hasten the regularization of industry, nevertheless placed full emphasis upon action by employers, bankers, and financiers to set their own houses in order. Herein lies the greatest significance of the conference: for the first time an official national gathering by its very character no less than by its conclusions fixed unemployment in the public mind as not only a social problem but also a problem of industry.

With this very great advance in understanding of the problem by industry and the public, there have been put into practice in recent years a number of interesting plans consciously designed to stabilize employment.

Nowhere is the new spirit more strikingly manifested than in the agreement recently concluded between the miners' union and the principal coal mine operators, renewing the existing wage scale for three years. Bituminous coal mining has long been recognized as a conspicuous offender in the matter of irregular employment. Soft coal mines in the United States work on an average only 70 per cent of a full-time year. This means an appalling social waste. We are told that nearly 200,000 men could be transferred to other industries if coal mine operation were made regular; a most important consideration at a time when many industries complain of a labor shortage due to restricted immigration. The new wage agreement, entered into by both miners and operators with deliberate design, is expected to drive many unstable coal mines out of business, with a gradual stabilization of employment in those that survive. As the President of the United Mine Workers said: "It is the survival of the fittest. Many are going to be hurt, but the rule must be, the greatest good for the greatest number."

In building-construction, especially, by tradition a highly seasonal industry, we find plans taking shape encouragingly to stabilize employment. In recent years both in Canada and the United States efforts to continue public works in winter have met with considerable success. Leaders in the building industry are now actively promoting the idea of all-year work in private undertakings. As put forward recently by the American Construction Council and aggressively

sponsored by the Building Congress in Philadelphia and New York, the plans propose that certain types of inside construction be done in winter, when there is a surplus of workers, instead of having the work done in the summer when all workmen are needed for outside construction.

Further impetus is being given to these efforts to stabilize building by the President's conference on unemployment which is about to issue a report, following a comprehensive study by a special committee, on "Seasonal Construction: The Facts and the Remedies." The importance of this forthcoming report is well suggested in Secretary Hoover's statement that the construction industries are "the balance wheel of American industry."

The idea of preventing unemployment by regularizing production, now so strikingly taking hold of the imagination, and the enlightened self-interest of industrial managers, has been finding its most helpful and concrete expression in individual plants.

The incentive appears to be a combination of humanitarianism and good business. There is the desire to remove the haunting fear of unemployment from the workers' minds. Then, too, as one employer of skilled labor has expressed it, "in times of business depression, experience indicates that it becomes necessary to lay off a portion of the employees due to lack of work, with the consequent possibility of losing such employees permanently." And, as another employer remarked: "I believe it will lessen industrial unrest."

Through all these successful plans runs a common thread of policy. It is the policy of making what you sell, instead of selling what you make. Individual application of this policy varies according to the nature of the enterprise, but always the effect is to co-ordinate production and sales. One company has been able to promise continuous employment by working out a method of forecasting sales months in advance, and adjusting production to meet the market. A large soap company was enabled to guarantee its employees forty-eight weeks of employment each year by wiping out spasmodic buying. Increased storage at the plant, deferred deliveries, and selling direct to the dealer turned the trick. An importer of dates stabilized employment by enlarging storage and stimulating a demand for dates in what had been considered the off season.

From the social point of view, however, there is added significance in the fact that employers are adopting unemployment insurance funds to supplement and aid their efforts to reduce lay-offs. The number of establishments which have created such funds is steadily increasing in the United States, including thus far a large paper and novelties manufacturing company, two textile finishing concerns, an electrical measuring instruments manufacturer, an important railroad, several cloth hat and cap factories, a paper manufacturing plant, a lace curtain manufacturing company, and a varnish and enamel manufacturing plant.

Underlying these experiments is a growing appreciation on the part of employers that unemployment insurance is not only a practical stimulus to

stabilizing employment and thus striking at involuntary idleness by preventing it, but that it is also of enormous importance—as social workers fully appreciate—because of the financial assistance it provides for unemployed wage earners and their families to help tide them over a depression when the strain becomes too great and shutdowns cannot be averted.

From unemployment insurance in individual plants to unemployment insurance covering an entire industry is a step, and a big step, forward. And the first steps in this direction have already, within the past three years, been taken. The pioneers in extending voluntary experiments with unemployment insurance to cover whole industries are the garment industry in Cleveland, and the clothing industry in Chicago, highly irregular occupations. Both plans were adopted by joint agreement between the employers and the trade unions. This means a step forward in another sense—from an individual plan subject only to the good will of a single employer, to a group or market plan fixed by contract. The success of these experiments is certain to have a far-reaching effect. For one thing it is demonstrating that some of the fears stirred up by opponents of social insurance legislation are groundless.

The unemployment fund in the men's ready-made clothing industry in Chicago, adopted a year ago, covers eighty manufacturing establishments and protects over 35,000 workers. It is supported by equal contributions from the employer and his employees. On May 1, 1924, the fund officially began functioning, and up to the seventh of June over 1,500 unemployment insurance checks, for a total of about $27,000, had been paid to employees who were out of work. Bryce M. Stewart, former head of the Employment Service of Canada, who is at the head of the employment bureau which functions as a highly essential feature of the unemployment insurance agreement, recently referred in glowing terms to the Chicago fund as "the biggest scheme of unemployment insurance by industry that has anywhere been set up" and added that "it is a welcome thought that this is likely to be extended to the other markets."

The Cleveland plan, adopted three years ago, covers the ladies' garment industry in that city. It is now a demonstrated success. The worker is guaranteed forty weeks of employment in a year. Failure of his employer to meet the guaranty entitles the worker to receive half of his minimum pay from the unemployment insurance fund. The fund is maintained by the employer, who sets aside, theoretically, each week 10 per cent of his direct labor pay-roll, and gives a bond for that amount to the board of referees which controls the fund. The plan is designed to eliminate seasonal unemployment through the device of offering the employer an incentive to stabilize production. The incentive here is the saving of unemployment benefits. Steady work becomes a paying proposition. The incentive works. Employers are stabilizing employment. We now have exact figures to prove this. The first year two-thirds of the fund reverted to the employers; only two shops out of nearly thirty used their entire fund, and five shops saved it intact. The second year seven-eighths of the fund

reverted to the employers; two shops exhausted their entire fund and eleven shops did not draw upon their funds at all.

"The Cleveland plan," says the manager of the Cleveland Garment Manufacturers' Association, "is simple and practical. It is effective in its incentive for the reduction of unemployment periods. It has caused the elimination of a considerable amount of seasonal unemployment."

It may be expected that what is thus being accomplished successfully by voluntary action of groups of far-sighted employers and workers is exactly what is sooner or later going to be achieved for all industries through legislation. In one state, Wisconsin, a campaign of education is well under way looking to the adoption of unemployment compensation legislation. The Wisconsin bill is the best-considered American proposal for unemployment insurance. While it failed of passage in 1923, still it was given a strongly favorable report by the legislative committee. The bill is based upon accident compensation experience and upon the idea of stimulating industry to put into effect measures of prevention.

Now that we have reached the point in our country where there is representative agreement as to industry's ability to meet, to a considerable extent, its responsibility for preventing unemployment, it is not surprising to find some of the far-seeing employers themselves declaring that the prevention of unemployment on a nation-wide scale calls for the adoption of legislation to give universal application to the incentives for stabilizing employment. Significantly, this view is held by employers who have had most experience with voluntary experiments.

"Such pioneer experiments," says the labor manager of Hart Schaffner & Marx, "should be of value to those who, as a result of their own independent studies and observation, believe the time is coming when the advantages of unemployment insurance will, through the aid of legislation, be made universal."

The head of a large manufacturing enterprise in Wisconsin, who has successfully tried out unemployment insurance in his own business, declares that adoption of unemployment compensation legislation "will certainly interest the executive in the need and the wisdom of steady employment," and "will be the most potent incentive which the state could afford employers to take the initiative in stabilizing production and in preventing unemployment."

Another employer who has given much study to the problem refers to voluntary unemployment funds in industry as "excellent laboratories in which to experiment," but points out that "private efforts, no matter how significant or encouraging they may be, still remain individual, with the ultimate goal lost in a haze of uncertainty." The broad view for industry to take, as he expresses it, is that "the enactment of an unemployment insurance law, in focusing the attention of the employers upon methods of combating unemployment, would undoubtedly have the same effect upon unemployment as a similar law relating to workmen's accident insurance has had upon accidents; it would

diminish unemployment, and diminished unemployment would mean stabilized industry, more even production, and thus freer opportunities to increase profits."

The first period of indifference was followed by recognition of the employer's responsibility. The present period of experimentation points the way to helpful legislation.

So, in the United States, the day is being speeded when social action will be everywhere recognized as desirable and necessary to the prevention of unemployment. Older countries than ours have come more quickly to accept the supplemental advantages of social insurance. We have already accepted it in the case of industrial accidents and occupational diseases, and from this experience it may be predicted that the United States is on the eve of an era of unemployment compensation legislation, just as, only a little more than a dozen years ago, it had passed through the period of preparation and was entering into an era of legislation for accident compensation.

Anyone who has carried through a labor legislative campaign must have been impressed and depressed by the indifference of the public to evil industrial conditions, even when they are as unnecessary as they are wasteful and disgraceful. And, as social workers well know, the greatest evil of modern industry is its waste of men and women; waste in ill health which is largely preventable, waste in accidental injuries and deaths which are mostly preventable, waste in needless operations, labor turnover, and idle time, and the terrible waste in the periodic cycles of widespread unemployment—all of which, too, can be largely prevented.

Encouragingly, the idea of conserving the human resources of the nation is taking hold of industry not only in direct connection with preventing unemployment but also as a matter of day by day efficiency and improved industrial relations.

The most recent incentive to stabilizing employment, which is claiming the serious attention of industrial managers as well as social workers, is found in two laws recently enacted by Congress: the immigration law, and the child labor constitutional amendment.

Despite the efforts of certain employers to have immigration restriction loosened up so as to make available an increased reserve of foreign labor, Congress placed still more severe restrictions upon the inflow of workers from abroad. This restriction, whether or not desirable from all points of view, is already arousing the initiative and resourcefulness of our industrialists.

Addressing the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, a few weeks ago, the representative of one of our large packing companies warned his business colleagues that what he termed "the radical policy" of immigration restriction now adopted by the United States is going to cut down substantially the number of available workers. With practical directness he turned to the question: "How can we overcome the decreased supply of labor by better utilization of our present equipment?" The answer is, he said, that

immigration restriction may be offset in three principal ways: better management, introduction of new machinery and processes, and better use of the present labor supply. His answer is, in effect, a declaration that the traditional Yankee ingenuity can be trusted to find a way; that the much-heralded "individual initiative" of American business men will function when the need becomes pressing—and in this case the need is simply to regularize production.

Similarly, as social workers know, the abolition of child labor through federal as well as state laws will act as a further check upon the wage-earning population. This legislation, which still has to run the gauntlet of state ratification of the constitutional amendment permitting Congress to act, will, if finally achieved, result not only in taking one million children out of employment but will also, experience shows, by making children liabilities instead of economic assets, result in a reduction in the size of families from which child labor has been customarily drawn.

It may be said with confidence that neither the severe restriction of immigration nor the abolition of child labor will have a depressing effect upon production or business prosperity, if the managers of industry set about promptly to give effect on a widespread scale to known and tested measures for stabilizing employment.

The way has been prepared for such stabilization. It will not be a leap into the dark but a sure-footed advance into the light of successful experience. Plans already in operation have proved that it can be done. It is now a matter of broadening and extending the idea until its application is made universal throughout industry. This desirable progress can be hastened by the adoption of the legislative program already familiar to social workers: (1) an adequate public employment service; (2) advance planning of public works; (3) unemployment insurance with the chief emphasis upon stabilization of employment.

THE PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN CANADA

Gilbert E. Jackson, Chairman, Advisory Council, Employment Service in Ontario

All social service work has, I take it, as one main object, the prevention of unemployment. The social service worker is occupied, not indeed wholly, but largely, with those who are unfit to maintain their place in the industrial system, attempting to make them more fit, or with those who are not yet old enough to take their place in the industrial system, attempting to make them capable of holding it. But no more than my predecessor shall I be expected to deal at length with this phase of the subject.

The prevention of unemployment should also be a by-product of certain constructive business policies, as for example, group insurance, which has called to the attention of employers, often for the first time, the facts of labor turnover, and its cost to the individual business.

But for present purposes, discussion is confined to a few constructive measures which have been suggested, not for alleviating conditions in a single business here and there, though much may be done in this way, not for salvaging the flotsam and jetsam of our economic system, but for preventing the dislocations in industry, great and small, which at present are too often responsible for hardship and deterioration among willing workers, or for steering them into hopeless blind alleys.

These measures, in brief, are twofold: first, organization of the labor market—and this to my mind includes not only the creation of machinery for bringing together employer and employee, but also the provision of guidance for workers (and especially immigrant workers) in their choice of residence and occupation, and, when, necessary, training for the job; second, organization of expenditure by public bodies so as to prevent, or at least to minimize, unemployment.

Special features in Canada.—Before attempting to survey what has been done, and to determine what might be done in Canada, let us dwell on one or two of the outstanding characteristics of our labor market, which render the problem unusually thorny. These characteristics are shared to some extent with the labor market of the United States, but our problems are by no means identical.

Here, as in the United States, an unrestricted immigration invokes the recruiting, year by year, of large bodies of unskilled workers, or of skilled workers who, finding no market here for their special aptitudes, drift into the ranks of unskilled labor. I recall the case of a skilled worker who migrated here ten years ago from England. In Leeds he had been an expert maker of dolls' eyes. In Canada he found no demand at all for dolls' eyes, and sank from the ranks of the specialists to the lowest grade of common labor.

When thousands of miles of new railroad are being built, when factories are going up everywhere, when municipal improvements are planned on a large scale, this great mass of laborers will find work fairly quickly. But except at such a time there is a real risk that the growth in the supplies of unskilled labor outstripping the growth in the supplies of skilled labor, will inevitably cause distress.

For some years to come, we can expect no great orgy of construction in Canada. We should indeed discourage it if it appears; for our own immediate troubles are in some measure due to the fact that we are "overbuilt"—that our capital equipment in many lines is more than adequate. Those of us whose attitude toward immigration is not warped by considerations of personal profit, are apt for this reason to resist strongly the demand for what is called "a vigorous immigration policy." We do not believe that the greatness of a nation is measured by the counting of heads; and we have seen too many misfits already to risk adding to their numbers.

But, paradoxical as it may seem, besides the danger of flooding the labor market with unskilled workers, which unrestricted immigration obviously

brings, there is another danger, scarcely less serious, which is exactly the reverse. In the period of rapid development which began with the twentieth century we became increasingly dependent on the Old World for our supplies of certain types of skill. The building trades in particular were recruited so largely from Englishmen who had served a regular apprenticeship at home in boyhood, that in this instance at least apprenticeship in Canada, for practical purposes, died out. A condition in which one country permanently depends for certain types of skill on the training afforded in another country, cannot be regarded as anything but unhealthy.

Add to these considerations, which are familiar to all of us, two more, which belong particularly to Canada: First, the volume of immigration into this country, when considered in relation to the resident population which must assimilate and find employment for the newcomers, is many times larger than even the floodtide of immigration through American ports in the heyday before the war. During the busiest year in recent American history, the number of immigrants entering the United States was equal to a little more than 1 per cent of the resident population. During the busiest year in recent Canadian history, the number of immigrants entering this country was equal to more than 5 per cent of the resident population. In the fiscal year ending March 31, 1913, the number of immigrants admitted here was 402,400. The population of the country was at that time about 7,600,000. Since the war, the tide of immigration has flowed into Canada less strongly. The annual average is in the neighborhood of 97,000. The man in the street regards this as a small figure and wishes it were larger. Yet, in relation to the fewness of our people, this represents a continuous movement on the scale experienced by the United States in 1907.

Second, if the number of immigrant workers looking for employment is relatively large here, equally serious is the tide of emigration which from time to time sets in. It is our misfortune that changes in business conditions here tend rather to follow than to synchronize with corresponding changes in the United States. After a trade depression, revival is apt to be plainly visible south of the border, when little or no fresh employment may be found in Canada. Thus there is an inevitable drifting southward, which persists till prosperity moves north across the border. Here again we meet with a paradox. In the spring of 1923, for example, Canadian employers in many lines of business were faced with a serious labor shortage, at a time when our industries were by no means occupied fully. Bear in mind that for obvious reasons the seasonal variation in employment is wider here than in the United States, and you have before you some of the main reasons why this problem is one of peculiar difficulty for us.

Organization of the labor market.—The first constructive measure attempting to cope with Canadian employment problems was the establishment, in 1917, of the Employment Service of Canada. This organization, which in May, 1924, consisted of sixty-six offices, covers the whole of the Dominion, serving

employer and employed alike without charge. The number of placements in 1923 was: men, 310,598; women, 66,203; total, 376,801. In addition, 36,500 casual jobs were found for men, and 49,200 for women workers.

That the cash value of the Employment Service to the people of this country far exceeds the cost of its administration is scarcely to be doubted. But, as in so many branches of social service, here also this defies assessment. When a workman is unemployed, the time occupied in finding another job represents a certain loss of potential wealth production. If there is a job waiting for him of which he does not know, that loss of wealth production is not necessary. An employment office is of value, primarily because it can put the man in touch with the job faster than he could find that job for himself. The saving of time which it makes possible represents an indirect contribution to wealth production, no less real than the work of a railroad or a power house. But the wealth produced by the employment office is produced, not on its own floor, but in some distant mine or factory. It is credited, very naturally, to the man or to the machine on the spot; and by many, the cost of maintaining an employment service is looked upon as a liability in our national balance sheet, which creates no corresponding asset. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

When a firm takes the trouble to notify the local employment manager of its intention to dismiss men, the search for alternative employment is actually begun while they are still at work; and similarly, where a firm takes the trouble to state in advance its requirements for more labor, it may be possible to secure it directly the jobs become available.

It is perhaps not irrelevant in this connection to mention an important by-product of placement work. The Employment Service is now securing regularly from employers, statistics of employment relating to 750,000 Canadian workers. The results, published monthly, furnish an invaluable guide to the trend of business conditions; and with the proper corrections for seasonal variations, are at least as dependable a guide to the direction of industrial change as any system of business forecasting that I know.

Canadian social workers may be interested to note that when, in the future, one of us does for our employment records what the American Dr. Berridge has done for those of his country, he or she will find a wealth of material in Canada far more complete than that which was available in the United States.

But to recognize the social usefulness of our Employment Service both as a market and a beacon is not to suppose it immune from criticism. Outside the headquarters at Ottawa, so far as I know, there is not an organized system of grading, promotion, and transfer to be found on which the staff can rely. There is a tendency, therefore, for the best men to leave the Service just at the time when they should become most useful: and that does not make for the maximum of efficiency. Moreover, there is still duplication between the activities of the Employment Service on the one hand, and on the other, those of the Federal Department of Immigration, and some of the depart-

ments of agriculture in the provincial governments. Surely, in the best interests of Canada, the task of uniting the worker and the job should be undertaken by one authority, well-organized and adequately staffed, not by a number of overlapping agents, some of them with major interests elsewhere, whose ability to work in harmony has sometimes been called in question!

It is also to be noted that despite the competition of our public employment offices, the private employment agent still exists and seems to prosper. There are still employers who prefer, at some cost to themselves, to secure their labor from the private agent; and it is only a fair inference that there is still room for improvement in the service rendered gratis by the public offices.

Turning once more to the brighter side, we may note one of the happiest of post-war developments in employment organization. The linking up of the Employment Service of Canada with the British Oversea Settlement Committee in Whitehall, has made it possible to secure a number of skilled British immigrants, who have come to certain employment in Canada, with wages and conditions of labor agreed upon beforehand, knowing at the same time that they were keeping no Canadian worker out of employment since no Canadian with the required training was available at the time when their jobs were offered to them. It is difficult to imagine an arrangement which would make easier the transition from the Old World to the New; and since, at least in this country, the brunt of the burden of unemployment inevitably falls upon immigrants, this may rightly be regarded as prevention.

Control of public expenditure.—Far more interesting, to most students of the subject, than the provision of employment offices, which may minimize, but can seldom prevent unemployment, is the project that remains to be discussed: the use of public expenditure to stabilize demand for labor.

This policy was seriously recommended to the governments concerned more than eight years ago, by the Ontario Commission on Unemployment. During the war the country's energies were wholly devoted to the winning of it. The proposal remained in abeyance. But in May, 1919, a lengthy memorandum on the subject was placed before the Employment Service Council of Canada, then meeting at Ottawa. This memorandum went into considerable detail, and showed that almost every department of the federal government, many departments of the provincial governments, and all of the larger cities, were habitually spending large sums on necessary but "postponable" work, which could be saved up against the lean years of the trade cycle, and could then be made use of to fertilize all the leading industries. It was estimated, on the basis of the ten-year period before the war, that $47,000,000 of expenditures might thus have been postponed.

The conference indorsed the memorandum, and in April, 1920, a commission was appointed by the federal government, consisting of three members, to be called the Purchasing Commission of Canada. This body succeeded the War Purchasing Commission and the membership was identical. The order-in-

council which established it did not specifically refer to the prevention of unemployment by redistribution of public expenditure, but it is reasonable to infer that the government had in mind this consideration.

In April, 1921, and again in August, 1923, further changes were made. The orders-in-council which announced them are P.C. 1077 and 1632. Neither of these specifically refers to the prevention of unemployment, nor is it possible, from the published information relating to these committees, to work out in detail what was accomplished; but one example of constructive work which is publicly known deserves mention. The purchase of coal for the government buildings at Ottawa has so been distributed as to stabilize employment, so far as possible, among the miners.

All this is confined to the federal government itself. If in the aggregate not very much was done (and there was severe unemployment for more than two years after the fall of 1920) we must remember that the depression began less than two years after the armistice; and that, with the best will in the world, no government could have adjusted its expenditures on a large scale within the time.

It must be borne in mind too that the federal government does not admit unemployment as a problem with which it is concerned primarily. The responsibility is regarded in the first place as belonging to the municipalities, and the federal government, while giving financial aid to municipalities for the relief of unemployment, refuses to change its view.

Beginning January, 1921, the federal government advanced one-third of the cost of unemployment relief to municipal authorities undertaking it. In the first nine months of that year, such advances amounted to $600,000. The provincial governments were asked to do the same, but not all of them did so.

With certain modifications, this system remained in force till April 30, 1922. If a certain amount of distress was thus prevented it would, nevertheless, be straining at the meaning of words to say that it prevented unemployment. Relief undertakings, it is true, gave work, as a rule in rotation, to men who would otherwise have been idle, but the relief work was not systematically planned, it was not carried on with primary regard to economy (some of it was very costly), the men employed on it were employed, not because they were the fittest workers available, but often because they were relatively unfit.

This, I need hardly declare, is not an account of a successful, constructive enterprise. It is a tale of emergencies and *ad hoc* proclamations. It is a tale of disclaimed responsibilities and of expensive *tours-de-force*. It is nothing to be proud of. But it is our story.

There has never been a depression in Canada which has not caught the government and the world of business, the worker and the social worker unawares.

What success is possible?—Let us turn from the contemplation of those things we have not done that we ought to have done—a melancholy task for the citizens of any modern country—to the contemplation of the future.

The difficulties encountered by a country with a federal constitution, when it attempts to enlist the co-operation of all authorities, central and local, in a war on unemployment, are very great. We who live in North America may well envy the British the comparative simplicity of their task, though the magnitude of that task is appalling. To forestall successfully the results of a trade depression, we must enlist not only the federal authorities of our country, not only the municipal authorities in our leading cities, but the more important provincial or state authorities as well. It is a task that calls, not for the statesmanship of an individual, but for a very wide diffusion of the qualities that make a statesman. This is the first and most practical of the difficulties that we meet.

But there is another difficulty, less obvious; and this has not so far, to my knowledge, been discussed in public. It leads us inevitably to the credit structure. Let us suppose that we have attained the goal of Plato—that our cabinet ministers, the heads of our civil service, the mayors of our cities, are all of them philosophers. Let us suppose that all goes as smoothly as, shall I say, a Republican convention?

Public work of all kinds has been postponed against a trade depression. The money to finance it—a very necessary feature—lies on deposit in the banks, which now hold larger balances on government and municipal accounts than they would otherwise have done, and so have been able to lend more freely to business than if these deposits had been smaller. The trade depression appears. It begins with a tumbling of prices and a scramble of business men for cash. Credit is restricted. Unemployment begins to be serious. Now the philosopher kings put their plans in operation. Orders on government account go forward with a view to "taking up the slack" of private enterprise, and absorbing workers as they are laid off. This large expenditure diminishes the banks' reserves, at a time when every business in the country clamors for more cash. The demand of the public authorities cannot be refused. It is a demand for the return of money deposited. But it does deplete further the cash resources of the banks, at a stage in the cycle when they try their hardest to conserve them.

Is it not only too likely that this will produce a further curtailment of business credit, and an increase of unemployment in private industry, precisely because the government machinery works well? And if this be so, are we not literally refusing to let our right hand know what our left hand doeth, intensifying the problem with one hand, while the other tries to cope with it?

Forgive me, therefore, if I conclude on a note of scepticism. Admitting that in the past politicians have dealt with unemployment haphazardly and ineffectively, must we not admit on our part that we have failed to consider the problem in all its bearings? If this be so, the work before us is even harder than we first supposed. There is a mote, quite certainly, to be removed from the eye of public authority. But is there not a beam in our own eye also? That, I submit, is the first thing to remove.

SOURCES OF POWER FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Mary Van Kleeck, Chairman, Division on Industrial and Economic Problems

The committee which makes its report this morning had its origin in a discussion in the Executive Committee at its meeting a year ago in Washington, when the program for this Conference was under consideration. We had in our minds the report on Social Standards for Industry, which was prepared by the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor for the National Conference of Charities and Correction at its meeting in Cleveland, in June, 1912. Looking back over twelve years, we realized that there had been some progress but many setbacks in the realization of that program. It seemed desirable that we should provide at this Conference for a discussion of the sources of power for the achievement of these standards. The years since 1912 have been crowded with significant developments in standards of living and labor, and particularly in the struggle of the workers to achieve them throughout the world.

As a means of providing for a discussion of these tendencies and the relation of social workers to them, we first secured the opinion of all the members of the Executive Committee of this division and then adopted a plan for informal meetings in New York City, since more members were to be found in or near New York than in any other one city of the country. Notices of these meetings were sent to all members of the committee. The New York group varied in its membership and did not work along formal lines. The convener of the group was Roger N. Baldwin, and the report which we will present today represents a combination of memoranda prepared by various members of the division. It is intended merely to make a beginning in discussion.

It may be well to review first certain phases of the report of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor, of 1912. Three subjects dealt with in that report may be taken as illustrating developments in the United States in the past twelve years. These are: hours of work, unemployment, and wages.

The platform of 1912 asked for the eight-hour day, the six-day week, and the elimination of night work for minors and for women. The experience of the war in all countries since then has showed that the reduction of hours of work has a direct relation to efficiency and to output, and such studies as those made by the British ministry of munitions gave statistical evidence on this point. In the United States the material gathered for briefs in defense of the constitutionality of labor laws has also given evidence of the direct relation between efficiency in production and safeguards against fatigue. Nevertheless, the case for shorter hours of work cannot be rested only upon statistical evidence. Such investigators as Dr. Reynold Spaeth of Johns Hopkins have declared that in the last analysis it is upon our social philosophy that the short-

ening of hours of work must depend. The right of workers to leisure is the primary justification for a shorter workday. Out of their aspirations and their experience comes the driving force needed for the reduction of hours.

An illustration of this was the attitude of a committee of the Merchants' Association in New York. A conference was arranged with this committee by a group of women representing organizations interested in the forty-eight-hour bill for women. The merchants' committee asked for exact statistical evidence that the present fifty-four-hour week, permitted by the New York law, was disastrous to the health of women, whereas the forty-eight-hour week would be wholesome. The only reply possible was that this could not be mathematically demonstrated and that the great argument for the eight-hour day was the experience of the workers themselves expressed in their efforts throughout the world to secure it. The scientific basis for their effort has been supplied in the facts about the physiology of fatigue. Its practicability has been demonstrated in well-managed shops. But the impetus for changing the customs of industry comes from the workers' effort to secure more regard for human needs.

In dealing with the problem of unemployment we are, also, forced back to a consideration of the source of power within industry itself. The discussion at last Saturday's meeting of this division showed how similar is the problem in Canada and in the United States. The work of the President's conference on unemployment, in 1921, in the United States, and of the committee on the business cycle which followed it, were significant in their declaration that unemployment is a problem of business management, and that fluctuations in business are directly connected with credit and finance and all the related aspects of our money economy. Devices like provision of public works in periods of unemployment are not fundamental remedies. Evidently, some pressure must be exerted, sufficient to control the processes of the money economy in the interest of the workers, if unemployment is to be lessened. Thus, unemployment, too, challenges industry to give more attention to the workers' needs, and the most forceful impetus toward change will grow out of the workers' own efforts to attain security of employment.

The third illustration is that of wages. The social platform of 1912 asked for a living wage and for the creation of minimum wage boards. In the years immediately following several states passed minimum wage laws. Recently a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States has declared unconstitutional the law in the District of Columbia, and this has had a paralyzing effect upon the whole movement. Moreover, the idea of the cost of living as the basis of determining wages is being questioned by the workers themselves. Who is to determine the cost of living? Are there industries in which wages should be considerably above the minimum cost of living? The need is for such adjustments in industry itself as shall insure a democratic process of wage-setting in order to give full recognition to the workers' interests. No formula can determine wages. The needs of wage-earners can be met only if they are represented

in the decisions which determine wages, and this representation is a goal of the workers' movement toward industrial democracy.

In all these directions some gains, chiefly in public understanding, can be enumerated, but the setbacks and the limitations to our progress make us pause. We have the spectacle of public opinion more and more enlightened but also helpless in the face of court decisions against such legislation as the minimum wage laws of the District of Columbia. We have industrial management itself increasingly socialized, but balked in the effort to change standards in competing establishments. Such considerations as these led this committee to begin an examination of the sources of power for attaining those standards upon which social workers have agreed. Evidently more important than the standards to be attained is the growth of industrial democracy, which is the means of formulating, securing, and holding standards. What then is the relation of social workers to the central stream of the movement toward industrial democracy, the workers' struggle to secure it?

The function of this division of the National Conference of Social Work, which had its origin in the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor, in 1912, is not to achieve unanimous agreement in social philosophy or in the formulation of programs, but the enlightenment of all of us as social workers. Upon two ideas, however, I believe that we agree. These relate to the peculiar function of social workers in the movement to change the conditions affecting human beings in industry. The first is that whatever testimony we have to give gets its validity from actual human intercourse with those who work in industry. The second is that we shall hold ourselves free to speak and to interpret the facts as we see them, however controversial the issue.

The early settlement movement is an illustration of this opportunity of social workers to learn through actual participation with their neighbors in their daily experiences of life and labor. It was not a mere geographical location but an actual philosophy of neighborliness which actuated the settlements. It is not an accident that a new understanding of human relations in industry has been contributed to the community by Jane Addams, Mary McDowell, Graham Taylor, and Lillian Wald. We younger social workers need a revival of their power, their actual participation in the lives of wage-earners.

The danger in the growing complexity and specialization of social organizations is that social workers, whose time is fully occupied with executive work, will lose the contacts which have given their predecessors insight into the life and labor of their wage-earning neighbors.

Freedom to speak and to interpret the facts is obviously a necessity for social workers if they are to participate in socializing industrial relations. Here, again, is a danger in those tendencies in social work toward centralized financing and highly organized "programizing" of the spirit of neighborliness. If the control of social work is in the hands of representatives of business, with large givers having influence in proportion to their gifts, social organizations

will inevitably reflect the limited experience of one class in the community. Blindness to the human needs of a different economic class is the risk encountered by centralized financial control—blindness rather than unscrupulousness. As social work grows more complicated, therefore, social workers must become more democratic and more free, and control must be given to those who know rather than to those who merely have.

Let me say a word about our hope for the discussion this morning. In the afternoon session on workers' education last week, Mr. Lindeman, acting as chairman, outlined his idea of a discussion. He warned against the temptation to take a position which can be defended so that we may be sure of holding it at the end of the session as we did at the beginning. Rather we should try to make such contributions to the discussion as will tend to more enlightenment for ourselves and for others at the end than at the beginning. In preparing our report, therefore, we have not sought a middle ground, but rather such an analysis as will provoke discussion, and help us all to see the issues more clearly. Fortunately, the chairman of the group, who will present the report, is one whose willingness to suffer for his convictions makes his views, which have been hammered out of genuine experience, a precious asset of this division and of the National Conference.

THE CHALLENGE TO SOCIAL WORK OF THE CHANGING CONTROL IN INDUSTRY (REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE)[1]

Roger N. Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, New York

Twelve years ago, the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor, of the National Conference, in which the present division on industrial and economic problems originated, published a platform on "Social Standards for Industry" which received wide publicity and became in effect the industrial planks of the Progressive Party platform. It was devoted almost exclusively to industrial legislation—advocating minimum wage laws, the eight-hour day, the six-day week, abolition of the night work, the prohibition of industrial poisons, workmen's compensation, and old-age and unemployment insurance. In the twelve years which have passed, some of the program has been realized, though industrial legislation has since the war received severe setbacks at the hands of the courts and legislatures.

[1] The members of the subcommittee concurring substantially, though not in precise detail, in the analysis presented in the report, were Roger N. Baldwin, Frederic Almy, E. C. Lindeman, Ben M. Selekman, and Mary Van Kleeck. Other members of the group who had taken part in the discussion in New York, but who had major reservations regarding the report, were John B. Andrews, Robert Bruére, Allen T. Burns, Ernest Johnson, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Paul U. Kellogg, and Owen R. Lovejoy. Several of these agreed substantially with the letter prepared by Paul U. Kellogg, which follows the report of the chairman. All concurred in the summary under the heading, "An Industrial Program for Changing Sources of Power."

But far more important, in these twelve dynamic years the conception of action has largely changed to the field of industrial and political power, represented by the class interests of labor and the producers.

An industrial program today would recognize rather the sources of power capable of getting and holding the desired standards. It is to make a beginning in appraising anew these forces which have to do with the control of industrial conditions that this report is submitted. It is planned not as a final statement but as a basis for discussion. It covers issues which have constantly recurred at the sessions of this division. It has been formulated by a number of the members of the division who have had an opportunity to get together and to discuss these issues. It does not represent the view of any one of them, but combines their collective general approach to the problem.

The report concludes with a suggested industrial program which is intended merely to focus attention upon what seem to be the vital forces toward industrial progress in the United States.

It is hoped that the whole report may have a stimulating effect not only in the division but on social work as a whole, as expressive of social workers' interpretation of the new attitude which has come out of the world-wide conflict and chaos of the past few years. We trust that it will be a stimulus to social workers to identify themselves, in so far as that is practicable, with the forces outside our immediate contacts which are making for the control of industrial processes and relationships in the interest of larger human freedom.

The struggle throughout the world toward industrial freedom.—The whole fabric of a civilization based upon private profit, upon authority in the hands of a few, is being challenged as never before by leading thinkers, publicists, and even statesmen. The literature of the world reflects it as well as its politics and its industry. There can be no question but that a world-wide struggle is on between two systems of property—the old system of private profit, and a new system conceived in terms of service to the community. As in the case of all new movements, its advocates are divided into many camps, frequently hostile, and with sharply-differing conceptions as to how to attain the common goal.

This struggle is of enormous significance to those who conceive their function to be social engineers, as do progressive social workers, and who are not content to accept the rôle of salvagers of the wreckage of our industrial civilization. In one form or another the struggle is about us all the time. Its challenge is ceaseless and insistent; the opportunities for contact are growing.

The emergence of the power of labor in Russia, England, and increasingly in other countries, is stimulating the constructive activities of the labor movement. It is no longer exclusively a vehicle for bargaining as to hours and wages. It is conceiving of itself as the builder of a new society, touched with the ideals of socialism. It is dedicated to creating a co-operative commonwealth through the abolition of economic classes, poverty, and privilege.

The abolition of the evils characteristic of a capitalist civilization constitutes the struggle of the organized producers' movement of the world, expressed through workers' and peasants' associations in multitudinous organization, frequently in revolutionary action and in international political parties. It constitutes a struggle for power as against the present groups in control of industry, who are, also, largely in control of governments and of education, and the press.

This conflict is commonly called in radical phraseology the "class struggle," a blanket term used to describe the antagonism between those who work for wages and those who secure their incomes through profits, rent, and interest. The aim of this struggle is to improve the living conditions of the working and farming classes, not by slow degrees and through outside agencies, but rather by first transferring economic control to the workers and farmers themselves. The existence of this struggle is frequently denied by those who see no fundamental antagonisms between classes in society. But that it is a reality confronting us in the industrial and political life of the world is apparent to any intelligent observer, whatever may be the philosophy as to its solution. Nor is it a struggle between two groups only. It shows itself in antagonisms between farmers and industrialists, and between consumers and producers.

The development of a radical working-class movement in the last seventy-five years found its first expression of national political power in the Russian Revolution. It has been followed by the ascendancy of the Labor Party in Great Britain, by abortive revolutions on the Continent, by radical peasant and working-class experiments in Mexico, and by various other manifestations of power throughout the world.

This movement expresses itself in at least four lines of effort toward industrial freedom: first, labor legislation, together with the struggle to sustain it in the courts; second, political organization; third, the co-operative movement; and fourth, the trade union movement with its new and developing enterprises in community business, in banking, and other commercial activities, added to the old struggle with the employers on the industrial field to change wages and hours and other conditions.

2. *The need of a relationship between social workers and the producing classes.*—If social workers are to be participants in the essential struggle for larger human freedom in this generation, they can achieve it only by identification with the cause of labor, whether or not they serve organized labor itself directly. Here in the United States, the antagonism between social workers and organized labor has prevented any such joint participation, except in rare instances, and then chiefly in the efforts for labor legislation. The reasons for this antagonism are three:

First, social work was brought into being through charitable agencies created by the moneyed classes, and for a long time was conceived only in the spirit of almsgiving from one class to another. That origin still colors the thinking of many social workers, despite the strides they have taken from it.

Second, and more important, the whole field of social work with few exceptions has been controlled by those who represent a class-conscious and conservative political and industrial philosophy—which also extends its control quite as effectively over social work conducted through the public treasury. Thus social work with rare exceptions tends to be dominated by those who fear radical experiments and who are by their very function in society opposed to the growth of power by labor and the producers.

Third, on the side of labor there is naturally a deeply rooted suspicion of all of those attached to the employing groups either directly or indirectly. There is furthermore a distrust of technicians of any sort. That is because the labor movement as a whole in the United States is not conscious of exercising a social function. Its struggle has been with the employer in industry on the issue of wages and hours. Only in recent years have the progressive unions conceived of themselves as playing a part in the functional life of industry. These unions have begun to avail themselves of the services of technicians, and among them, a number of social workers.

The distinguishing mark of such unions as the machinists' and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' is that they are conscious of their relationship to the processes of the shop. These unions are sloughing off the traditional attitude of labor toward technicians. Having rid themselves of the inferiority complex of American labor as a whole, they are prepared to deal with the professional technical groups on a professional basis. They not only have no great difficulty in securing the services of competent men, but on the contrary, find many of them eager to be retained. Until this antagonism is bridged, and co-operation established between the labor and farmers' organizations on the one hand and technicians on the other, progress toward building new social relationships will be slow.

When it is remarked that the American labor movement is a generation behind the British, it is chiefly with the distinction in mind that the American movement does not conceive of itself as the builder of a new society, and therefore does not aspire to the ideals of social control which characterize the labor movements of England and of Europe. It is only beginning to practice the strategy of a forward-looking social power, either in the political or industrial field.

3. *How can social work be related practically to the forces of labor?*—There are two ways in which a closer relationship can be cultivated between social work and the forces of labor. One is by participation in the struggles of the producing classes by joint activity. The other is by developing a clearer conception of the larger function of social work. That conception cannot be developed without quite different professional spirit in the organization of social workers today.

As yet industrial social work has confined itself to legislation and to action through the courts. It has been identified only in a slight degree with the

economic struggle of trade unions, with political organization, and with the co-operative movement. Its function has chiefly been in the field of research, preparation of legislation, agitation for labor laws and their administration. Certain types of social work have indeed obstructed industrial progress by sidetracking the organization of workers through "welfare" activities, and by minimizing the evils of industrial exploitation through relief-giving.

In the lines of effort in which social workers have not yet generally participated there are indications that participation will soon be greater. The formation of a political party based upon the economic needs of the workers and the farmers, and the development of the co-operative movement, both open opportunities. For instance, the Burley Tobacco Growers' Association now employs three trained social workers, and two other co-operative associations are about to employ social workers.

The consumers' co-operative movement is in a direct sense an appropriate field for the operation of social work technique. It represents an attempt to eliminate certain mid-profits in the system of distribution, and ultimately it aims to eliminate profits altogether. Its very inception is related to the pressure of poverty. In those places where the consumers' movement is most successful, the workers were driven to co-operate in reducing living costs or to accept a lower standard of living. The consumers' co-operative movement may very well be the natural instrument for social workers—the permanent agency for conserving their efforts at adjustment. If social workers were familiar with the principles of co-operative marketing, they might do more than any other single group toward making the consumers' movement successful in this country. The movement itself may become one of the means of saving social workers from the dead-end results of mere amelioration.

At points where the producers' co-operative marketing movement and the consumers' co-operative buying movement meet, we may look for the beginning of significant evolution in social structure and process. If social workers are present at these points they may well become the social engineers of that process.

How can a new spirit be cultivated in social work, with a clearer professional consciousness closer to the craft conceptions which move the associations of labor? This unity presents great difficulties because of the divergence in the character of social work, and the natural tendency of social workers to divide into their separate craft groups. That is the chief source of weakness in organizing social work as a profession, and the greatest obstacle to a clear consciousness of its larger social function. In addition to this, the dependence of social organizations upon centralized financial interests weakens and restricts the freedom of action of social workers. They are necessarily dominated by the social outlook of the boards of trustees who employ them and raise the funds. But there are signs of a quickening spirit of independence. Only through unity, a professional conception of function, and freedom to exercise it, can social work play

a lasting part in social development in joint effort with the creative forces of the producers.

4. *An industrial program for changing sources of power.*—A summary of the present activities directed toward a change in the control of economic relationships would cover these points:

First, building up a political class party of the producers, committed to such economic reforms as now characterize the farmer-labor movements—namely, public control of natural resources and public utilities, public control of money and credit, preservation of civil rights, and reform of the judiciary.

Second, participation in the social, industrial, and business enterprises of organized labor; notably workers' education, labor journals, labor banks.

Third, participation in the organization of producers' and consumers' co-operative societies, both among farmers and industrial workers.

Fourth, aid in the organization of all workers with a direct relationship to function in the shop through workers' representation, and to various arrangements for increased working-class control.

Fifth, efforts toward greater international co-operation between labor and producing groups in the struggle against war and imperialism.

These, it is clear, are not planks in a platform. They are aids to platform-builders. All over the world the political and industrial struggle makes evident that only new and more democratic sources of power can achieve what we would see done. No program of measures can any longer be considered by itself. It can be considered only as the objective of new alignments and new relationships based on the growing power of labor, which alone is capable of furnishing the dynamics for an industrial democracy.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT[1]

My approach would be different from that of the committee. Simmered down, this means, I think, that I visualize the American process more as that of a developing society on a new continent rather than as a replica of European experience—less constrained by ancient rigid class formations, less engrossed with their dismemberment. Our organization of the "new and more democratic sources of power" can be freer, more direct and constructive, though as an adolescent people we may be more belated in tackling the job.

I hold to a larger, more democratic, and dynamic evaluation of the movement for social standards in industry than is here expressed. As I see it, their purpose is not merely to prevent individuals from dropping through to subnormal waste bins of poverty, exploitation, and incapacity, due to accident, overstrain, overwork, and disease, premature employment, unemployment,

[1] Letter from Paul U. Kellogg, editor, the *Survey*, New York, which is presented as an addition to the report of the committee because it has been accepted as a satisfactory statement by a number of members of the group who took part in the preliminary discussions leading to the preparation of the committee's report.

and the like. Rather such enforced standards help set a ground-floor level for American industry which should give all workers solider footing and help free them for a self-dependent, self-reliant ordering of their prime business of life and labor. Such a process increasingly strips social work of any narrow preoccupation with salvage. It opens out new vistas of co-operation with released and resourceful groups who, with this new security under their feet, are taking into their own hands a greater measure of control over their own lives. Automatically, also, such a process brings the social worker into new relationships; into a new front on common problems; work *with* rather than *for*. Or, to be specific: work *with* eight-hour workers instead of *for* twelve-hour toilers.

So viewed, the program for social standards in industry complements and reinforces our advances in trade relations, trade government, and other movements for a greater share of workers' control.

I am with you in your challenge to social workers to think out searchingly their place in this organic situation, to get their bearings toward the new forces astir in the labor movement, which are manifesting themselves in creative experiment no less than in cleavages; to sense the shift toward a producers' economy and all that that holds out in social change and the achievement of the good life for all.

Yes, it seems to me that social workers might well, as citizens, identify themselves with the cause of labor if and when, as in England, the labor movement develops political integrity and broadens its base to include all those who contribute creatively to the common stock; or if the movement enters into a more inclusive progressive political stream which would afford us an escape from our biparty stalemate, in much the same way that the Republican party in the fifties afforded an outlet for the purpose and idealism of Lincoln's time.

But as a professional group, are not social workers, like the physicians and the ministers, likely to count for more by standing on their own legs and organizing those legs much more genuinely than they are today? I should like to see them, like the university professors, try their muscle on some tough situations where coercion may have been attempted against individuals; should like to see the American Association of Social Workers be given a much longer chance to integrate the very varied vocational elements it has to deal with. Such a challenge as yours will help to that end.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES ON METHODS

A new plan was tried at the Toronto conference to provide opportunity for smaller groups interested in various industrial problems to discuss methods of procedure. Three simultaneous round table conferences on methods were arranged. The Program Committee of the conference decided that it would expand the proceedings unduly if the papers read at all of these conferences were to be inserted. Therefore only the programs are given here to make possible future reference. Several of the papers are being printed in other publications:

I. "The Rehabilitation of Industrial Cripples." (Miss Gertrude L. Fletcher, Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston, presiding.)
   1. "The Task of the Government."—Miss Tracy Copp, Agent, Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation Division, Federal Board for Vocational Education, Washington.
   2. "Community Co-operation for the Handicapped."—Edward I. Benson, Assistant Supervisor, Civilian Rehabilitation Service, Department of Education, State of Ohio, Cleveland.
   3. "Placement."—T. G. Mill, Head of Juvenile and Handicapped Section, Employment Service of Canada, Toronto.

II. "Negroes in Industry in a Period of Migration." (Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary, National Urban League, New York, presiding.)
   1. "The Negro in Steel."—John T. Clark, Executive Secretary, Pittsburgh Urban League.
   2. "Negro Workers in Buffalo."—C. L. Peake, Department of Industrial Relations, American Radiator Company, Buffalo.
   3. "Negro Women in Industry."—Mrs. Helen Sayre, Personnel Director of Colored Women Employees of the Nachman-Springfield Company, Chicago.

   (Discussion, opened by Forrester B. Washington, Executive Secretary, Armstrong Association, Philadelphia, and J. W. Montgomery, of Toronto.)

III. "Some Problems in Labor Legislation." (Miss Rose Moriarty, Commissioner, Industrial Commission of Ohio, Cleveland, presiding.)
   1. "Interprovincial or Interstate Co-operation in Labour Laws."—Report by sub-committee: J. W. MacMillan, chairman, Minimum Wage Board of Ontario; R. M. MacIver, J. A. Dale, and O. D. Skelton.
   2. "Some Practical Experience in Co-operation Between State and Federal Bureaus of Women in Industry in the United States."—Miss Mary Anderson, Director, Women's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.

VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

THE COMMUNITY AND RACIAL PROBLEMS

THE NEGRO AND THE COMMUNITY

William Pickens, Field Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York

In the United States the Negro population is redistributing itself. It is to be no longer a factor of a section but a national factor in every sense. The race problem is not now, if indeed it ever was, solely a problem of the South; it is a problem, and the most vital problem, of the United States of America.

I am a southerner, and I want to confess that the chief thing the South has to teach the nation in the matter of dealing with the Negro is what not to do. Now that the problem is moving out all over the nation, a study of the southern method of dealing with the problem for three hundred years will teach the rest of us what to avoid.

The race problem has not been solved in the South; it has been developed there. Verily, then, we should not hope to solve the problem by southern methods. We must seek other methods—in some cases the opposite methods.

If the method used by the South could ever be reduced to one word, that word would be segregation. That involves for the Negro separate and inferior schools, "Jim Crow" cars, unconstitutional disfranchisement, lynch law for court processes, refusal of admission to, or inferior accommodations in, all shows and cultural entertainments, in many places no public parks or public libraries, and a general denial of equal accommodation in public places, and equal humanhood in the society of man.

This system has solved no problem. This system can never solve any problem. This system is the problem factory and will continue to be until the end of the system.

We must substitute for this system community interests for the Negro. We must cease the abortive effort to encyst him; we cannot successfully encyst him; we must assimilate him. Blood assimilation is not necessary—not an end to be purposed, at any rate. But there must be full assimilation in civil culture and in civil processes; in industry, in economics, in education, in politics.

The minority race and the majority race occupying the same territory are indissolubly bound to the same destiny, and they have one set of interests, even if they are not friendly. Warfare between them is like the world-war—everybody loses. The best interests of the ten or fifteen million Negroes in the

United States will be found in the end of every effort to be identical with the best interests of the ninety or more millions of the white races there.

I speak now from the standpoint of the ninety millions. Why should the colored people, the ten or fifteen millions, be free? Not merely for their own sakes. The failure to see the interest of all in the interest of each is a fundamental mistake and the cause of much blundering. The welfare of colored Americans cannot be separate from the common lot. They must be free for the sake of all, themselves included. There is more freedom if they are free. We do not give them anything; we do not share with them what we have in a way to diminish our possession; we simply add their freedom to the sum of freedom, and we are all freer. When a man makes another man intelligent, he does not diminish his own intelligence, but fortifies and justifies it. Abraham Lincoln said: "In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free." He might have added also: we increase the freedom of the free. When the Negro was a slave in America, it is perfectly clear that the poor white man was not fully free; and if less clear, it is not less true that the rich white man was not free. Our conceptions of both altruism and selfishness need revision. In this little world we cannot live either absolutely for or against others. We ourselves are always included. That is the tragedy of ill will and hate and crime. Every year we lynch many black men—and a few white men. The lynching of the whites is absolutely consequential upon the lynching of the blacks. If the colored men were not lynched, the white men certainly would not be lynched. To cheapen the lives of any group of men, cheapens the lives of all men. This is a law of human psychology, of human nature; and it will not be repealed by our wishes, nor will it be merciful to our blindness.

Why should the Negro be educated? For the same reason. There will be more intelligence if the Negro is intelligent. If an intelligent man has an intelligent neighbor, each is more intelligent because the other is intelligent. How quickly our own grammar suffers deterioration when we live for a few weeks in ungrammatical circumstances! Wherever colored and white live in large numbers together, we find both groups on the same general intellectual plane. Every state today that has a large illiterate colored population, has a more illiterate white population than have the states where the colored people are intelligent. Colored people's intelligence is a part of the common defense; colored people's ignorance a part of the common peril. Unselfishness is but a relative term; we are unselfish in proportion as we display a wiser selfishness, in proportion as we comprehend the relations of ourself to other selves. From this viewpoint of the common good, we should have as good schools and as much education for our colored children as for our white children. It certainly should take as many dollars to fit a black child to live for the best interests of a white child as it takes to fit a white child to live for the best interests of a black child.

Why should the colored population be physically well off? For the selfsame reason. The laws of disease and health, the conditions of life and death, are

no respecters of persons or of races. The disease germ knows no color line. Sometimes the color line is confounded in our minds with certain other natural or artificial lines; with the economic line, the sanitation line, the pure food line, or the housing line. And because disease germs love weakness more than strength, we may force a certain color over on the side of weakness where the germ flourishes, and then imagine, unless we think twice, that the germ has adopted our color line. Disease is the common enemy of all mankind; and the better the health of the ten or fifteen millions, the better the general health will be. Not for their own sakes alone, but also for the sake of the civilization of which they are a part, the colored population should have houses with sanitary plumbing, streets with sewers and lights, and regular visits by the garbage wagon.

And with the same philosophy we might go right on through the whole list of human good and human evil. The more people share in the good, the greater is the good. The more people share in the evil, the greater is the evil.

Why, for example, should our colored people be morally good? Why should the colored woman and the colored home be respected and protected? For their own sake, of course, but not solely for their sake. All women, all homes, and all moral institutions will share whatever we measure out to these. Nobody knows better than the enlightened white woman of America that she is essentially one with the colored woman of her community. In the last analysis there is a standard for women, and the consideration of every class of women enters into the determination of that standard. Motherhood, childhood, and home are not racial; they are human. We cannot limit their interests to racial or to artificial lines. Race is but a date in history, while these human institutions antedate history. An attempt at two moral standards results in one moral condition. That is why colored womanhood has all the sacredness of any womanhood, and that is why colored women should have all the protection deemed best for their sex. The operation of this moral law is too obvious to need further illustration.

And why should colored people vote in the commonwealth? For their own benefit? Not exclusively. But if colored people vote, there is more democracy and truer democracy. No other man loses his vote because the Negro gains his own—and the body politic is also a gainer. When the colored man is denied the right to vote, there is a contradiction, an anomaly, which threatens the security of the right of any man to vote. For men must quibble and be mentally dishonest in their efforts to justify the exclusion of the Negro. That weakens their own case. They say it is not necessary that black men should vote—which means, even to their own intellects and whether they will it or not, that it is not necessary that white men or any men should vote. They say voting is not a natural right but a privilege to be granted or withheld—and they fail to show by whom it is to be granted or from whom it is to be withheld, and they thereby undermine their own title to the privilege. When we cheapen the liberty of any man, we cheapen the liberty of all men, even our own.

It is as much for the sake of the preservation of the ideal of democracy among us, as for any charitable reasons, that we want or should want all our neighbors to share it. It is but a reasonable regard for the laws of the land when we treat the most unworthy criminal according to due process of law, not for his sake and not because he deserves it, but that the law might be preserved and respected for the good of all of us who live now and for the good of those who will live in the great future. The criminal who has outraged law and annihilated law in so far as he was able, may not of his own worth deserve the protection of the law. But we know that if we destroy law in his case, it is really destroyed in all cases. In such event it ceases to be law and becomes caprice or favoritism, and is thenceforth as likely to entrap the innocent as the guilty. It is the same with the high ideal of democracy: it cannot live if it does not live for all of us. If it be outraged, even those who outrage it lose respect for it and lose faith in it. They make it a mockery for others, and it immediately becomes a mockery for them.

Then there is the great undoubted limitation of human nature: that no man is fit to have absolute power over another man. That means that no race or group is fit to have absolute power over another race or group, for races are but men. The majority should never have unchecked power over the minority. The contention that one man should not have absolute control over another man is not merely for the good of the one who is the object of that control, but also for the good of the one who exercises that control. Irresponsible power will warp the soul and ruin the character of any man. Inordinate power and unjust advantage undermine and break down the ideals of a race. These ideals deserve consideration. This is not altogether altruism; it is self-interest of the most enlightened kind. The same reasoning which attacked the enslavement of the Negro attacks his disfranchisement. Slavery degrades master and slave. Disfranchisement degrades oppressor and oppressed. Those who think they have well-founded "convictions" that the Negro should be disfranchised must remember that their spiritual and political progenitors thought they had well-founded convictions that the Negro should be enslaved.

Does this mean that the ballot should not be protected? It does not. The freeman's ballot is the highest expression of his freedom and should have every reasonable safeguard. But, mark you, the very first concern for its protection should be to guard its purity, its impartiality, its honesty, and its reality; to see that it does not degrade into a mere trick for advantage, a mere tool of oppression, a mere cloak for the tyranny of the strong. Certain restrictions might not be unreasonable, such as education enough to read a ballot, bona fide residence, and an interest in the material property of the community, and freedom from crime and other forms of insanity. But no restrictions at all would be better than restrictions that are dishonest or meant to be unjustly administered. Let the qualification be simple or severe, but if it be not impartially exacted or if the law be so administered as to entrap a certain group or

party or race, the ballot ceases to be an expression of freedom and becomes a mere device of tyranny.

In the United States there is another consideration for the ninety millions: that if the ten or fifteen millions were allowed the exercise of their liberty and their free ballot, it would remove much cause and temptation to strife and make for peace. This would preserve and dignify the proportionate weight and importance of the ninety millions. For under the most impartial administration fifteen could not outvote ninety. Only in a few localities could groups of the minority preponderate, but the colored people have shown no disposition that should justify a fear that they would monopolize even local power. There would always be the restraining fact of the national power of the ninety millions. And there would be peace, much-needed peace, for the simple price of being fair to a minority without any risk of the loss of real power on the part of the majority. It is now as if eight or ten men should prefer eternal social warfare with one man rather than to let him cast his just vote, and then simply outvote him; while if they chose to be fair, they could have the favorable opinion of mankind, the justification of their own consciences, internal peace, and a secure tenure of power.

The American Negro has shown little disposition to try to secure his fundamental rights by violence, but he is always less patient today than he was ten years ago, and being simply human, he is ultimately capable of any human expression. Many times in history contemporaries have discounted what to later generations seemed so plain and so inevitable.

But why should this people, of all peoples, have to plead for such primary justice? A people who have had a longer average residence in America than any other group save the American Indian; a people who voted in five or more states when the Constitution of the United States was adopted; a people whom we have never discounted or doubted in the day of crisis and danger, and whose outstanding characteristic, whether they were slave or free, has been loyalty. Individuals may ignore the record, but history cannot delete the facts that they dared and shared all the greatest perils of the Indivisible Union—from Bunker Hill through Valley Forge to Yorktown; on Lake Erie, under "the rocket's red glare" at Baltimore, and in New Orleans; from Fort Wagner through Fort Pillow to Appomattox; from Santiago de Cuba through the Philippine guerillas to the capture of Aguinaldo; and from the munitions factories of 1917 on through the Argonne and Chateau Thierry to the last and most dangerous position of the whole war before the mighty fortress of Metz. Why should a people so trusted and so credited plead for what is given to foreigners and the children of foreigners, to rebels and the children of rebels, and even to the children of traitors?

On a platform of justice and equality the two larger racial groups in this country, and all the minor groups, can afford to take their stand. Men speak volubly of maintaining racial superiority or hegemony, as if indeed it were wiser

to pursue racial policy than to pursue human justice. Nothing in human history indicates that a race or a nation or an individual must fear to do justice or that justice was ever poor policy for a people. But history is full of lessons that teach the folly of abandoning those wise policies and sound principles that were born of the collective experience of man. Some reason thus: we have to maintain a certain race stock; to maintain that stock we must segregate; and when segregation is inconsistent with justice, we must do injustice. But we cannot prove the soundness of this chain of reasoning. Even the first proposition is a mere assumption. For how do we know that it is the final, the best, the last, and the greatest thing to maintain any of the race stocks as we know them today? All the races, as we know them, are but the resultants of former unions, combinations, and crosses. If former unions have produced something so excellent, how do we know that further union may not produce something more excellent still? But one thing we do know: that we of the present generation can combine our talents without uniting our blood. If we make civilization our common contribution, we shall all have more civilization. God has endowed the human race with more talents than he gave to any one geographical race. Our talents vary; our powers may vary. The man of five talents has five talents and the fruits of five talents; the man of two talents has two talents and the fruits of two talents. But if these two men ever get wise and make a common cause, both will enjoy the fruits of seven talents. The white American and the black American can have more civilization through co-operation than either one could have alone, whatever their respective talents may be. Segregation in public and industrial activities and life implies and breeds contempt, and makes injustice inevitable. The private right of any citizen in a free country to exclude other private persons from his private domain will always be maintained; but racial segregation in public and industrial estates is indefensible, politically and economically.

THE IMMIGRANT—MEANS OF USING NATIONAL AND RACIAL CUSTOMS AND ORGANIZATIONS IN RELATING ISOLATED GROUPS TO GENERAL COMMUNITY MOVEMENTS

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The choice of this subject points a definite step forward in our conception of democracy. It means that we are coming to realize that national and racial customs and characteristics find their expression in group life, and that all the groups together, constructively evolving unified ideas, ideals, and cultures, create an ever changing democracy—a government of, for, and by all the people, which, in turn, signifies participation of each for all and all for each.

This dynamic conception of democracy is causing us to pause to consider the point at which we have arrived and whither we are going. We cannot,

however, overlook the fact that powerful forces are at work stimulating racial and class prejudice because of a popular misconception of the nature and potentialities of the so-called foreign colonies among us. By insisting upon focusing attention on group life as static, immobile, and inherently separate and aloof, prejudice and intolerance are kept actively alive, while the mobility of the group and its innate power for interrelationships are not recognized or even understood.

This erroneous view of the nature of alien groups in our industrial centers is due in a very large extent to the belief that differences of languages, manners, customs—external and outward manifestations of national and racial groups—necessarily mean separateness and isolation; whereas these characteristics really lend color and tone to our community life. This misconception of the nature of the alien community makes no allowance for the stimulating effect through association of individual with individual and group with group, of the many different experiences and ideals, enriching the lives of all.

We must learn how to live together in such association as shall give to each individual a full degree of participation in the group life, and thus a share in the creation of common ideas and ideals that will constitute the dynamic force shaping our ever changing and developing democracy.

Plainly, we have not, thus far, through any of our conscious efforts, brought isolated immigrant groups into closer relationship with the general community life. Nevertheless, through almost unconscious means these groups have been and are being changed to an appreciable degree.

It is unnecessary here to enter upon the reasons for the establishment and continuous existence of foreign colonies throughout the United States. Suffice it to say that group formation is the normal expression of man's craving for association, for the life together that stimulates, gives keener enjoyment, means sharing and participation.

The individual has many different needs for association and so becomes a part of many different kinds of groups. Of just what, then, does this life of the foreign colony consist? In what ways does group life express itself? What are the common ideas, ideals, cultures, of the group? What the inherent character and tendencies of each racial and national group, including the so-called "older American"?

Not until intimate and scientific studies have been made of the fundamental composition of the various races and of the characteristic expressions of racial and national group life, shall we be in a position to evolve a guiding policy in relating isolated groups to the larger community life. There are available a number of descriptions of the characteristic activities of several racial and national groups, and some attempts have even been made to interpret these in the light of racial and national history. Authoritative race and nationality studies, however, are lacking. We need to understand what are the mental and physical race peculiarities that have been handed down directly from father to son. We must be able to distinguish those traits that have been

handed down by virtue of mere social contact with preceding generations and those that constitute national traditions. We must be able to understand and recognize those traits that do not involve mere slavish imitation, but indicate a self-assertive effort to express the individual as an independent entity—as a product of his particular time and environment.

Some things, however, we do know about the group life of the alien. Immigrant colonies vary greatly in the degree of their self-sufficiency. Practically all have organizations that satisfy the diverse needs that arise in the complex life of an industrial community—needs for association that are common to foreign and native-born alike. The religious, cultural, economic, and social organizations within an immigrant group take on a large variety of forms and activities: mutual benefit associations, foreign language schools, dramatic and musical clubs, church organizations, nationalistic alliances, co-operatives, and a multitude of similar agencies. We know that these exist in every group to a greater or lesser degree, but do we realize that these organizations express the satisfaction of much the same individual needs as has the larger community? The mutual aid societies are not mere insurance agencies, but are largely devoted to education and to the promotion of naturalization. Nationalistic organizations concern themselves to a considerable extent with Americanization. There are libraries and dramatic groups interested primarily in educational and cultural growth. Can we hope to incorporate those varied group activities into our larger life without even understanding their specific nature, extent, and aims?

Despite the apparent permanence of the foreign colony, a constant process of disintegration is going on. The keenness of competition in local leadership develops individualism and accentuates factionalism within the group. Undivided leadership, even in comparatively small racial groups, is rare. This counteracts to a considerable degree the tendency toward solidarity. Economic prosperity takes large numbers out of the original foreign group, sometimes to become the nucleus of another such group, sometimes to settle in the midst of unrelated groups. The waning power of formal religion and the secularization of church support, organization, and control, militate against group compactness. Intermarriage plays a much larger part in the diluting process than is generally conceded. Most important, too, is the struggle within the smallest group, within the family itself—a death struggle between the old and the new order, between the old and the new civilization—between parents and children.

On the other hand, to offset these influences, we have had until recently a steady influx of new immigration. The current legal provisions to restrict this influx to a minimum would indicate a simplification of the problem involved, were it not for the counteracting influence of recent governmental activities. The discriminatory Immigration Act of 1924 is already affecting the friendly attitude toward America of large numbers of aliens. The stand of the courts of law in refusing naturalization to aliens because their families are still in their

native lands, and the refusal of our government to permit these families to join their husbands in the United States because the latter are not citizens, is not tending toward a more friendly attitude on the part of these aliens. These facts, coupled with the recent refusal of the courts to naturalize Armenians, held as being ineligible for citizenship on racial grounds, and the complications arising out of Public Law Number 346, enacted September, 1922, permitting a naturalized citizen to travel freely to and from the United States, but making the readmission of his alien wife, traveling on a foreign passport, questionable, may prove strong elements in counteracting the natural forces that make for the disintegration of immigrant groups. Significant, too, is the growth of an unfriendly spirit toward the alien on the part of an all too large group of our citizenry. This comparatively recent attitude of a large American public, with its inevitable development of unfriendly feeling on the part of the alien, are factors that will seriously affect our efforts to learn to live together in mutual tolerance.

There is still another factor, thus far considered a deterrent force in the process of relating immigrant groups with the larger community life. It is the old-world national and racial animosities that are deep-rooted in such immigrant groups as Italian and Jugoslav, Greek and Turk, Austrian and Italian, Irish and English.

Underlying these very animosities, however, is an interest that is common to all and that may well be developed to the point at which old-world differences will be relegated to the background, namely, politics. The political district boss recognizes this universal interest in politics and capitalizes it. Most immigrant groups have local political organizations affiliated with the large American political parties. To strengthen the local voting power, many of these political clubs have educational activities to teach the English language and to encourage naturalization. Despite the frequent graft and occasional dishonest "bossism" involved, the party local club offers a means of political expression as well as a point of vital contact with the larger political life of the community. The local boss is dependent for support, not only on the voting members in the district, but also upon the large number of aliens who, together with the voters, express the will of the whole group. Thus even the alien has considerable political influence.

This interest in politics, common to citizens and aliens alike, points a way that they may travel together. Yet this right of participation of all the residents of the community to express their common group will, is being seriously disputed and branded as "un-American." That politician who caters to the various racial groups in his district is likely to be considered now as disloyal to the "American spirit" as defined by his particular party. Conscious, organized efforts on the part of the older Americans to enter into intimate relationship with the foreign-born have almost completely overlooked the possibilities offered by this universal interest in American political life.

These American voluntary neighborhood organizations too, generally receiving their financial support and their policy from without the group with which they are concerned, that is, from the employer class, make no labor union contacts, considering that unions represent class conflict. Nevertheless, the labor unions are among the most effective agencies for Americanization. In larger industrial centers the membership of each local union frequently consists of a single race or nationality. Despite this fact, the union's interest and representation in the larger organization of which it forms a part makes for interrelationships of many and diverse union groups, all with a common aim. Again, shop committees offer an opportunity for intimate discussion by members of different local unions, of matters of immediate common interest. Many locals, too, have developed effective educational programs for their members and encourage their naturalization. Labor unions form a very definite medium of interchange among national and racial groups, including the "older Americans."

In viewing labor unions as organizations promoting class struggle rather than co-operative development, two factors must be taken into consideration: first, that labor constitutes about two-thirds of the entire population of the United States; and second, that union policy tends to consider as laborers all those who are working for wages. This latter conception is leading to the inclusion within the ranks of organized labor of more and more groups of workers. Teachers, clerical workers, musicians, and actors are already identified with organized labor.

For some time past union labor has been developing well-organized educational programs. More recently, the American Federation of Labor adopted a definite and comprehensive educational program for its constituent organizations to carry out through the public-school systems. Such parts of the program, for instance, as call for the use of labor union textbooks will hardly be adopted by the school systems, but far greater service to the workers, especially those of foreign birth, must be made possible by the public schools of the country. The schools constitute the most democratic public agency that the immigrant knows, and he has the utmost faith in them.

The class work that now forms the only point of contact of the adult alien and the public school, falls far short of meeting the needs of curriculum, organization, and teaching. The managerial attitude of school principals, the refusal to allow the immediate local community to share in the control of school plan and management, the division of control between evening and daytime principals, all militate against the effectiveness of the schools.

To a far greater extent than is now the case, the school must correlate its teaching with the immigrant's vocational and cultural life. Especially should American history be taught as a comparative study of European and American national development, with European history as a background. The beginnings of the home teacher and visiting teacher movements point to another possibility of development of school activity. Specially trained teachers might

well bring their messages not only to the mothers in the home, but also into the many and varied gathering places of the foreign-born of the district.

While the schools now necessarily emphasize the value of literacy in English as a fundamental means of exchange of thought, and as a necessary instrument in the everyday life of the alien, they do not yet realize that teaching the English language merely ripples the surface of the educational needs of the foreign groups.

In broadening the scope of school activity it is well to bear in mind also that there is no necessary connection between schooling and citizenship. Length of residence and not knowledge of the English language is the dominant factor in citizenship. The average length of residence in this country before citizenship is acquired is about ten years. Larger numbers of aliens would be naturalized within a much shorter period of time, did citizenship depend upon the ability to read and speak English.

Until the school becomes socialized, with an organization and program sufficiently elastic to permit of the gathering within its walls of all neighborhood organizations of the foreign-born to discuss their problems in any language, and until the school becomes also the common home of the American organizations interested in community welfare, the public school will miss its opportunity for Americanization.

American voluntary neighborhood organizations may be powerful factors in bringing about a redefinition of the legitimate activities of the public schools as civic centers, and in securing sufficient public support for the schools by awakening the public conscience to a realization that an unenlightened adult population is just as serious an obstacle to the best community development as would be a similarly handicapped child population, and that the development of adequate, sane educational facilities is as important in the one as in the other.

In this permeation of the neighborhood by a truly socialized school, the public library branch may join forces. It is already a potent neighborhood influence through its foreign language as well as its English language literature, and through the use of its building for group activities such as mothers' classes under public-school teaching.

Another agency within the immigrant group that holds big possibilities is the co-operative. Co-operatives are as yet little understood in this country. It is to such immigrant groups as the Russians and Finns that we must look for understanding of, desire for, and experience in co-operatives. In the United States thus far, co-operatives are mainly economic, but the experiences of Europe show that they may also be educational and social. In small towns in the United States co-operatives readily include both native and foreign-born, often of several nationalities. Unlike the unions, co-operatives contain no element of class struggle. Their success depends upon all pulling together, and as they have a practical aim based on community need, they enlist both native and alien.

In considering the more important community agencies interested in developing a vital, common, community life, the foreign language press must take an important place. It is not necessary here to enlarge upon its activities. All who follow the pages of the foreign language newspapers must be struck with the thought, understanding, and space devoted to their educational and informative features. They fill a need for interpreting to the non-English-speaking residents the daily life of the smaller group in its vital relationship to the interests of the whole community—a need not filled in the same effective way by any other agency. The service of the foreign language press is a real community service.

It is not possible here even to enumerate all the influences, organized and unorganized, that play a part in the interrelationship of group life. However, in any thoughtful consideration of the subject, such civic organizations as schools, libraries, playgrounds, parks, museums, trade unions, political associations, public health agencies, forums, and co-operatives must receive due consideration. Clean streets, decent housing, an intelligent police force, and good transportation also are vital means to overcome group interest and develop civic pride.

A knowledge of all the constituent factors in the population of any community implies a fundamental understanding not only of the American civic agencies, but also of the foreign associations within immigrant groups, and this in turn means a basic knowledge of race and old-world environment, as a prerequisite to any effective policy for group interrelationship.

We cannot do justice unless we have understanding as a basis for co-operation. We cannot have co-operation in any real sense as long as we emphasize differences and dislike them, and as long as we insist upon imitation rather than self-expression. In the words of Helen Winkler:

> No Main Street can be thoroughly drab when the people who live on it bring into it a bit of every culture and nation that peoples the European and even the Asiatic continent—but, instead of making real neighborly contacts with our real neighbors, we are setting up an artificial idol and call it "Americanism." The true meaning of Americanism is, in a very real sense, participation, backed by the urge to live together, not as one superimposing another's national habits and customs, but actually getting, through the heterogeneous expressions, a better appreciation of the common thought and ideal that motivates them all.

NEIGHBORHOOD EXPERIMENTS

THE RELATION BETWEEN NEIGHBORHOOD WORK AND FINANCIAL FEDERATIONS

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The term "financial federation" has been used rather loosely to denote any type of unified effort in social work that has central financing of social agencies as an integral part of its program. The term "council of social agencies" has been quite generally used to explain that form of co-operative endeavor that has to do with the planning and executing of social programs.

I do not care to discuss the relation between neighborhood work and financial federations with the limitation for a financial federation here suggested.

My experience leads me to say that joint financing of social programs independent of the planning of those programs is unsound. There are two essentials to sound and lasting social service development: adequate finance and statesmanlike leadership. The two should go together. Those who do the social work must know at first hand the limitations public opinion automatically puts upon "adequate finances for social work," and the difficulties encountered in raising the money. On the other hand those responsible for securing the money, and for much of the educational work that develops public opinion, must be kept sympathetic to social needs by having a place at the community social service planning table alongside those directly responsible for meeting the social needs.

In general the relation that should exist between neighborhood work and the financial federation is the relation that should exist between any other functional division of a properly organized federation and the federation itself. Agencies whose work is localized should appoint delegates to all central bodies on the same basis that agencies doing city-wide work appoint delegates. They should be represented on practically all functional committees, such as health, children's work, delinquency, etc., as their work falls in all these divisions. Such representation is essential. The federation is a partnership, and like any other partnership, the contracting parties must give up something to the success of the partnership. They receive in return values more than sufficient to balance what has been given up; otherwise the partnership fails. With this generalization out of the way, we can now consider specifically the relation between neighborhood work and federations.

The mass idea seems to prevail today, not only in social work, but in other fields of human endeavor. The attempt is made to reach people *en masse*, to educate for the average child; to legislate for this "bloc" or that "bloc." Here and there we see a breaking away from this point of view, and a sounder one being substituted: that of dealing with the individual, his needs, his hopes,

and his limitations. We certainly know in social work that we must reach down to the individual and touch his life if we are to elevate him to an independent, successful life. We need proper laws, a just social order, conditions conducive to proper living, general social observances that guide the individual in living a proper life, and protect society against individual license. But society cannot be remade except as the individuals making up society get new aspirations, and feel in their own lives the urge for higher standards of living.

Settlement or neighborhood work has always attempted to elevate community life by creating proper home and neighborhood conditions under which people may live their own lives. Instead of superimposed codes of ethics and hand-me-down social orders with their paternalistic sentimentalities, the settlement has gone about its work of co-operative human helpfulness, aided by the people themselves. The federation movement like many other movements that have come into being as a result of the complexities of modern community life, and the realization that only by co-operative effort on the part of the entire community can social conditions be corrected, has centered its efforts largely upon community organization and community social planning. The organization of the social forces of the community is absolutely essential if progress is to be made in our social work. However, along with the proper organization of social forces should go means of articulating these forces with the lives of the people.

The world, the nation, the city, will develop its common life as the family and the neighborhood develops. One's family or neighborhood attachments are his best attachments, and making his life, the life of his family, and of his neighborhood, conform to high standards are his imperative duties. It is, therefore, necessary for the federation to organize people as it has organized the social forces. Here is where the settlement plays its part.

The development of the federation idea has had one unfortunate effect upon settlement or neighborhood work. As it has enriched the leadership of the general city-wide movements, it has largely withdrawn from the neighborhood the leadership it needs. One of the prime necessities in federation cities is to strengthen neighborhood leadership. Nothing less than efficient capable leadership in neighborhood work will suffice. The federation that develops outstanding leaders, paid and volunteer, in the central office, and poorly paid, inefficient leaders in its neighborhood work, has failed to understand present day social needs.

In the city I have the privilege of representing we have averaged one new settlement per year since the federation has been in existence. Many of these are extensions of existing settlements; they are settlements with varying functions, but they are all movements to help people to help themselves.

The settlement, it seems to me, on the other hand, has needed and still needs the federation movement just as much as that movement needs the settlement. At first the neighborhood was constituted of all kinds of people; those of average

means were neighbors of those less fortunate. The neighborhood was almost sufficient unto itself. The present congestion of city life has brought about certain economic levels in different neighborhoods of a community. The stratification of society into groups is noticeable. More outside help is needed than formerly. The settlement has not had the machinery, and cannot develop the machinery without unlimited funds for bringing to bear upon the neighborhood problem the community forces that modern society has developed. Neither can it give to its neighborhood, unaided, broader community interests. The federation has put at the disposal of the settlement the resources of the entire community. While the settlement has organized people and local forces the federation has organized community forces and has developed general social tendencies.

In brief, neighborhoods must become interested in wider community problems; they must come to realize that the welfare of each citizen, whatever his status in life, depends upon the welfare of every other citizen in the entire community; he must realize that he must make his contribution to the common life. On the other hand, city-wide movements, such as federations, while they make for better general social conditions and develop tendencies toward higher standards of living, must, in addition, apply their splendid powers to the development of family and neighborhood life so that the results of modern social thinking and acting may be enjoyed by all.

Settlements in a non-federated city can initiate and put into effect certain social movements without much consideration being given to the general needs of the community. The federation has changed this procedure. The federation has strengthened city-wide agencies dealing with health, recreation, and children's work, so that social engineering is now done for the entire community, and as a result the individual settlement cannot establish separate pieces of social work without considering the plans for the entire community, and without fitting its program into the general program. The settlement surrenders a certain amount of authority, but the community social program, and the people in the neighborhood the settlement represents, ultimately gain thereby. Instead of being a law unto itself, the settlement now must clear its plans with others through functional committees upon which it should insist upon representation.

The settlement in a federation city continues to initiate new things. Its recommendations, however, must be cleared through a central committee. It must be willing to readjust its program to conform to general needs and to more pressing specific needs.

The active work of the settlement is somewhat localized. Agencies dealing directly with individuals, it seems to me, could accomplish more by working through localized agencies. A day nursery, for example, if needed in the section of the city where a settlement is located, should be administered by the settlement and should not be an independent unit. A day nursery, to do effective

work, should be an accepted part of its neighborhood life. A part of its support should come from the neighborhood in which it is located. Most certainly Americanization work for native-born Americans, as well as for foreign-born, should be conducted in the settlement. The general Americanization program should be formulated by the central functional committee. This program should be flexible so as to fit different neighborhood needs, and the actual program should be carried out by neighborhood agencies.

The settlement should have civic and social service committees studying neighborhood needs. These committees can bring needs to the attention of city-wide civic and social agencies where co-operative effort can proceed with some hope of ultimate success. Other localized functions will readily come to your mind.

May I illustrate further the relation that should exist between neighborhood work and a federation by considering a section of a city's health program?

The functional committee on health may decide from facts submitted that there should be an extension of the clinic facilities for children. The general clinic group that will have the general administration of the new clinics should be anxious to place them where most needed and where the people will use them. Such clinics very frequently can be located in settlements to the best advantage. If one is so located, the settlement should be responsible for acquainting the neighborhood with the new facility, should educate the people to its use, and should be responsible for the social results made possible through the clinic. The medical professional service should be under the control of the general clinic committee.

I have always believed that a city's nursing service would be more effective if the nurses could become an integral part of the neighborhoods they serve. The neighborhood cannot expect to build hospitals, to regulate health conditions, to suppress nuisances, to control registrations. It can on the other hand stimulate people to use facilities offered. It can interpret city-wide health measures. It can make the entire health machinery operative in its section.

Here is another illustration: The modern point of view of an efficient relief society is to give material aid when needed, but immediately to follow with a friendly service that will enable the one helped to regain self-dependence. Such service requires mutual respect and confidence between the one being helped and the individual or agency offering the assistance. If such individual and his family have already been a part of a neighborhood group or can become a part of such a group, helpful service comes naturally, and results are more assured than they would be if the help were offered by an outside group. The general relief agency can handle the actual material relief problems in close co-operation with the settlement; the settlement can handle the rehabilitation problem in close co-operation with the general relief agency. Independence has again been sacrificed by both agencies, but the family they are both organized to help has profited.

A neighborhood organization that is on its job should be able to discover incipient cases of delinquency. The general city agencies through the federation may provide the best possible methods for dealing with offenders after the offense is committed—they may set up a probation system that leaves little to be desired—but the best way to handle delinquency, just as most social ills, is to prevent its occurrence. The federation can provide mental hygiene clinics, the schools can offer special classes suited to the needs of the child; the court can add its authority when needed, but the most efficient work in preventing delinquency can be done by settlements aided and assisted by outside groups and agencies. Proper recreational activities, Big Brother and Big Sister movements, as a part of the neighborhood life, Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops, and other character-building agencies made to function in the neighborhood so as to offer their services to the welfare of each individual within the neighborhood, should be provided.

Is there any need for further illustration? The settlement has its place in a federated city. It must work with other groups to a greater extent than it does in a non-federated city. It does give up some of its cherished independence, but it has the opportunity of offering to the people of its neighborhood the best service and the widest opportunities that the city affords.

THE SOCIAL WORKER AND HABIT CLINICS

Esther G. Barrows, Director of Work with Women and Girls, South End House, Boston

The history of uniting education and health work for the child of preschool age is like that of President Coolidge, who appeared in *Who's Who* only three years before he became vice-president of the United States. A decade ago almost unexploited, this period is now considered the most interesting and important of childhood.

On the health side we started with nutrition, turned quickly to posture as needing correction, and then to the care of the teeth. Under Miss Grace Owen in England the first movement to connect health with education was established through nursery schools. This suggested the value of such groups for the natural training of the mother and child, quite clearly pointing to the fact that together they could do corrective and preventive work, for it was constantly demonstrated that lack of co-operation and understanding between them made so much impossible. As the work developed in this country, it was also clear that to round out the child program, the mental health, which showed its trend in certain habits, must be cared for.

Dr. C. Macfie Campbell, medical director of the Psychopathic Hospital in Boston, was consulted, and he promised to give careful thought as to the best method of approaching this part of the problem. Meanwhile the social worker

was studying the type of case which, now grown-up, showed certain fixed habits of mind which had persisted since childhood, and which with wisdom might have been corrected, or at least turned into helpful channels on their appearance. For illustration I have chosen a case showing the development of a state of mind in a girl known to a settlement for sixteen years.

Bobbie was a little girl of two when we first knew her. She came into our lives at the time, announcing, "My Mamma's dead," for even at that age she had learned what the reaction would be. Until she was nearly three years of age this was her customary greeting to a stranger. When the aunt with whom Bobbie lived began to have children of her own, the child became difficult and resorted to all sorts of mischief, which through punishment made her the center of attraction. The situation at the home end was much relieved when Bobbie went to kindergarten, where she was always the first to volunteer during "morning circle." Visiting days were great ones for Bobbie, for she then showed off to her heart's desire. The teacher testified that although ordinarily able, the child did not even try to excel when it came to work, and she was not able to stimulate her to greater effort along the lines of real accomplishment when there was no competition. This same testimony was given also from the home. As the years went on a succession of teachers, with large classes, could do little more than try the "squelching" method, but always to no avail. Among other children she was unable to sustain leadership, so that she was socially unsuccessful. To be either very much loved or very much hated would have satisfied her, but she was seldom gratified in this way. Dramatics, if the learning of lines did not bring too much pressure, afforded her great pleasure.

The dawning of a new day was hailed by her settlement friends when Bobbie joined a sewing club, and became by unanimous choice its first president. The girls, about twelve years old, chose to embroider linen hats. At the end of the first term, as a result of an election, Bobbie was out of office. She found herself "nobody," and doing very mediocre embroidery, which could draw no commendation from the club leader. Two weeks after election, when the club met, Bobbie was in a state of hysteria. She had opened her bag to find her hat cut in pieces. She spent the afternoon in great excitement, in which the club shared. For the two following weeks while she awaited the coming of a new hat, brought up to the same state of finish by the club leader, she was constantly petted and condoled with. At the third meeting she took her place with the others, and once more sank into mediocrity. She could not bear this very long, and was met soon after, coming out of the clubroom early one afternoon. She explained that she had been excused from school. After the club gathered she opened her bag in the presence of all, and lo, the hat had again been mutilated beyond repair! It was at once obvious what had happened, and little was said by those in charge, although the girls gave sympathy in full measure. At a conference arranged for a later day Bobbie was asked as a matter of course why she had cut her hat. She did not attempt to deny it.

So it went on, soon showing itself in the form of hysteria, when word went around that Bobbie might have a "spell" at any moment.

At fifteen, Bobbie was allowed to go off with a group to the vacation house, from whence a report soon came, "Bobbie has lost a valuable ring, and is having hysterics in consequence." The reply was, "Send everyone else off for a picnic, and make Bobbie find her own ring." This she did in a short time, under kindly pressure (it being in her own suitcase). Now Bobbie at eighteen is the same person as Bobbie at two.

Sixty years ago one Isaac Ray wrote, "Youth is undoubtedly the most proper period for the formation of good habits of mind, and in the education of the young this great end should never be overlooked." The idea, of course, is not new, but it has taken a very long time for the psychiatrist to bring it down to earth, and to go behind the more obvious work to treat some of these more suggestive difficulties. Dr. Gesell says, "Psychologically, the pre-school years are basic because the foundations of the structure of society are then laid. It would not be dogmatic to say that no child mentally ever outgrew his first six years."

As a result of considering this problem, in November, 1921, Dr. Douglas A. Thom, the chief of the Out-Patient Department of the Psychopathic Hospital in Boston, was asked by Dr. Campbell to study one of the baby hygiene pre-school-age clinics in that city to formulate the need of such work for the child under six years of age.

To the first clinic three mothers were invited by a special worker, who knew their problems well. The doctor expressed a wish to see them the following week, agreeing to include one new patient, but lo, nine women with as many children awaited him! The inevitable distaste and aversion which they would have felt for a mental hospital were done away with by the fact that it was only a rounding-out of the program of child care which they were accustomed to receive in a friendly place well known to them.

The family history is taken by the social worker connected with the clinic, before the doctor meets the patient at all. The first work at the clinic is a visit with the psychologist for mental tests, and then the psychiatrist gives diagnosis and suggests treatment which is carried out through the child, the mother, and the social worker co-operating; sometimes without the necessity of a return to the clinic in the simplest cases. Dr. Thom has now, from his experience, sorted his cases, and has found it possible to commit to paper certain suggestions for the handling of simple problems by mothers or nurses or social workers without more than a diagnosis from him. The titles are: "Does Your Child Fuss about His Food?"; "Being a Parent Is the Biggest Job on Earth"; "Do You Make the Most of Your Child's Intelligence?"; "Is Your Child Jealous?"; "Does Your Child Have Temper Tantrums?"; "Obedience"; "Enuresis"; "Convulsions"; "Some Conditions in Children that Would Suggest the Use of a Habit Clinic."

Dr. Thom has written some excellent papers on habit clinics, pointing out their need and outlining his method of work. The Children's Bureau has published a report of his first year's work. To their glory be it said that they supported three clinics for a year in order to obtain the material which they are now putting forth to guide the workers all over our country, so that he who wishes to run may first read. At the present time there are ten clinics established in Massachusetts. Reports have come from Santa Barbara, St. Louis, and Denver that the work is about to begin. Dr. Mondie of Montreal has been in serious correspondence with Dr. Thom, and may already have started clinics there. Dr. Owen Copp hopes to put into the Pennsylvania Hospital twenty-four beds for preschool-age children, doing in-patient work with them along habit clinic lines. At Dr. Thom's clinics in Boston he has had visitors not only from this country but from New Zealand, England, France, China, and India.

I believe my part is to point out to you the place of the social worker in this field. We were included in it prenatally, one might say, and the psychiatrists agree that we are still very much needed in the establishment and carrying on of the work. Dr. Esther Loring Richards, in a paper given at the Institute for Public Health Nurses in Columbus, Ohio, in 1923, says, "The psychiatric social worker has come to stay. She will never replace, nor was she intended to replace, the nurse with psychiatric training." But she also believes that the psychiatric public health nurses could be the ones to bring the medical profession into the closest co-operation with the other agencies, educational, etc., which are dealing with the life of the child. Alas, at the present time such nurses are few!

In practically every case the problem is a family problem, often covering three generations. To quote Dr. Thom: "The home must be considered the workshop in which the personality of the child is being developed." He goes on to say of a case, "It is a good example of a mother bringing a child to the clinic, where the child should have brought the mother."

Another fact which keeps us very much involved in this work is its relation to environment, which of course neighborhood workers are ever concerned with. "After all is said and done, social maladjustments and economic deficiency are more frequently due to emotional instability than to intellectual defects; more is to be gained from concentrating efforts on the study of environment and its effect on the development of personality, than can be hoped for by accepting the hopeless, fatalistic theory of heredity."

Another tie-up comes with the direct relation to education, as pointed out by Dr. Karl Bowman (Psychopathic Hospital, Boston): "A suspicion is gradually arising that perhaps in the final analysis reasoning plays a small part after all in reaching decisions, and that choice is largely governed by emotional control or lack of it." If this is true the education and control of our emotions becomes of paramount importance.

Dr. Arnold Gesell's book on the preschool-age child suggests what Dr. Thom has insisted upon as a matter of technique in establishing his clinic, that they should tie up with health centers and so be considered a necessity in rounding out a perfect child health program. I suppose that nothing has ever happened which more clearly and definitely works toward bringing about the "fulness of life," which we mean to make possible. We have dealt long and sadly with the obvious through education and health and morals with grown-up personalities, with such limited results.

There seems to be a general consensus among the psychiatrists that they have been pushed too suddenly into the limelight in connection with all their work, but especially in their work with children—the educational and preventive thing—and that they would like to play Rip Van Winkle for a decade or so, to wake up with a large accumulation of knowledge in shape for application. It is not the medical profession, but the laity and social workers who are urging the rapid development.

I would like to close with a plea for four contributions from our group: first, an urge, though perhaps a more gentle one, for the increase of the actual clinical opportunities; second, an effort to secure more trained people with social experience to study along psychological lines; third, a demand for an increase in the opportunity for training through the curriculum of the kindergarten training schools, public health nursing schools, etc.; fourth, the gathering of material correlated from the experience of those who have watched the life of certain families intimately for a period of years, and thus can work back from the adult to the circumstances in early life which helped to form these personalities.

Perhaps this last is our particular contribution at the moment, as few others have this material in hand, or the possibility of collecting it. We should draw on social workers, both active and retired, in every community for this kind of help, if we believe that the work outlined is fundamental.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CO-ORDINATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATION IN NEW YORK CITY

LeRoy E. Bowman, National Community Center Association, Columbia University, New York

New York is a city only in a limited sense, although it boasts of greatness beyond even the claim of any other in the world. It is called a city only because in the growth of America's big port certain systems grew so large that a governmental agency somewhat commensurate with them was needed. That governmental agency includes within it five counties and several former cities and is equal in population to more than half that of the largest state in the union. The systems it deals with are those of business and commerce, especially

transportation, and the huge undertakings to supply its millions with necessities such as water, gas, and sewage disposal. But there are no values felt by humans as associated individuals that cover the whole of New York City. As a contrast to the vastness of its engineering and business enterprises and magnitude of its population masses is the limited geographical extent and the narrow interests that characterize the communities making up its social structure and throbbing around its hundreds of "Main Streets." The acquaintances of men and women and the vital influences that condition their lives are of neighborhood extent for the most part.

It is the expression of this neighborhood life that we are interested in here, especially as attempt has been made to formulate it in a definite organized fashion. Many efforts have been made to focus the common interests of these neighborhoods. These efforts have been successful in varying degrees according to the knowledge on the part of the organizers of the district they were dealing with, acquaintance with its people, and willingness to become identified by long association with its fortunes. Some of the less successful organizers have been imbued with idealistic doctrines and have attempted through the extensive propagation of schemes of organization in many neighborhoods to themold them all according to one form and to achieve ease of city-wide co-ordination of them by similarity of structure and identity of origination. The mistake in such procedure might well be classified under Graham Wallas' "intellectual fallacy." Community relationships are of an emotional nature, and rather unconsciously accepted by the neighbors; hence a formal, intellectual, schematic plan usually has little vital appeal and soon falls of its own weight.

Types of organizations.—There are many examples of community organization in partial states of co-ordination that we may look at briefly. There is no effort made here to criticize either favorably or adversely, nor even to infer need of greater or less relations between the groups. There are altogether six different general types of community organizations comprising at least 33 separate neighborhood groups.

The settlements.—Of these groups are the settlements with the history of a generation behind them. As is well known they have been cultural influences in their districts and have served to interpret to the unprivileged classes the rest of the world. Each recognizes a general territorial field of interest but few set definite boundaries to their work. There is a tradition of settlement work, there are settlement saints living and dead, there is a technique for many of its branches of work. It is educational in nature and supported by funds from outside the respective districts. Of one hundred settlements in the greater city, forty-eight belong to a federation that conducts conferences and exhibits for workers and neighborhood members and facilitates co-operation between the houses.

Community centers.—Community centers in the schools were initiated by persons who anticipated town meetings of a nature that would bring into pro-

ductive relations the citizens of communities split at that time into their own religious, political, cultural, social groups. Two hundred seventy-six schools are opened during the year in some fashion for the use of local neighborhood societies. Thirty-one of these are run regularly by non-sectarian organizations formed for the purpose. Fifty-five are run entirely by the board of education as community centers of comprehensive activities, including many clubs, societies, etc. The attendance in all these for one year aggregates 5,071,954. The board of education has formed the school centers into a League of School Centers. Compared to the settlements, there is a minimum of supervision and training and a maximum of the activities spontaneously engaged in by the older children and the young folks. In Brooklyn some of the community centers were initiated and developed by a central stimulating body, the People's Institute. There are now twelve of them that are helping not only with the recreation of athletics and clubs of the public school centers, but with music and art and civics as a foremost effort. Nine of the twelve are five years old or older. All of them have formed a self-governing and self-supporting federation that recently has proposed of its own initiative to help support financially the work of the central office. A strong borough feeling of confidence and accomplishment is also developing in the federation.

Neighborhood associations.—Neighborhood associations have been formed by settlement workers on a less institutional basis. They have stressed boundaries, membership in the district, democratic control, and participation. Their activities are similar to those of the settlements with greater emphasis on civics. Of fourteen formed in twelve years, nine survive, now federated in a conference group.

The community councils.—During the war, community councils were formed to mobilize the resources of communities for the support of war measures. Mass meetings were held and the organizations that continued after the armistice are interested mostly in meetings of citizens for civic purposes. There are now thirty-three councils meeting regularly or occasionally. The councils are represented in a city parliament of community councils which discusses civic problems, and details of which are carried on by an executive board.

Conferences of organizations.—The sixth and last kind of community organization that attempts to relate neighborhood forces is the district conference, covering a larger area than any of the foregoing types. There are three of them in Manhattan Borough, the one in Yorkville alone comprising in its membership delegates from 146 organizations including 14 settlements and other smaller neighborhood organizing organizations, 6 newspapers, and 63 Bohemian and Slavic societies.

There are then six types of neighborhood organization and five central or federating bodies, each for a type. Of these five federations, that for the settlements engages a staff and expends a considerable budget. That for the public

school centers is largely a function of the Department of Extended Use of Schools. The other three are conference groups expending little money and raising it by dues. The federation for the settlements and the neighborhood associations were formed after the individual settlements and associations were formed and were in the nature of get-together. The public-school center federation and that for the community councils are parent bodies and have formed the local groups. The Brooklyn federation of centers was formed after the individual centers had long been in existence and is a get-together, but the centers themselves were initiated and fostered by the Brooklyn People's Institute.

Further co-ordination efforts.—There have been efforts to combine several or all of these local groups and their five federations into one body with a central office and at least some common procedure for them all. These efforts have uniformly failed and without divulging confidence I can say that there has in every case been a feeling expressed in various ways that the effort was made in order to make one group dominant, or to give one individual or set of individuals at least a nominal control over the "neighborhood democracies" of the city. These are the characterizations made of the attempts at city-wide co-ordination of local community organizations.

First, there are the sentimental idealists, doctrinaire as any fundamentalist, who would organize or reorganize every community on a formulated scheme of local democracy, regardless of the make-up of the neighborhood or its existing organization relationships. If the little towns could all be made over, there would be indeed greater possibility for a brooding of all of them under one wing. The objection has been that the people themselves knew and cared little for the schemes and were not acquainted with the schemers, and real progress, at least in these matters, starts from understanding, not from overhead manipulation.

Second, there is great objection in almost every community in the city to the expert trained in one aspect of social endeavor, who attempts to subordinate all other aspects of life to his limited vision and personal appreciations. The expert is in general not liked by the masses except as they need him and call him in to carry out their own projects initiated or at least carried out by them.

Third, in the same light as the doctrinaire sentimentalist or the specialist, is held the "high-brow" who talks of co-ordinated communities and methods of other places. Each neighborhood feels itself different from every other, if it doesn't boast of the supposed fact.

One development has seemed to throw light on the problem, and that is a committee that was formed to bring all the recreation agencies together under the aegis of one of these central federations of neighborhood organizations. The latter purpose failed, but the recreation agencies have kept together in a common service committee with a fair budget and staff, and an excellent record for several years past. For two years this committee has made itself peculiarly

available to the local neighborhood groups for such service as a group of experts can render to mere democrats, and most effective co-operation has resulted. In each case the initiative, responsibility, and organizing efforts are altogether (and actually are for the most part) the obligation of the neighborhood organization, while certain advice, the maintenance of standards, and expert recreation service come from the recreation committee. If one were to conclude from this instance alone he would say: build up neighborhood democracies, wait until they organize; help them only in such ways as they cannot help themselves, and then only in such matters as are of peculiar expert nature or are of larger immediate scope than their neighborhood interests, that is, city budget-making, and legislative information.

The community committee.—A couple of years ago a conference group was formed of two persons from each of these five central federations. We talked for a year, and then were offered $10,000 to study ourselves, whereupon we disbanded as delegates, made ourselves over into an independent study committee under the supervision of persons intimately associated with all the forms of community organization in New York City. With a duplication of the financial support for each of two more years we hope to have found harmless ways of co-ordinating ourselves. The study itself is a process which by common effort dissolves some bogey-men. If my personal beliefs should be borne out by further study we will advise: first, very little city-wide co-ordination ever, since the strength of community is in communities, and leadership of a city-wide organization soon sees greater glory in city projects, and switches the emphasis to the more extensive affairs which are little more than municipal politics or municipal social service, leaving the neighborhoods as they were; second, absolute separation of specialist organization and community organization, but cordial relations between them; there are being built up advisory conferences on recreation, civics, health, art, and education, composed of specialists who consider and counsel regarding these matters in neighborhoods, and help the neighborhood organizers to see what the specialists and social workers can do and should not be disturbed in doing, but also in what matters reside the factors of non-technical democratic support and control; third, no attempted organization of communities except by those long acquainted with the districts, and possessing the confidence of the inhabitants; fourth, a constant study of mistakes made in community or organization, rather than so much attention as is now given to aspirations of the sentimental, the ambitious, or the super-intellectual; fifth, a central service bureau controlled by delegates from the neighborhoods and limited to such forms of service as (*a*) those that relate only to matters of neighborhood extent; (*b*) connection for purposes of conference, study, and criticism of the various community enterprises; (*c*) possible help in the form of facts regarding other projects for those who propose to organize; (*d*) reference to specialist agencies for aid or advice in carrying out neighborhood efforts.

DIAGNOSIS OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

CAN NEIGHBORHOOD WORK HAVE A SCIENTIFIC BASIS?

Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago

Neighborhood work at present and as now practiced cannot, for two reasons, be said to be based upon science. First, the social sciences—and I refer to sociology in particular—have at present little to offer as a scientific basis for social work; secondly, what knowledge the social sciences have accumulated has been used little, or not at all, by neighborhood workers.

The trend of neighborhood work to a scientific basis.—But if neighborhood work has not had a scientific basis, it has had, from its inception, as one of its conscious or unconscious motives, the search after knowledge as the basis of human relations. Settlement work, especially, represents not only the most devoted and the most idealistic, but also the most intelligent phase of social work of the past generation. The settlement in its origin was an extension of the university. It carried over into a new environment the love of truth and, it may be added, the spirit of science. The residents of the settlement were brought at once into touch with social reality; that is, with the concrete facts of human life.

This early venture into intimate contact with social reality may accordingly be called the first stage in the trend of neighborhood work toward a scientific basis. But settlement workers soon found that sympathetic understanding and intimate contacts failed to solve many of the actual problems of neighborhood work. The recalcitrancy of the boys' gang, the opposition and manipulations of the ward boss, the competition of commercialized recreation, the unsolvable cultural conflict between immigrant parents and Americanized children, are only a few of the many perplexing conditions of neighborhood life in immigrant areas which resisted the spirit of good will of settlement workers. They therefore began to study their communities, in the attempt to state the factors at work, to factor out the elements in the situation. *Hull House Maps and Papers*, *The City Wilderness*, and *Americans in Process* are illustrations of the careful study and keen observation of these very early efforts to determine and to take account of the many and different conditions affecting neighborhood work. This interest in the discovery of factors in the social situation may therefore be called the second stage in the trend of neighborhood work toward a scientific basis.

Science, however, is concerned not with factors, but with forces. The distinction is not always clearly drawn between a factor and a force. "Factors are the elements that co-operate to make a given situation. Forces are type-factors operative in typical situations."[1] A particular gang of boys, the Torpedo gang, of which Tony is the leader—and which is made up of eight

[1] A distinction made by Professor Robert E. Park.

street Arabs—is a factor in the situation which a certain settlement in an Italian colony in Chicago faces. But as soon as the attention shifts from this one gang and this particular settlement to settlements in general and to gangs in general, the transition is made from a factor to a force. A gang is a factor to a given settlement; the gang is a force from the standpoint of all settlements.

The study of social forces in the community.—If neighborhood work can have a scientific basis, it is because there are social forces in community life—forces like geographical conditions, human wishes, community consciousness—that can be studied, described, analyzed, and ultimately measured. In a series of research projects now in progress in the department of sociology in the University of Chicago, studies are being made of the social forces of community life. While the city of Chicago is used as the laboratory for this investigation, it is assumed that the processes of urban life in one community are in certain ways typical of city life throughout the United States.

In making these studies, it became apparent that social forces were of three main types: first, economic, or perhaps better, ecological forces; second, cultural forces; and third, political forces.

Ecological forces.—The economic or ecological forces are those which have to do with the process of competition and the consequent distribution and segregation by residence and occupation. Through competition and the factors which affect it, as trade centers, etc., every neighborhood in the city becomes a component and integral part of the larger community, with a destiny bound up by its relation to it. In the study of the growth of the city, it is found that the life of any neighborhood is determined, in the long run, not altogether by the forces within itself, but even more by the total course of city life. To think of the neighborhood or the community in isolation from the city, is to disregard the biggest fact about the neighborhood.

Studies of urban growth reveal that the city grows outward from its central business district (1), in a series of expanding zones. There is a "zone of transition" (2) encircling the downtown area. This is the area of deterioration, the so-called "slum," created in large part by the invasion of business and light manufacture. A third area (3) is inhabited by workers in industry who have escaped from the area of deterioration (2), and who desire to live within easy access of their work. Beyond this zone is the "residential area" (4) of high-class apartment buildings or of exclusive "restricted" districts of single family dwellings. Still farther, out beyond the city limits, is the "commuters' zone" (5) of suburban areas, or satellite cities within a sixty-minute ride of the central business district.

Within these zones of urban growth are to be found local districts or communities, and these in turn subdivide into smaller areas called neighborhoods. In the long run, geographical factors and the process of competition fix the boundaries and the centers of these areas. It is important that neighborhood work be in accordance with, rather than in opposition to, these silent but con-

tinuous influences. A map of local communities was prepared to show the way in which rivers, railroads, large industrial establishments, parks, and boulevards divide the city into its constituent local communities—residential and industrial.

The centers of local communities are to be found at the point of highest land value in the intersection of two business streets. These local community centers are also characterized by the concentration of retail business, of banks, of restaurants, and of the large and magnificent palaces of amusement, like motion picture houses and public dance halls.

But if the intersection of two business streets determines the trade center, these same streets divide it into neighborhoods. In the location of a neighborhood center the consequences which flow from this fact must be heeded, because they condition the development of its work and the radius of its influence.

Cultural forces.—Ecological or economic forces are naturally basic to the play of cultural forces. Culture, as the social heritage of the group, implies both a locality to which it is indigenous, and a constant rather than a changing social situation. Chicago, like other large cities, has its cultural communities, each of which has, if not a local area, at least a local center. Hobohemia, Bohemia, Philistia, the Ghetto, and the Gold Coast are cultural communities.

Movement in the person, as from one social location to another, or any sudden change as caused by an invention, carries with it the possibility or the probability of cultural decadence. The cultural controls over conduct disintegrate; impulses and wishes take random and wild expression. The result is immorality and delinquency; in short, personal and social disorganization. An illustration of cultural decadence as a result of movement is the excessively high rate of juvenile delinquency among the children of immigrant parents. To what extent have neighborhood workers gauged the effect of the daily newspaper, the motion picture, the automobile, and the radio, in releasing the child, the youth, and the adult from the confines of the neighborhood, and of bringing them into contact with the city-wide, nation-wide, and world-wide life of our time?

These changes taking place in community life may be observed in a dramatic form, in commercialized recreation. The day of the neighborhood public dance hall and the neighborhood motion picture show has passed, or at least is passing. Young people are deserting the neighborhood recreation centers and are thronging to centers outside the local community, to the high-class, magnificent dance gardens and palaces, and to the so-called "wonder" theaters of the "bright light" areas.

A realignment of the leisure time movements of urban young people is taking place, which every agency engaged in neighborhood work must take into account. Is the neighborhood as a factor in the lives of youth soon to become a situation of the past? Can settlements and social centers expect to hold back the tide of the forces of city life?

A map of the residences of dance hall patrons which shows both the disappearance of the small public dance hall from the neighborhood and the concentration of large dance halls in "bright light" areas, is all the more significant because it portrays the phenomenon of promiscuity. By promiscuity is meant primary and intimate behavior upon the basis of secondary contacts. In the village type of neighborhood, where everyone knows everyone else, the social relationships of the young people were safeguarded by the primary controls of group opinion. But in the public dance hall where young people are drawn from all parts of the city, this old primary control breaks down. Is not this the basic reason why social workers find the dance hall so recurring a factor in personal disorganization and delinquency? As yet, however, we have no satisfactory study of the dance hall as a social world of youth. Two new social types—the "sheik" and the "flapper"—have been created by the dance hall and the motion picture, but they are regarded as subjects for jest rather than for serious study.

A study by Miss Evelyn Buchan of girl delinquency shows the effect of the increasing mobility and promiscuity of city life upon the behavior of youth, and suggests an interesting method of study. To bring into clearer relief the rôle of mobility and promiscuity as factors in behavior, a device called "the delinquency triangle" was employed. The three points of the triangle were located by spotting the home of the girl, the home of her male companion, and the place of delinquency. Three typical forms of the triangle soon appeared:

Form 1 represents the traditional form of sex delinquency, where all three points of the triangle are within the community. This may be called the "neighborhood triangle." In this case the intimacy of the boy and girl might be little more than the continuance in this country of old-world folkways, but without the protection for the girl in subsequent marriage which the European peasant mores afford.

Form 2, "the mobility triangle," stands for delinquency of the type related to increased freedom of movement, where two points of the triangle or its base, formed by the homes of the girl and the boy, lie within the same community, but where its apex, or the place of delinquency, is situated outside. In this case the bright light area becomes a place of freedom from the narrower, distant controls of the home and the neighborhood.

In form 3, delinquency is of the type of promiscuity, because here all the points of the triangle lie in different communities. The intimacy developing from the casual acquaintance of the metal worker from the steel mills with the girl from the West Side, whom he "picked up" at an amusement park, may be so transient that neither knows the family name or the address of the other.

The total effect of forces of city life, like mobility and promiscuity, upon the neighborhood and upon our traditional culture seems to be subversive and disorganizing. Particularly is this true of deteriorating areas, where neighborhood work originated, and where it is still, in any completely developed state,

for the most part confined. A series of maps has been prepared which shows graphically what of course is known to social students—that the zone of deterioration and the areas of the greatest mobility in the city have the greatest concentration of poverty, vice, crime, juvenile delinquency, divorce, desertion, abandoned infants, murder, and suicide.

Political forces.—The political forces have to do with the more formal control of public opinion and law. Neighborhood work is concerned with political forces whenever social action is desired. Our whole scheme of social work may be regarded, from this standpoint at least, as social politics. But has the social worker, who is the social politician, the same intimate knowledge of his neighborhood that the professional politician possesses? A minimum of information which he needs is a card catalogue of, plus some direct contact with, all the local dynamic personalities, including gang leaders, pool hall proprietors, leaders of all the neighborhood organizations, and of all professional persons, like representatives of social agencies, physicians, lawyers, clergymen, at work in his locality. More than that, he needs to know the basic interests, the driving wishes, and the vital problems of the men and women, the youth and the children, living in the community.

The knowledge of these forces in neighborhood life will suggest feasible projects and programs. Too often, however, attempts at social control rise from ignorant good will, rather than from the facts of the situation. This is particularly true of the many futile efforts to impose neighborly relationships upon areas which are no longer neighborhoods.

What, then, is our answer to the question, "Can neighborhood work have a scientific basis?" It can have a scientific foundation if it will base its activities upon a study of social forces. But the social forces of city life seem, from our studies, to be destroying the city neighborhood. Is the neighborhood center to engage in a losing fight against the underlying tendencies of modern urban society? This question should be squarely faced: "Is neighborhood work prepared to base its justification for existence upon facts rather than upon sentiment?"

There are those who are convinced that the function of the neighborhood center is passing, with the decay of the neighborhood in the city. For myself, I am not so certain. Surely the work of the neighborhood center must now be conceived and planned in terms of its relationship to the entire life of the city. The work of neighborhood centers, like that of all other social agencies, must increasingly be placed upon the basis of the scientific study of the social forces with which they have to deal. Especially are studies desired of the actual effect and rôle of intimate contacts in personal development and social control.

A feasible way for neighborhood centers to place their work upon a scientific basis would be to stress the impulse to research that has always been associated with the settlement movement. Thirty years ago Mr. Robert A. Woods read a paper on "University Settlements as Laboratories in Social Science." The

whole argument for research in its relations to neighborhood work is contained in that article. He conceived the advantage of research both to social science and to the settlement. The growing fluidity and complexity of urban life has but increased the force of his argument.

Neighborhood work, by the logic of the situation, if it is to evolve a successful technique, will be compelled more and more to depend upon research into the social forces of modern life.

APPRAISAL OF ULTIMATE AIMS

Robert A. Woods, Head Resident, South End House, Boston

The only criticism Canon Barnett made of the settlements on this side of the water was "too much philanthropy." I do not think he had in mind simply the distinction between supposedly less and more radical lines of action. It was rather the old distinction between faith and works, with a modern derivation. He was fond of cautioning against "vain works and deadly doing."

What is the nature of our enterprise? Is it a cause, with a large but rather abstract and quite specialized aim? Or is it a project, with purposes within range, brought to a definite point, and organized under a formulated technique? Or is it an influence which tends to affect and be affected by the various causes and the various techniques? An influence we were in the beginning; an influence we shall be at the end.

As an influence we seek universality. We want to see truth steadily, but even more do we strive to see it whole. We select the neighborhood as our menstrum because it is the most manageable, and in some respects the most genuine social whole that there is. We seek people who want to be made whole; and everybody does. The scripture phrase, "have life more abundantly," really means, "have life to the full." One of the surest ways to be made whole is to be brought into a full round circle of human relationship, interplay, aspiration; not limited by causes and projects, but thrown out freely into a general human mêlée. This is one of the best ways we lose and find ourselves.

It is through the arts that we are relearning something of the neighborhood spirit. John Collier wrote this interpretation of the civilization of Athens:

> There was once a time in the history of the world when this condition did not prevail. It came about, for a single period of perhaps a hundred years, that the individual man actually has access to a large, a very large, part of the interests, the power, the opportunities of society. So remarkable were the results of that brief period of community life that it changed the whole direction of human history forever.
>
> I refer to the Athens of four centuries before Christ. Athens, at its height, will stand forever as a great example of what community organization can do when you get it.
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> There was a population of about 20,000 people—the population of a small modern town—each one of whom had access to all that there was of civilization. Each was called on imperiously, from childhood to early age, for service along a multitude of lines. He would be solicited continuously to participate in every type of personal or public activity, to use and develop powers greatly diverse.

During that hundred years, that mere handful of people endeavored, produced, and thought so much that, as Sir Henry Maine truly says, "Nothing which moves in the modern world is other than Greek in its origin."

Vachel Lindsay, as he walked through the western states after the manner of a medieval minstrel, handed this message to people, under the head of "The New Localism":

The things most worth while are one's own hearth and neighborhood. We should make our own home and neighborhood the most democratic, the most beautiful, and the holiest in the world. The children now growing up should become devout gardeners or architects or park architects or teachers of dancing in the Greek spirit or musicians or novelists or poets or story-writers or craftsmen or woodcarvers or dramatists or actors or singers. They should find their talent and nurse it industriously. They should believe in every possible application to art-theory of the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Gettysburg address. They should, if led by the spirit, wander over the whole nation in search of the secret of democratic beauty with their hearts at the same time filled to overflowing with the righteousness of God. Then they should come back to their own hearth and neighborhood and gather a little circle of their own sort of workers about them and strive to make the neighborhood and home more beautiful and democratic and holy with their special art. They should labor in their little circle expecting neither reward nor honors. In their darkest hours they should be made strong by the vision of a completely beautiful neighborhood and the passion for a completely democratic art. Their reason for living should be that joy in beauty which no wounds can take away, and that joy in the love of God which no crucifixion can end.

The settlements and other local community agencies through music schools, dramatics, pageants, story-telling, handicraft, are creating the elements of a new national culture through making these arts the fine cement that holds together the many little local democracies in spiritual enterprise, and gradually brings them all into the sense of an ennobled national loyalty. "Art has this characteristic," says Tolstoi, "that it unites people."

The harmonized and loyal local community, by helping us to see truth whole, will overcome our intolerances. Even in social work we have them. The mere coming together to consult about differences in aim and method in social work will not overcome these intolerances. When a rounded scheme of social work is actively and spiritedly measured against the life of a neighborhood, the real principle of co-operation begins to act.

This is a method which will go far to overcome the often childish intolerances of politics, which during campaign time are so likely to blind us all. Particularly as women are coming into the complexities of politics—and no interest in life is so comprehensive—is it important to develop a type of politics that is tangible, serviceable, co-operative. Neighborhood politics can be like this. The local improvement societies demonstrate it.

In the early days, settlements had much to do with the labor problem. But in due time trade unionism became abundantly self-sufficient. Also it disappointed our hopes by continuing to be almost wholly militant, and not seeing its great opportunity of being an integral part of a great productive organization of industry. Today there is fresh hope that organized labor may take this

point of view; and with it will come a new and inspiring opportunity to the settlement and other local community agencies to make the community a field in which the better industrial understanding can arise. At the national convention of the American Federation of Labor, in 1923, a highly significant resolution was adopted containing these words:

> Henceforth the movement for the organization of the workers into trade unions has a deeper meaning than the mere organization of groups for the advancement of group interest, however vital that function may yet remain. Henceforth it must mean the conscious organization of one of the most vital functional elements for enlightened participation in a democracy of industry. . . . . Through the muddling conflict of groups who still find it impossible to come together in co-operation we must look to a future that must have its foundation upon co-operation and collaboration. . . . . We advocate organization of all wage-earners and of useful and productive elements.

Social workers have a definite opportunity and responsibility with relation to one of the most serious phases of the problem of social unrest. To a very large extent, it is not caused by the bare fact of the unequal distribution of wealth in itself. By far the greater portion of a large income goes back into capital investment. The chief sense of wrong comes from the display of luxury and indulgence in the expenditure of the remaining fraction. Social work is maintained almost wholly by the rich. We can, and we must, exert our influence among them against luxury.

But here again the direct attack is only one and often not the best way of approach. Miss Hilda Oakley, of the University of London, gave a stimulating address at Toynbee Hall two years ago, published in her recent book, *History and Progress*, in which she shows the essential significance of the settlement approach to the industrial problem. She says:

> Must it be admitted that the century which thought itself, and in some respects possibly was, the most progressive in history, hardly touched in its progress the root of the matter, and quite probably brought the mass of the people to a worse state?
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> In my reading of history, the change called the industrial revolution, the application of science to industry, has hitherto retarded real progress. It has not stopped it; we have not gone back on the whole. But without it, the other forces at work for the increase of value would have had a greater effect; there would in this age have been more humanity of life. The latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries witnessed, as we know in literature, "a return to nature." But the poor were being swept farther and farther away from the natural life, more and more deeply enmeshed in a system artificial for a world which is in reality a world of persons.
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> We are today, with the greatest difficulty, by means of complex organizations and machinery in human relations, struggling to get back to something nearer the implied eighteenth-century attitude to the laborer as a person; the spiritual instead of the mechanical point of view.
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> The settlement must conceive itself as occupying a position of real importance in the struggle to bring society nearer this spiritual ideal, especially in social relations, the avenue through which the immense majority realize the value of life. It should afford to those who come within its walls some little experience of the freedom of the spirit, which is prior to any possibility of freedom of the will, the development of the true self through the cultivation of hobbies, natural social intercourse, introduction to worlds of thought and beauty, spontaneous formation of circles, classes, groups for study of the things that really matter, co-operation in many little ways for the welfare of all.

The neighborhood is the chosen field for the overcoming of racial intolerance. The new American immigration policy means a new era in which the motive of coherent nationality, with due consideration for all fine racial traditions, is to be worked out with a greater application of purpose and intelligence than ever before. The difficulty is largely in a lack of understanding of and respect for the implied obligations that go with a scheme of national culture. The creation of a new, more human, kind of local culture, based in the ancient ties of the neighbor, is almost the secret for the accomplishment of this vital result. A bootlegger plies his trade industriously in all hours, and every day, reluctantly, perhaps, closing his place to conform to fixed American law with certain police sanction behind it; but there comes the legal holiday of a nation that perished two thousand years ago, and he closes up with avidity. A long, patient social process must go on, if his children are to have an American orientation to life; and it must approach the constructive imagination from every side.

The church, and other organizations which gather up the special interest type of loyalty, can best be socialized by learning to send their chosen representatives out freely into the life of the open community, there to join hands with all other people of good will in building up the nobler local commonwealth.

The new leadership, even in the great community, is going to come from out of these local laboratories and training schools of enlightened and inspired citizenship. Mr. E. C. Lindeman recently wrote:

> It is no longer possible for the great leader, single-handed, to wield power over the docile mass. The prophet of the future will come up, not from the people, but with the people. His will not be a voice crying in the wilderness, but rather a voice joined with other voices, an activity joined with other activities, in a co-operative attempt to solve a mutual problem. He will not be the orator graced with the tricks of securing mock consent by crowd methods, but rather the participator in discussion who knows how to evaluate the worth and the contribution of all who share his life and interests.

Dr. Felix Adler, in his recent book on *The Reconstruction of the Spiritual Ideal* points out that it is of the essence of high intelligence applied to leadership that its final increments should go not to the virtuosity of the specialist but to what might be called the genius of application, of getting results in human terms. Speaking of a more co-operative type of administration, in which, of course, there would be a diversity of capacity, he says: "The higher and highest functionaries in turn would gain by the constraint placed upon them of so ripening their thought as to make it apt for assimilation by the mentally less fortunate."

This means, of course, that there is the most constant and insistent stimulus to the neighborhood leader to attain the highest exercises of all the powers of intelligence.

It is an interesting fact that all the Utopias except that of Marx were set in a small community. A recent writer has shown that the small community Utopias of this type, of which America saw so many in the first half of the last

century, represented an attempt to escape out of the real situation, and the formation of an artificial fellowship—supposedly more after heart's desire. It is one of the fine distinctions of the present day local community movement that it takes facts as they are, grappling most readily with those most difficult, and hoping to create a contagion through which city, state, and nation will gradually but inevitably grow into the finer and higher social order.

It is the teaching of science that the aggregate must be known and, in the main, must be changed, through the minute unit. A recent writer has made a suggestion toward a higher type of literature which applies no less distinctly to social relations:

> Perhaps just as science, materialistic for a generation, has become etherealized before the mystery of the atom, so psychology may escape from the materialism of Freud and his school and discover at the last analysis that there is a transcendental element in human life; and the artists, always sensitive to spiritual atmospheres, may be inspired to draw literature out of the blind alley where the greatest of their tribe led it, to conceive of life as part of a divine procession in which the personal dwindles but the immortal may be exalted by a profound consciousness of cosmic purpose.

THE RELATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD FORCES TO THE LARGER COMMUNITY

PLANNING A CITY NEIGHBORHOOD FROM THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW

Clarence Arthur Perry, Russell Sage Foundation, New York

To focus the discussion this morning I am going to set before you a hypothetical neighborhood planned from a social point of view. It is not put up as the best possible plan, but as a plan. It will at least afford us a point of departure for a discussion of purposeful planning and development of city neighborhoods.

Let us consider a district of 160 acres, located half way between the downtown business center and the boundaries of a city of less than 100,000 population. An area of 160 acres, if laid out rectangularly, makes a square of a half-mile on a side. If this area were triangular, the sides would be a little more than three-quarters of a mile long. The housing is of the single family per lot type and suited to people of moderate means. Suppose we wanted to plan this district so it would meet our ideals as to health, recreation, young people's environment, and all-round human happiness—how would we lay it out?

Civic center.—In the first place, I suggest that in the central part of the district we provide a green, square, rectangular, or oval in shape. On one side of this green let us set aside an ample site for an elementary public school. A part of the school plant—it might be in a separate building or in a building attached to it by an arcade—would be devoted to a branch of the public library.

Another portion of the school edifice—which again might be attached to it or incorporated within it—would be a hall large enough to serve as an assembling place for the pupils or for the citizens of the neighborhood. Back of the school there should be a yard large enough to afford ample play space for all the pupils.

On the remaining sides of the square, sites should be reserved for one or more churches, for a residential hotel, or for a fraternal hall. There might even be a little theater or a small motion-picture house facing on this public square. Placing these public buildings around a square of this sort would afford them better perspective and stimulate finer designing in the architecture of the buildings.

Shopping districts.—In the periphery of this district I would reserve areas for two, possibly three, local shopping centers. Each center should be at a point where large numbers of the residents customarily pass out of the district on their way to places of occupation in the downtown or other working sections of the city.

These shopping centers should be large enough to accommodate all the stores of a neighborhood character required to meet the needs of the population of that district. If, instead of running radially along the streets, these districts were bunched in two or three short blocks or rows of store buildings, the convenience of the patrons would be better served than it is by the usual arrangement. A certain number of these stores should be placed so that a service alley could be in the rear, making it possible to discharge and take in goods from a rear door and admit customers at the front door.

These business places might form a small square, in the center of which might be a motion-picture theater, a building large enough to have offices on the upper floors and an auditorium in the lower part of the house. In one of the shopping districts there should be a branch post-office, a police-station or at least a substation. In some districts a fire-house would also be located here.

No business buildings should be allowed in any part of the neighborhood other than these specially reserved shopping districts. Across the street from these points would usually be found the corresponding shopping districts of the adjacent neighborhoods so that the combined districts—there might be four of them—would make a busy local trading center.

Parks and playgrounds.—A standard for the allotment of neighborhood parks and play spaces, more frequently expressed than actually realized, calls for 10 per cent of the total area. That would give 16 acres for the district we are considering. A suggested distribution of this space is as follows: commons, $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres; baseball field, $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres; tennis courts, $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres; school yard, 3 acres; play field, 2 acres; parklets, 3 acres; total, 16 acres.

These spaces should be distributed about the district in such a way that they would be easily accessible and not occasion the concentration of sporting crowds in any one locality. The last item consists of small circles, triangular and rectangular grass plots—sometimes called breathing spots—set aside at the

junction of streets and in front of rows of houses. It is to be remembered that in this district most families are supposed to have yards in which small children can play, and that this allotment is not supposed to cover this neighborhood's requirements for large park space. The areas listed above are for the exclusive use of the residents of this district. In addition to these local and intimate recreation spaces there would be, of course, the large woodland and landscaped parks set aside for the enjoyment of the whole city.

Street system.—The streets forming the boundaries of this district should be designed as arterial highways and may be 100 or more feet wide. If any sides of the district were bounded by railways, water courses, or parkways, they would have the same effect of dividing it off from the surrounding territory. Within the district there should be a special street plan, a combination of the radial and gridiron patterns, designed to afford more or less direct communication with the civic center and with the shopping districts. The interior streets should be proportioned in width to the amount of traffic they will bear, the main streets being 70 or 80 feet wide and the side streets from 40 to 60 feet. To give variety of vista and avoid acute angles, streets should be curved or bent at junctions.

Lot subdivision.—The lot subdivision should be carried out in such a way as to afford a variety of residential layouts. Those persons who want to put their money into the house rather than the yard, and those who want more spacious grounds and only modest homes, should both be accommodated—that is, within limits. As a whole, the development should be designed to attract people of a fairly similar standard of living.

In all the cases where the lot subdivision indicates rows of houses, the group should be located so as to face upon a small park. Consideration should be given in the lot layouts to garage sites, and, where necessary, to service lanes.

Apartments should be permitted over the stores in the shopping districts, and several apartment buildings for residential purposes exclusively might be placed at the corners of the development. Each of these buildings should have ample courts or play space adjoining them. The number of these multi-family buildings would be determined by the density to be allowed and the land values which had to be realized.

These external characteristics cannot be considered as unrelated to the principles of growth and the processes of neighborhood life. Unless the plan facilitates these processes, and furnishes them with mechanisms, it will not be realized and would not exist if by some *tour de force* it were executed. When we come to consider the internal factors, or the essential principles, of a socially planned neighborhood we find that after the establishment of centers—a civic center, shopping centers—the next step is the definition of area.

Demarcation of the neighborhood district.—It requires only a slight observation of city life to discover that traffic highways such as railways, water courses, parkways, and arterial boulevards definitely cleave the social life of a district.

Just as voluntary associations within a district are divided by physical barriers, so they are facilitated and stimulated by the construction of railways or highways which become boundaries of a district and serve to set it off from the surrounding territory. On a city plan, a neighborhood can be marked by bounding it with wide arterial streets, with railways, parkways, or parks. Of course, an industrial or business area also hems in a district in a way, but even it should be separated from the neighborhood proper by a wide street. In the planning of new cities or new portions of old cities, the time is coming, I believe, when it will be a recognized practice to set off all neighborhoods by means of arterial streets and avoid laying down any traffic highways which would cut up undeveloped areas into such small and irregular areas that neighborhood life could not flourish within them. If this principle is recognized it will also provide ample traffic carriers for through-town traffic, and will make it unnecessary for this traffic to disturb the quiet and imperil the lives of those residing in the neighborhood districts.

Purposeful street systems.—The function of a street is to provide channels for movements to and from residences, places of business, and other institutions. It would seem axiomatic that streets ought to go directly toward the destinations of traffic currents, but no one can claim that any such purpose animates a street system formed upon the gridiron pattern. As a very famous English town-planner once said, "American streets do not seem to lead anywhere." Perhaps the reason we have never attempted to give our streets any particular direction is because we have not been aware of the fact that people in general do go in common directions.

Recently I had occasion to make an estimate of the weekly movements to and from an average home. I first divided the trips of the various members of the family into two classes, those of a downtown range and those of a neighborhood range. The man's daily trips to his business were put in the downtown class and the boy's trips to his school were classed as neighborhood movements. The wife's trips to the department store or the theater were classed as downtown, and her daily marketing as neighborhood. Summing up these various trips of the husband, wife, and two children, as well as the visits of the grocery man, of the mail carrier, and the garbage removal people, we found that the movements of a neighborhood range during the week numbered seventy-eight, and those of a downtown or beyond the neighborhood range numbered nineteen, or about four to one.

If we may assume that these estimates roughly approximate the actual movements to and from an ordinary home, and that similar movements begin and end at the other homes in the neighborhood, then we have some knowledge of city traffic currents.

We at once see that there is a definite whorl of strictly neighborhood movements and another whorl of less frequent movements extending beyond the neighborhood. Since the number of the neighborhood movements is so dis-

tinctly greater than those of the downtown range it would seem reasonable that a special street system should be provided to facilitate the neighborhood circulation.

If we stop to think a moment we will immediately see that the neighborhood trips of the average family are mainly to two places—to the local shops, and to the educational and religious centers. A common destination for children is the playground. In a district in which these various centers are segregated the street system should be such as to facilitate easy and direct movement to each of these centers. If we group our educational and religious centers around the civic center, and put our neighborhood shops and motion picture theater in one or two distinct points in the periphery, then we should have streets so arranged that, no matter where you live in the district, you can go directly either to the civic center or to the nearest shopping center. This generally results in a combination of radials for main streets and parallels for side streets.

The size of the neighborhood district.—By size I mean really population rather than area. What is the best number of people to house in a planned neighborhood district? I know of no experience which can guide us upon this point and so I offer only my opinion and the situation upon which it is based. My guess is that that number of people for whose educational service one up-to-date elementary public school would be required is the best number for a socially planned neighborhood. Educational experts now say that the best size for an elementary unit in a public-school system is one accommodating from 1,000 to 1,500 pupils. We ordinarily count one child of elementary school age for each five of population. So that on this basis our district should provide housing for from 5,000 to 7,500 people. If we have 6,000 people housed upon 160 acres, that gives a density of about 38 people per acre, or a little over seven families per acre.

Educational specialists declare that a half-mile is the maximum distance children should have to travel in order to attend an elementary school. Actual investigation shows that they will not travel more than one-quarter of a mile to reach a playground. It will be remembered that our 160 acre district, even if triangular in shape, is only three-quarters of a mile on a side so that this area with a school plant located in the center of it would meet these distance requirements very nicely.

Since the public school, more nearly than any other local institution, touches all the families within its sphere of service, it is a common denominator of neighborhood life and seems therefore the best available basis for determining the size of the local community unit.

Comprehensive planning.—The neighborhood district which has been described cannot be successfully realized except by one comprehensive and co-operative management. The landscaping, to have unity of effect, must be done by one person. The general types of housing construction must be specified by a supervising architect. Different builders may be allowed to operate in

the construction of houses, but their plans and specifications must be co-ordinated by the supervising agency. The lot subdivision, assignment of spaces, reservation of sites, and street system must be completely worked out for a given population before any part of the construction is begun.

The practical realization of model neighborhood developments.—As we have seen, a neighborhood laid out in a model manner involves the dedication of spaces for parks and playgrounds and the reservation of sites for possible public institutions. Such dedications and such comprehensive planning are costly to the developer. He will not perform them unless he can secure returns to cover the outlays they involve. It is believed that a comprehensively planned and self-contained development of this character would yield unusual values for which purchasers would be willing to pay. It will probably require an extensive advertising campaign to cause them to appreciate these extra values, but that is an educational feat which can be accomplished.

One very great value which can be realized with the right procedure is a greater permanence of the residential characteristics. An instance will make this clearer. In the planning of the residential suburb, Forest Hills Gardens, certain areas were set aside for the shopping district and for parks and school sites. The reservation of these areas formed a part of the condition under which residents purchased property. When the real estate company had practically completed the development, it transferred the rights and obligations under the restrictions to an incorporated association of the property-owners who are now administering those restrictions. Thus, the owners themselves became vested with the right and the power to insure the continuance of the residential characteristics as long as they wished them to continue. While the results of this method of procedure are too young to be finally appraised, it would seem that it offers real hope for a stabilization of values based upon the residential characteristics. So long as a majority of the property-owners live in that district, they are likely to keep business and other unpleasant elements out of it.

It would seem that a development corporation which could offer homes in self-contained districts where schools were conveniently placed, play areas were ample, and protected from outside traffic, where neighborhood shopping facilities were concentrated and accessible, where everything tended to promote a consciousness of common interest and local pride—it would seem that such a real estate proposition would not be difficult to market.

The social control of urban growth.—The problem of securing the kind of urban expansion which will satisfy social objectives is the problem of translating those objectives into prescriptions and formulas which can be effectually applied in city-planning and development. It is clear that those prescriptions will mainly concern the density of the population to be provided for and the uses to which land may be put. The closeness of habitations, both horizontally and vertically, affects their ventilation, the amount of their sunlight, and the recrea-

tional opportunities of their occupants, and we believe that these conditions are factors in health and moral development. These do not, of course, comprise all of our social objectives, but they indicate the importance of controlling population density in city expansion.

The application of a density standard is not, however, a simple matter. It might be decreed, for example, that future building construction should be regulated so that the density of the city as a whole should never exceed, say, seven families per acre. How futile such a regulation would be is readily realized when one reflects that it would not prevent the existence of highly congested slums in certain sections so long as their excessive density was offset by under-density in other residential sections. To secure the extension of the high density area would require only the inclusion of some outlying farm lands within the city limits.

It is hardly necessary to carry the argument farther. One can readily understand that standards as to density, business and residential uses of land, and the reservation and dedication of open spaces, can be effectually applied only to well-defined unit areas. They can be intelligently applied only in the light of accurate knowledge of the needs and character of such unit areas as they are to be when they are fully developed and fully occupied. Planning and regulation must therefore go together. Furthermore, density, use, and open space standards cannot be separated and applied independently to different unit areas. They are functions of each other and must be applied to the same district.

This paper is an effort to define and describe a residential unit district which would be useful in the application of formulas of a regulative and constructive nature in the planning and development of unimproved urban sections. It may be difficult or impossible to make such formulas legally enforceable upon all subdividers and builders, but an important step will be gained if our municipal zoning and planning authorities can be empowered to grant substantial privileges and extra latitude to those real estate developers whose plans and schemes do meet standards of an ideal character. Whether or not the neighborhood district described above will be found useful in this connection only time can tell. It would seem, however, that such a district with its physical demarcation, its planned recreational facilities, its accessible shopping centers, and its convenient circulatory system—all integrated and harmonized by artistic designing—would furnish the kind of environment where vigorous health, a rich social life, civic efficiency, and a progressive community consciousness would spontaneously develop and permanently flourish.

POLITICS FROM THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW

Harriet E. Vittum, Head Resident, Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago

For the purposes of this Conference I assume that the phrase "social point of view" has to do with the organization of social forces in such neighborhoods as the members of the Conference know in their daily doings, rather than the pink tea variety of the "social point of view," and I will therefore confine what I have to say to this angle of the subject though much might be said and written from the angle of one of our gold coast neighborhoods. In one very exclusive club in one of America's great cities such gatherings have been held in the name of politics as would make very restless the sleep of some of the founders of the F.F.V.'s in that city. In the most famous homestead of another great city the art gallery was the scene of a meeting so representative of the many social and racial strata of the neighborhood as to make the hostess quite timid, and force her to say very anxiously to the committee of management, "You don't suppose anyone has brought a bomb, do you?" Such meetings which are brought to safe conclusions with no bombs manifest must have far-reaching effects from the social as well as the political point of view, and may some time be considered upon their merits.

Social workers have always been afraid of politics, though why they should be we cannot easily see. Mr. Webster's definition of the word "politics" is "science of government," and in these days when we are permitting scientists to invade our sacred precincts through so many other avenues it would seem safe to allow them to enter through the political gate also. We have always by action, if not by word, admitted our dependence upon politics for the accomplishment of our purposes in neighborhood work. We admit that it is not sound social service to move a tubercular family out of an impossible tenement into one a little less impossible, leaving the impossible one for some other family to occupy. The job is not begun unless we see to it that tenement number one is permanently closed or razed; it is not done until in city, state, and nation there are housing laws so well enforced that no family is ever permitted to live in that house or one like it. The doing of the job takes us into city halls where law-enforcing officials are appointed and held responsible for honest and efficient enforcement of law; into city councils, state legislatures, and the national Congress where the laws are made, and ultimately to the political caucuses and election booths where lawmakers and public officials are chosen. There is no use dodging the issue—in that way, and in that way alone, lies social order; only the method of participation is debatable. Some neighborhood workers hold that we should do our political work silently and not let it be known that we wish to have, or think we have, political influence; that we should show no preference as to political parties or their candidates. That attitude is somewhat understandable in men, who have never had to resort fully to such methods, but

not in women, who for such long years were politely told whenever they made embarrassing requests "not to bother about the vote—just go home and use their sweet, ladylike, indirect influence." Now, when it is open before them to work directly and at first hand for the things they have always wanted in their social program, it would seem that they would eagerly grasp the opportunity and carry their slogans and their following to the doors of the election booths. One civic club of women in Chicago, that had worked long and hard in the first years of woman suffrage in Illinois to educate the women of their ward branches to vote for certain issues, were forced, when they were called up by hundreds of members on election day and asked which men to vote for in order to vote for issues prescribed by the club, to tell them "We cannot help you, for we do not indorse candidates." The women on the board of directors had not yet seen the necessity of openly standing for the candidates through whom the "issues" could be realized. It was not until Jane Addams said to them one day: "But you do not vote for issues, you vote for men," that they realized their responsibility to their following.

We who are engaged in the so-called character-building work in the Americanization programs seem somehow to have missed our big chance. We all can recount with pride and enthusiasm the large numbers of little boys and girls who are ours in kindergartens, story hours, ball games, and sewing classes, but we all humbly admit our unavailing efforts to hold the young men and young women who go out to take their places in the world's work. We admit that there our program is not big enough for them, and we long to enlarge it, but few of us have hit upon one that will satisfy them or us. Only in unusual cases do we find boys who will choose checkers or Scout work or basket ball for their lifelong avocation. Only now and then will there be girls for whom story-acting or play-cooking (with up-to-date equipment which they do not have at home) will hold an absorbing interest through adolescence, courtship, marriage, and motherhood; but practical "citizenship" offers a program which can be made to ramify into every life-interest of every boy and every girl. Practical citizenship presupposes a knowledge of our form of government, the technique of voting, and the relation of our daily lives to city, state, and national government.

We have taught our boys to play clean ball, not to cheat at checkers, and to salute the flag. We have taught our girls to wash dishes, embroider, and dance—not theoretically, but in and by the doing. We have taught a few of them the theory of citizenship, and then turned them over to the ward bosses and precinct committeemen for training in the practice of their citizenship. These political leaders are not theorists; they are workers who set for themselves an objective, definite and alluring, and then go about organizing all the forces around them to work together for that goal. Their methods may seem crude and unscientific, but they are human; a United States congressman who hails from a ward of foreign-born citizens in a Middle West city seems to have a private

key to the mint, so full are his pockets always of half-dollars available for friends in need. A Polish washerwoman in this man's district said to her employer, "I cannot come next Tuesday." "Why not, Maggie?" "It's election day and I must stand on the corner." 'What do you stand on the corner for?" "For five dollars." "But what do you do on the corner?" "I do nothing—Stanley K. pins a paper on me." Tangible proof that Stanley is a more generous friend than the employer is found by Maggie in the two dollars difference in the daily wage, and as adviser in matters of general interest he must be wiser than less generous friends. No hour is too late or too early for this honorable member of Congress to get out of bed to go to the police station to bail out an unfortunate neighbor who has imbibed too much and become too noisy, or by other ways that are dark has found himself in the clutches of the law. Not only Mr. K.'s unfailing willingness to go, but his demonstrated influence with the powers that be when he arrives, makes him a worthy leader in the eyes of his followers. At local weddings and neighborhood funerals he is the outstanding social ornament; his well-cut suit, white spats, top hat, and stick, lend dignity and grace to the occasions and it may be that he has started the subscription paper that has made so grand a ceremony possible. His objective —a seat in the municipal council, or in Congress, or a judgeship, or even a place on the precinct or ward committee—may not seem to us worthy of the coherent, enthusiastic following he is able to acquire, but he has it, and unless we have something better to offer, or take our place at the wire with him, he and his fellows will leave us far behind in the race for neighborhood organization and achievement.

There are three courses open to us, as I see it: first, to refrain from getting into the swiftest and widest current of neighborhood interest and continue to lose our boys and girls at sixteen to twenty and to go on guessing what we can do to hold them; second, to expand our theoretical training for citizenship, carrying our program of patriotic songs for little children, our Girl Scout and Boy Scout programs of civic pride, clean-up days, etc., and our classes in civil government and open forums for men and women, giving more of the actual technique of voting, and arranging studies that show the relation of every man's and every woman's vote to neighborhood conditions, such as clean streets and alleys, tenement house lighting and screening, clean or dirty dairies, and therefore pure or impure milk for the babies, and so on *ad infinitum;* or, third, to add to plan number two, active, aggressive participation in the political life of the neighborhood and community.

Suppose we overcome our dislike for political work and our fear of politicians and accept the third plan. How shall we begin and how much may we hope to achieve? In the first place we should adopt somewhat of the method of the political leaders whom we meet daily. We are told by the experts in organization that we should know our neighborhood; meaning, they say, our geographic boundaries, our individual resources, our schools, churches, etc. All

this is easy, but they add—and the people. Few of us know our people—more than a handful, and they are the ones who have come to us—but the precinct boss does. Go to him and ask him about the Smith family on Blank Street and he will tell you. He knows that Tom, the father, was arrested for beating his wife—it was he that had Tom bailed out, and then let off with a small fine; Tom is not wholly to blame; he knows that Mary, the wife, is cross-grained and a good deal of a nagger, but why shouldn't she be? There are nine children, and Jennie, the eight-year-old, a cripple for life from infantile paralysis; Tom never has earned much and has always had a hard time to make both ends meet. Probably the children—any of them—never had enough to eat, and he will add that if Tom didn't have so much to worry him he would not get drunk and make trouble for the family so often, and then adds that the "Party" (meaning the precinct organization) will stand by him, for anyway Tom is a good fellow and always can be counted on on election day. He can tell us not only about Tom Smith's family, but about every family in the precinct. We often wonder at his stock of detailed knowledge; and envy, but it isn't strange—he has visited again and again in every home in the precinct, and each time he goes he has a definite errand—an invitation to a precinct meeting, a petition to be signed, money to be collected, etc. Each time there is a bit of a visit, and some new family situation is revealed. If in any settlement we had such an aggregation of knowledge of the homes and lives of the neighbors in one precinct as the "boss" of that precinct has, we would be rich indeed. We could acquire it if we would. They are not trained social workers, these precinct leaders—they are just neighborhood people, and perhaps that is one of the secrets of their success.

They are not only in but of the neighborhood. Most of our charity organization society visitors, our school teachers, our visiting teachers, our park and playground staff workers, and certainly most of our boards of directors live miles from the neighborhoods where people they serve live. No matter how kind and friendly and helpful they are, "there are some things about us they cannot understand because they do not live here." Even our settlements who like to feel that we are a stable and stabilizing element have an astonishing "labor turnover," and are always having to introduce new workers to our neighbors. The precinct boss has lived, does live, and will live there, and although he may now and then switch from party to party, "for the good of the service," or some other reason, he still is he, and the neighbors know him. If we were to join these organizations and do our share of the "precinct work" we could acquire such information as they acquire and perhaps in time could prove to the Smiths that such service as we can render, new interest for Tom that will in part take the place of "can-rushing" or bootlegging, a cure for Jennie, shoes for the other children, an occasional party for mother that will make her forget some of her worries, are as valuable as the "reward" doled out by the boss on election day, we would acquire a precinct following. We always

have a few such families but not enough to "carry the precinct" for anything. We can furnish and often do, of course, registration places where in clean, attractive, and comfortable quarters we may dignify the conditions of elections, and we may furnish election officials who can dignify and safeguard the processes. When women first voted in municipal elections in Chicago we had at the head of our election machinery a most sympathetic official who urged two women's civic organizations to supply a carefully chosen woman judge or clerk for each of the 2,000 or more polling places in Chicago. This was done, and the whole city was delighted with the changed atmosphere that resulted. In one settlement neighborhood a woman judge served with four men—average neighborhood types of precinct workers. It was noticeable that no drinks were brought into the polling place that day, but candy and gum were freely passed. For all the years since, this dignified, educated, refined woman has continued the co-worker and pal of this rough-and-ready group of men, Democrats and Republicans. A few years ago when the rumor spread that women judges and clerks were to be removed from all polling places these men signed a petition asking that Miss Morsy (her name was Morse) be kept in their precinct.

There is much fear that taking part in party politics will alienate neighbors belonging to other parties and so lower the standing of social workers in their neighborhoods, but as an argument against such a theory I want to tell a story of my own experience. At the time women were given partial suffrage in Illinois, I was known to be an active worker in the Progressive Party. I was called on the telephone one night to be asked if I would organize the Democratic women of my ward. I replied that I would be glad to do so, but added, "You know I am not a Democrat." "Yes," was the reply, "but you know how to make motions and things." So the ladies came and organized, learned to make motions, and elect a president, and I hope learned some things about the beginnings and beliefs of their own party. Shortly after, I was called by another neighbor who asked the same question. I replied that the Democratic ladies were already organized; and was told that that group represented one faction of the party organization, and the speaker represented another. These ladies came and were organized without any thought of possible unfairness on the part of the "teacher" to either of the two bitterly opposed groups. Then to my surprise the Republican ladies came. If there was any political group suspicious of the Progressives it was the Republicans, but in spite of my known affiliation with the rebels, I helped the Republicans to make motions and plan their programs. I had already helped with the organization of the Progressives —not a women's organization, but one of men and women—the first such group to work in the political arena of our ward. All of these organizations have met again in our house and I have worked with all at different times on different elections. At present I am the "honorable chairman" of a Democratic ward club that in the 1923 elections backed a Democratic candidate for alderman. This group is now meeting regularly at the Settlement discussing plans for cleaner

streets and alleys, and planning a large neighborhood picnic for the late summer. This in spite of the fact that all of the members know that I am a vice-president of a city-wide Republican woman's club. The neighborhood and the community is bound to organize for party politics, and it must be so as long as our election machinery is as it is, and I believe that it avails nothing to hold aloof from parties and complain of all. Is it not better to join a party where we can be articulate and bring what influence we have to bear upon better policies and better platforms within our party—reserving always the right to work for and vote for candidates of other parties if ours does not give us platforms and candidates of whom we can approve?

During a recent very vicious administration in our city, a group of young men who had been known to our settlement since early boyhood were seen on election day dodging in and out of the polling place there, trying to hide their badges when settlement workers appeared, but very obviously working in the interest of the wrong group. The day was one long challenge to those of us who had had our chance with these boys, and had failed them and the city to which they belonged. But the real anguish came when we saw them at night meet with the ward paymaster, and we knew that they had sold their birthright for a mess of pottage! Each boy of that group was later the holder of a political job, and one of them told frankly of the only service he rendered the city—that of appearing twice each month to sign the pay-roll.

With this challenge in mind, another group of six young men, also settlement little boys grown up, were called together just before the next election and invited to join the group at the house in a campaign of vital interest. They were told the issues and the interests at stake—that perhaps we would not win; we were idealists, and as such liable to defeat; that we had no money to pay workers, but that we wanted their help if they wished to give it. They were asked to think it over for a day and if they wished to bring back the pledge cards signed. All but one signed then and there; that one asked for four cards which he brought back the next night signed by his father, mother, brother, and himself. As we discussed plans for the campaign these boys said that they had often wondered how the settlement people believed about voting, but did not like to ask for fear we would be insulted. They worked valiantly; three of them were given watchers' badges and had their first experience as officials on the right side, albeit the losing side. On election night after all was over they came without invitation or suggestion to talk it over and the straightforward criticism of one young man will remain with me always. He was a watcher at the polling place in a precinct that voted almost one hundred per cent for the machine we were endeavoring to put out of power. He knew most of the voters, and this is what he said: "Miss Vittum, you are to blame for this. The first hundred fellows that voted over there today had been settlement boys, and if they had known when they began to vote, the things you told us a few weeks ago, they wouldn't be voting the way they are. Do you think we want to help get bad

things for Chicago? Well, we don't, but nobody ever talked to us about these things." That very night they worked out plans to start a political club to be ready for the next battle.

If I may be pardoned another illustration out of my own experience I would like to tell of my aldermanic race about ten years ago. I ran at the request of the men of a civic club in the settlement—young men raised in the old political machines of both parties, who wanted something different. The fight was made as a nonpartisan after the primaries. Instead of being backed by a political organization I was backed by a campaign committee of fifty men and women representing all nationalities, all religions, and all political faiths in our ward population. This in itself was an innovation, and another innovation was a printed platform pledging the candidate to such causes as clean milk for the babies, better lighting, and better cleaning of streets and alleys, more seats in the public schools, better supervision of parks and playgrounds. For many voters this was their first experience in relating aldermanic campaigns to such homelike everyday subjects. The next innovation was the use of school halls instead of back rooms of saloons for meetings, and last of all, the serving of coffee and cakes instead of beer and cigars. The organization of block meetings in the homes of our neighbors furnished dozens of interested and wondering audiences, and loads of memorable adventures. We did not win the election, but we did take that printed platform, printed in all the languages of the ward, into all the homes of the ward, thus putting the neighborhood problems, the human social problems, of all of these folks before them and showing them their responsibility toward them. Early in the campaign the man who proved to be the winner—then a sitting alderman—acquired copies of our platform, and before all of his audiences said, pointing to plank after plank, "The lady believes in so and so, and so do I." He committed himself to every social plank in our platform, and for months we sent men and women who came to us because of our campaign speeches on one or another of the matters mentioned, to this alderman who could not fail to use his influence, and the Municipal Voters' League told us he became a better alderman through some adherence to our platform. We never learned of enemies made by the campaign either for myself or the settlement, but we did learn of many new friends and many more acquaintances, and every plan we have tried to project into the neighborhood since has been easier because of that campaign for social betterment.

The Mayor of whom Chicago is so proud at this moment began his political career backed by two settlement head residents—Graham Taylor and Raymond Robins—with the Men's Club of Chicago Commons, and Northwestern University Settlement as his first platforms. His aldermanic career was a credit not only to these and others who backed him, but to his ward and his city; and the program of social welfare which he is promoting at this time is as fine an illustration as can be found, and a justification of politics as a logical means of social service connecting the neighborhood with the large community of which each is a part.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY

THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE CHURCH IN RURAL ORGANIZATION

Rev. C. M. McConnell, Methodist Board, Commission on Conservation and Advancement, Chicago

It would indeed be a pleasure to tell a thrilling story of the achievements of the rural church in community organization for social service. We simply cannot tell such stories, for very little has yet been accomplished by the church in this field. We once read a description of a rural community in which the schools, homes, roads, churches, and individuals had reached a high and ideal state of perfection. As our interest burned and a warm glow of anxiety possessed us to visit this rare spot, we turned quickly the pages until we reached the end of the story. Our chagrin and anger were too deep for words to find this final remark: "This all is still in the state of imagination." Because of the lack of actual accomplishment of the church in this field we must use our fancy and patch together a few fragmentary achievements into one more or less imperfect whole.

Much of the energy of the country church has been spent in keeping itself alive. Plans have been devised and numerous efforts made to work out a program of church salvation. "Physician, heal thyself," has been the advice given to the country church. Before, or rather while, a country church is meeting its opportunities, it must itself be strong enough to serve. A poor, run-down, God-forsaken church can render little worth while service. It is itself an object of pity and charity. May we challenge you who are engaged in social work to lend a hand in strengthening the country church? If our preaching is poor and uninteresting perhaps it is because we have not had the advantage of trained leadership in our pulpits. Too long have country churches been regarded as "calf pastures" by the appointing powers of the churches, and young men have been too frequently sent to the country to practice on the people in preparation for a larger church later. It lies within your province to help remedy this situation by a higher appreciation of the task of the country preacher and a deeper sympathy with him in his efforts.

Before the country church can even approach its possibilities in social service it must have a change of attitude toward its task as a welfare agency. In a recent meeting of country preachers some objected to the emphasis that was put upon the salvation of lives rather than souls. Too long have we been concerned merely with the salvation of souls. This does not mean that we are to neglect the spiritual life, but it does mean that the human life of the country community, and the conditions of life must be considered. This includes health, recreation, work, homes, schools, delinquency, child labor, and a host of conditions which go to make up the life of the country community. It is well to sing, "Heaven is my home, I am but a stranger here," but we had better make ourselves at home and get acquainted here until we get to heaven. With

an appreciation of the task of the church as an agency of social service, and leaders with a degree of leadership in the right direction, there are great possibilities before the country church. We return to point out some already achieved in a rural community.

A few years ago we became pastor of a country circuit in Ohio. There were two churches—one in a village of 125, with as many more around about, and another in the open country. On our first Sunday morning in the country church two dozen people were present. The janitor met the new preacher and said, "I feel very sorry for you. We got rid of our last preacher three months ago. You will notice things look a little dead around here. The other day I came here and tolled the bell for service and some of the folks came driving up and wanted to know who was dead. I said, no one in particular, just the church—that's all." A study of the community revealed many interesting things. Among others we discovered that there was no recreation provided by the people for either young or old. The chief means of recreation was the arrival of the evening passenger train. We turned out to see the train go through the village, and most of the trains went through without even hesitating. Another form of recreation was a series of beer parties along the lake front. On the whole, the situation was anything but wholesome. After much patience and long-suffering, a community hall was built alongside the church. It was a community center in which socials, motion pictures, farmers' institutes, and a host of other community enterprises were carried on.

Now, all of this did not add many to the church membership roll. Why should it? Is this the purpose of a social service program, or even the church itself? If so, we had better so announce our motive, and not try to induce people to join the church under false pretenses. Recreation stands in its own right. On the other hand, a church that really serves will receive the support from a community that it deserves.

We mention another phase of human service we carried on—the betterment of the health conditions of the community. The country doctor of yesterday was a picturesque figure. He was a servant of the country community and an institution as well. Conditions today are not so good. In one New York county 95 per cent of the practicing physicians have been in the county over twenty-five years. The death-rate of New York City is lower than the death-rate in the up-state rural counties. We who live in the country sometimes think so highly of fresh air that we shut it up tight in the house so that it cannot escape. In one of the homes of our community four people died in five years from tuberculosis and kindred diseases. These deaths were blamed on God, but a look at the unsanitary conditions of this house would convince one that in this case God could not help himself. It surely is not God's plan to have us arrive in heaven or elsewhere before our years are spent. In remedying this situation we have to take patients away from local doctors to hospitals—make trips to the state health officials and enforce the quarantine laws. All of this

is not popular, but it may even be more interesting to be alive than popular. In this effort to better the health of the community, the church can best work through local, county, and state health organizations. It is a co-operative enterprise in which the church can join hands with the county health officer, the Red Cross, the visiting nurse, and other health agencies.

In the struggle with economic forces the farmer has had to fight a bitter fight. There have been one hundred thousand farmers per month leaving their farms during the past year because of mortgages foreclosed and loans called by banks. The farmer's dollar is worth about two-thirds of its pre-war value. In all of this there is an opportunity for the church as an ally of the farmer in his economic struggle. In some instances the church can promote co-operation with agricultural colleges and agencies of better farming. The nation-wide co-operative marketing movements likewise need the influence of the church.

What, then, can we say is the possibility of the church as an organization for social welfare? We have pointed out some practical lines of effort. In these activities the church will find a new field of service. If these activities are carried on merely for the sake of saving the life of the church, failure will follow. If this is done it is a new form of hypocrisy and exploitation. It is in the field of inspiration that the church can best operate. The church can furnish the inspiration for service. This will not be furnished by a church with dull, technical, doctrinal sermons and dull, drab worship. It will not come from a group of people engaged in a struggle for denominational supremacy. As a church faces the needs of the community, struggling for truth and light and human fellowship, there will come an inspiration for service. There will be a fellowship of kindred hearts. Something of the ancient zeal of the founders will possess the group as it faces the problems and persecutions of the new day. Human values will emerge above the economic and material things, and a place in the Kingdom of God will be given church members on the basis laid down by Jesus: "I was naked and ye clothed me, sick and in prison and ye visited me, hungry and ye gave me to eat, thirsty and ye gave me to drink."

In a group of country preachers, the other day, we raised this question, "Name the three burning issues of this hour in the country." These men from circuits in mountains, and villages in the swamps of North Carolina did not even mention boll weevil, or tariff, better church buildings, and benevolences. War, social justice, and race relationship were the issues named. It is with these that we must now concern ourselves; out of these comes much of the sickness, poverty, and distress which by service we seek to alleviate. Into the crossroad hamlets, villages, towns, and isolated farm neighborhoods we must take the gospel of a new heaven and a new earth. The atmosphere of friendliness and brotherhood, out of which the new world order must be built, will have to be created. The country community is a part of the world order. The township mind must be broadened to include the world. This is the overshadowing opportunity of the church in the field of social service.

SOME SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN SOCIAL WELFARE IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

Alexander Maclaren, Community Organization Secretary, Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph, Ontario

With forty-five million of the 125,000,000 Canadian and American people living in the country, an analysis of the Conference program is significant. Of twelve addresses in the all-Canadian program not one was purely rural. Of the ten divisions of this Conference only three devote about a fifth of their time to rural work, and that usually the last, or residue, of their time. In the general sessions three out of ten addresses were rural—undoubtedly a much fairer proportion considering their relative importance.

Criticism is not the reason for this analysis, but simply a desire to emphasize some of the reasons for this condition. These are: first, scarcity of rural welfare organizations; second, the scattered, unrelated nature of what organizations there are; third, absence of consciousness of need for such organization, particularly on the part of rural folks themselves; fourth, the general tendency in all phases of life to magnify the urban and ignore the rural, or to lightly assume that there is not the same need.

There are some of us, however, that believe the need is great and that urban and national social welfare and progress depend as much if not more upon the social welfare and standard of life possible for rural dwellers than on any other factor. We believe that this is so fundamental that all, urban and rural alike, should be informed about and interested in what is going on in the rural social field, and do our share in helping the world along wherever possible. We propose briefly to review the activities in rural social welfare in Ontario.

In the field of health, the principal organization is that of the Provincial Board of Health, which, with its five divisions of Laboratories, Industrial Hygiene, Public Health Education, Preventable Disease, and Sanitary Engineering, is located in Spadina House, Toronto. For purposes of administration the province is divided into eight districts, each in charge of a district medical health officer, with two public health nurses. These districts are still further divided into township areas, each with a local board of health and health officer in charge. Nine hundred and four boards are organized, but only eight (all urban) have full-time officers. Here undoubtedly is the weak link in our public organization. With part-time officers receiving from $30 to $275 a year we can never hope to accomplish much. The combined Ontario municipalities spend $1,500,000 a year in public health work, but of that $1,250,000 are spent by the eight cities having full-time officers, and only $250,000 by all the rest. Thirty-eight out of fifty-four rural counties spend only ten cents a head. The work covered by these local boards is annual school inspection (sanitary, water supply, outhouses, etc.), control of communicable diseases, abatement of nuisances, public health education, etc. In most cases these are not very effec-

tively carried out as part-time men cannot hope to devote much time to the task.

The public health nurses' work is to demonstrate, where requested, the work of such nurses. These demonstrations last from three to seven months, and include child clinics, prenatal clinics, conferences, school examinations, home visitation, confinement cases, health surveys, home nursing classes, etc. After the demonstration the results are submitted to the municipality and they must decide whether to take it over or not. So far in rural Ontario, although demonstrations have been given, we do not know of any public health nurses being appointed locally.

The Public Health Education division carries on educational work through addresses, bulletins, news articles, radio, motion pictures, etc., and reaches its clientèle through women's institutes, local papers, and other channels.

The Red Cross society, a powerful voluntary ally of the Board, serves in three ways: First, Junior Red Cross work is accepted by every provincial department of education as the official method of teaching health in the school. The method is to organize a little club which meets once a week, and under officers chosen from among the children themselves, discusses matters of personal, school, and community hygiene. In addition, they are made responsible for the sanitation, light, heat, ventilation, etc., of the school. Thus by practical doing of the thing they are being educated to their community responsibility for public health. There are about five hundred such clubs in Ontario. Last year they raised $9,500 for Japanese relief.

Second, outpost hospital work has been the contribution of the Canadian Red Cross in the northern isolated rural sections where nursing and medical services have been practically unknown. At Wilberforce a nurse and home is maintained, as also at Charlton, Nakima, and Hornpeyre. The ultimate aim is to have the municipality take over these hospitals as has been done at Dryden. Besides the hospital work, the nurse visits the isolated homes under very difficult and strenuous conditions.

Third, home nursing courses are organized wherever a graduate nurse can be secured who is living in the community and willing to direct the class. This service has vast possibilities, but so far rural Ontario has not benefited much, largely due to the difficulty of finding graduate nurses living in rural communities.

The third agency working in the health field is the Women's Institute, of which there are a thousand in the province. Its work is done through the holding of monthly meetings of farm women in the homes. Addresses and demonstrations are given, discussion is encouraged, and usually some personal or community health project is the result. In this way the following lines of health work have been established in many communities: hot school lunches, labor-saving devices in the home, restrooms at trading centers, education in home hygiene, fly screens placed, better sanitary conveniences in schools,

swimmingholes, and bathhouses. Many of these institutes have conducted two-week home nursing courses, and first aid classes, baby welfare days, etc. The institutes were the means of introducing medical inspection of rural school children, and in many cases financed, organized, and conducted clinics following the examinations. Their present activity is in establishing county hospitals and in one or two cases securing a community doctor.

The second field to be reviewed is that of recreation. We shall discuss it under intellectual, physical, social, aesthetic, and activities that tend to introduce the play element into the daily work. Outstanding in the intellectual phase is the old-fashioned literary and debating society. These, however, are so unrelated and isolated in their action that it is difficult to say to what extent they are organized. The United Young Farm People of Ontario, the Junior Women's Institute, and the Junior Farmers' Improvement Associations are the only organizations promoting this work and (aside from the church) having a provincial link. A few women's institutes have organized story-telling circles. In the physical line there is probably greater activity. The Women's Institute in many places is attempting supervision of play on the school grounds and in the community. About sixty community halls, costing from $4,500 to $15,000 each, have been built, and equipped during the past three or four years, largely due to Women's Institute influence. Some very fine county leagues have been organized, enlisting many teams of players. One or two Junior Women's Institutes have organized and conducted regular physical training classes. Probably a hundred community athletic grounds have been bought, equipped, and opened. In the social field the work of the Women's Institute stands out. What has been done to abolish isolation, bring farm women together, renew their energy and courage, brighten their lives, and enlarge their vision will never be realized. In addition to them are Junior Women's Institute, Junior Farmers' Improvement Association, U.F.W.O., and U.F.Y.P.O. organizations.

In aesthetic lines, choral and instrumental music is gaining popularity, and scores of dramatic clubs are being organized. The most significant line of recreation of recent years is the increasing number of competitions in such lines as plowing, live stock feeding, live stock judging, poultry culling, rural school fall fairs, household management, etc. If you could see the play spirit manifested in these contests you would realize why I class them in the recreational field. Last year there were in the province 510 rural school fall fairs, with 4,249 schools having 125,986 children represented, 152,080 plots, and 249,852 centers. There were 162,762 children and 218,913 adults in attendance. There were also 67 home garden contests with 761 boys and 628 girls enrolled.

The third field is that of education, and here the Women's Institute leads all other organizations. Through their discussions and plans made at their monthly meetings many improvements have been brought about. In the

matter of physical equipment they have secured better heating systems, proper ventilation, lighting, seating, sanitary equipment, drinking fountains, regular house cleanings, sanitary flooring, etc. In addition to this they have increased the teaching efficiency by buying domestic science equipment, supplying teachers, buying pianos, grafonolas, and encouraging the teachers to introduce lessons in music appreciation. One institute, when refused a continuation school by the trustees, on financial grounds, raised the money and paid for the teacher. They have also been active in beautifying the grounds, promoting school fairs, parents' and teachers' work. When all other avenues failed they have elected women school trustees who would be more amenable to their suggestions.

In the field of child and family welfare the only organized efforts are the children's aid societies, of which there are sixty-two. Most of their work is located in the centers of population, but they do reach out into the country and often have very bad cases to deal with. Their operations are focused through the administration particularly of two acts, the Children's Protection Act, and the Act to Protect Children Born out of Wedlock. These two acts give them great power in rectifying many bad family conditions. As an auxiliary force to this work the Women's Institute again appears. They have been responsible, among a multitude of other things, for the protection, care, and feeding of needy children, supplying layettes, clothing, food, etc., in times of need, such as poverty, crop failure, fire, and other disasters. They organize child welfare clinics, better-baby contests, public health nurse demonstrations, and raise thousands of dollars for local, provincial, dominion, and world-wide causes. One institute last year raised $1,900.

The foregoing outline gives an idea of the organization skeleton on which rural social welfare in Ontario depends. We will now outline two or three typical pieces of work which have been done in community work so as to give pictures of local communities in action solving their social welfare problems.

The first picture is in the open country. The occasion is a Women's Institute meeting. Most of the women of the community, married and single, are gathered in a big farm living-room. Some are sewing, some knitting, others just talking. There is a different hostess and convener for each meeting. At this meeting the topic discussed by one of themselves is, "Opening our Children's Eyes to the Wonders and Beauties of the Farm." This topic is followed by a demonstration on "Making and Trimming a Hat." The roll call is responded to by "Uses for Waste Paper, Rags, Old Stockings." The meeting ends with tea and a social time. Twelve times in the year these women meet, thus breaking the isolation and renewing their vigor for the daily task. There are one thousand such institutes.

The next picture is that of a Junior Women's Institute, of which there are over a hundred. These young women have just completed a two weeks' course on home nursing and first aid. Full of enthusiasm and desire to help, they

organize the first volunteer home nursing band, and now the community is supplied with sickroom nurses.

The Wellington County Junior Farmers' Improvement Association, desiring to quicken and enrich community life, secured assistance from the college of agriculture. After several conferences it was decided to organize four community clubs with regular meetings for debating, public speaking, amateur dramatics, games, etc., and to link them together for inter-community work. This plan was fully carried out and resulted in a debating league, a public speaking competition, a one-act amateur dramatic contest, a hockey league, a rural musical festival (chorus, vocal, piano, and violin solos, and recitation) with all four communities contesting, and involving over two hundred different individuals, mostly farmers' sons and daughters.

A farmer attended a Sunday school convention. He heard an address on the value of play. Returning home, he called together the representatives of twelve communities and organized a rural athletic association. Last year (its third) every community but one in the county had a team in one or the other league—twenty-three teams altogether. The community life of the whole county has been stimulated. The final championship game drew thousands of people. During the winter the same organization is used for debating.

One afternoon the writer was driven out in a Ford about five miles into the country from Woodstock. After supper a further drive landed us at a farm brilliantly lighted by a farm home electric light plant (run for the evening as a demonstration). To his surprise there were packed into the parlor about a hundred as bright and intelligent young people as it has ever been his good fortune to see. Quickly the meeting got under way—a little community singing heartily enjoyed, then the business. No time was wasted waiting for mover or seconder or discussion. Everybody was ready to do his share. Then came the program—vocal solos, duets, instrumental music, a club paper full of wit and wisdom. About twenty local young people participated. An address on the possibilities of the club followed, and the meeting concluded with a social half-hour. Their work invigorated by such gatherings, is it any wonder that community spirit is growing under the influence of the Drury U.F.Y.P.O. club, which is a good example of dozens of such organizations?

A little country village of about three hundred folks in the center of a county which has been losing its population as fast as any other county, had the usual lack of recreational opportunities and equipment. A Presbyterian minister with a new vision was called to the village church. He found that the only place to skate was a dangerous river. One of the first things he did was to interest a group of young men, and with them helped make an open-air skating rink on the river bank. This point of contact established, he set to work to create the right attitude of mind for a real get-together scheme. There were three churches, and the usual over-organization and cross-currents of social endeavor. In a few months he interested merchants, farmers, and others in

organizing the Fordwich Association for Community Service, a spontaneous, comprehensive community get-together scheme. It has educational, recreation, public utility, music, dramatic, and beautification committees. Every committee has already done worth-while things for the community. The educational committee has planned and carried out two three-day conferences on community life. It secured the opening of a continuation school with fifty-three pupils enrolled. The public utilities committee raised the money and purchased five acres for a community athletic ground, and erected thereon a covered skating and curling rink with 110 by 65 feet ice surface. They have laso laid cement sidewalks, and are now working for electric light. The recreation committee equipped the ground for football, volley ball, and tennis, and organized the necessary clubs. Future plans include a bowling green. A children's playground, with sandbox, giant stride, swings, teeters, etc., has been set upon the school grounds just across the road from the athletic grounds. A hall has been leased for five years as a community hall, with the idea of building a new one when the lease expires. The beautification committee secured a space in the center of the village, erected a memorial to the fallen soldiers, and laid out a beautiful little park around it. They have also organized a beautiful-homes competition.

So we might go on telling the stories of how teachers, clergymen, women's institutes, and others have helped organize their communities to enrich and build up their life, but sufficient has been said to illustrate the general trend of social welfare work as it is organized in Ontario.

VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

THE PLACE OF PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK IN A GENERAL CASE WORK AGENCY

Edward D. Lynde, Assistant General Secretary, Associated Charities, Cleveland

There are some social case workers who define psychiatry as telling what everybody knows, in language that nobody knows. Likewise, a few psychiatrists seem to convey the impression that there was very little mental content to social case work before psychiatry came into the field. Psychiatry has unquestionably added depth and richness to social case work. But long before psychiatry brought its contribution, I recall, in classes conducted by Miss Mary Richmond and Mr. Porter Lee, we were urged to take into account the mental factors, in making family adjustments.

Case work has evolved, also, a rich technique of investigation and treatment which the psychiatrist needs to consider. One psychiatrist, ignoring our experience of decades, enjoined our visitor to spare his patient embarrassment by consulting no outside sources. For six months, treatment, including relief, was given ineffectually. Then reluctantly the psychiatrist acquiesced in an investigation. It disclosed that the patient's false stories to the psychiatrist had entirely frustrated his treatment, and also revealed influential relatives who have since vastly assisted in a well-founded and successful plan.

The social worker needs to recognize the psychiatrist as master in his own field of internal adjustment, and the psychiatrist needs to recognize the authority of the experienced social worker in the field of evaluation of evidence, home economics, principles of relief, and external adjustments to other personalities and to environment. The dividing line is hazy and each can learn from the other. The psychiatrist will slowly come to regard people more as human beings and less as walking laboratories.

A majority of social workers who have had psychiatric courses agree that psychiatry has helped us in interpreting family background. Years ago, case workers were carefully studying the social history of parents and grandparents in its relation to their clients. But the psychiatrists have stressed greatly the specific occurrences in family history, and have greatly clarified their interpretation as relating to present behavior.

Psychiatry has helped us in sifting evidence. A father apparently perfectly normal and with a most convincing manner persuaded one visitor that his wife

was immoral. A trained psychiatric social worker discovered with the aid of the psychiatrist that the man was suffering from paranoid dementia praecox, and the accusations were false. In another case a man was twice sent to the workhouse on the false accusations of an attractive, plausible, dementia praecox wife. Psychiatry has pointed the way to more diversified treatment, which incidentally has effected a great saving in material relief.

But the greatest saving effected by psychiatry is in the next generation. Today we are transferring our focus from disease and poverty to the child. I know a boy who had developed such a marked sense of inferiority that he always erased everything he wrote, thinking everything he did wrong. A psychiatrist relieved him of this difficulty. Such work prevents, in our families, the life failures which would later come to us. If there is potency in the child guidance clinics, it should be applied in all case work.

Psychiatry is a revelation in the training of all children. The emotional life is set before the age of six, and we try to pick up the pieces at twelve or even at forty or fifty. The Cleveland Associated Charities Child Study Committee is giving special attention to the relationships between parents and children.

Note the problems listed in our annual reports, such as child problems, physical disability, extravagance, nonsupport, debt, intemperance, industrial incompetency, low wages, unemployment, mental defect. We have already cited instances of each where psychiatry has helped in social diagnosis and treatment. Next, desertion—perhaps the paranoic but apparently normal man getting away from voices or from his co-workers who he believes are persecuting him. Then there is undernourishment. The malnutrition of a child we knew was due to hysterical mechanism. Next, crime, and juvenile delinquency. Judge Higbee of Grand Rapids writes me of a shoplifter who was completely cured through sex education, and another instance of a boy with a marked inferiority feeling who had stolen to buy the respect of his comrades through ice cream and candy. This boy also stammered. He was given a chance to achieve in other ways and to shine before his comrades, and has not stolen for four years, neither has he stammered.

Psychiatry has accentuated the danger of reliance upon too few emotional outlets. For example, an associated charities visitor dealt three years with a woman who did nothing but scrub and clean, then carouse, before discovering that her intemperance resulted from lack of normal pleasure. Suitable recreation reformed her. The model boy working overtime with no recreation is perhaps as much a potential problem as the irregular worker. Psychiatry has taught us to discriminate in providing recreation. The normal child who is egocentric requires simplified play under direction, the inadequate type needs a chance to shine.

Psychiatry helps in selecting employment for our clients. Dr. Blanton of Madison asserts that "emotional fitness is as important as intellectual fitness." A perfectly normal person of the manic type may make a great

success as a salesman, speaker, or actor, but in office work is likely to disturb others through overtalkativeness. The depressed type finds it difficult to succeed as salesman or ticket-seller. His depression is interpreted as a grouch. The anxiety type is most precise in his work, an excellent watch dog of the treasury, but a misfit as salesman.

Psychiatry indorses case work's insistence on getting the family to reveal their innermost secret ambitions. In one case, learning a young man's ambition and instructing him in art, caused him to give up drinking; in another, a woman of sixty-two, chronically dependent, became self-supporting when allowed to consummate a long-cherished plan of taking in young men roomers.

A man with advanced tuberculosis, trying to support his wife and five children on an income of $1,400 per year, was urged by his physician to go to New Mexico. The psychiatrist, considering the individual as a social unit, recommended landscape gardening. The patient's income increased from $1,400 to $4,000; his weight from 120 to 170 pounds.

An understanding of inferiority complexes and mental tests may enable us scientifically to determine when we should prevail upon low-paid men to take special training for better positions. In a Connecticut institution, the superintendent of a state hospital has discovered that some women thoroughly enjoy piecing together poinsettia red and bright colors, but will weep if obliged to work on dull colors, while others much prefer dull colors. To a less degree, many of us may be affected by colors, perhaps depending on some association of ideas, some transfer of affect, just as we irrationally dislike tomatoes and dote on radishes, and just as a transfer of affect may cause us to conceive unreasonable prejudice against people, even our clients, who may remind us of someone we disliked.

Psychiatry enhances the social worker's insight. We are learning more about our own minds, our prejudices, our unconscious motives, our rationalizations, our desire for domination, sometimes overriding the self-respect of our clients with an unnecessarily forced plan.

Psychiatry may help us in studying our approach, the modulation of the voice, the phrasing of our sentences. What has been considered tact or personality may become something far more scientific. Instead of becoming indignant with the unco-operative housewife, we recognize that our clients' adverse reaction reveals flaws in our presentation. How did one visitor succeed in touching hidden springs, when three predecessors failed? We need to record the ways and means of achieving. Psychiatry may help clear away some of the vagueness surrounding motivation.

The greatest good to humanity will come when church workers, school teachers, in fact everyone, practice both the case work and psychiatric viewpoint in all their dealings. Neither psychiatry nor social case work should be limited to our clients. Both need gradually to permeate the whole community. Multimillionaires like Nathan Leopold are apparently not beyond their need.

A judge remarked impatiently, "Don't those psychiatrists ever find anyone who's all right?" Very few people are perfect specimens physically or mentally. Some day a preventive routine mental examination will become as common as a routine physical examination.

The examples cited indicate that 30 per cent of our families present some problem which might be materially helped through psychiatry. But psychiatry, through mental hygiene, has a most valuable contribution to the other 70 per cent. Mental hygiene is to psychiatry what hygiene is to medicine; the psychiatrist the ultimate authority on mental hygiene like the general practitioner on physical hygiene. Some day dividing family problems into mental and non-mental will become as obsolete as dividing them into worthy and unworthy. Probably all people depart in some way from the so-called normal as established by laboratory tests. A civilization composed of average people would not be successful. The psychiatrist's experience in dealing with those who vary greatly from the norm helps him to understand those who vary slightly.

Dr. Blanton declares that psychiatry should not be confined to those who are queer or who fail in school, home, or industry, but should be applied also with people who while not incapacitated would never realize their possibilities, who go through life heavily handicapped by misinterpretation of themselves.

Every social worker should be trained in psychiatry. Practically every school of social work, graduate and undergraduate in America, including (I understand) the University of Toronto, now has courses in psychiatry required of all case workers. The number of lectures varies from 20 to 160 per year. But probably the most essential part of the training is the field work on psychiatric problems. Every visitor-in-training should carry at least two cases under psychiatric supervision. Lectures alone are inadequate. Some schools also have courses for those who would specialize in psychiatric social work. Not one psychiatric social worker should be graduated with less than twenty-one months' training in general case work.

The average social worker without psychiatric training simply cannot recognize the "stop, look, listen" signs. And early recognition is indispensable to effective treatment.

In Cincinnati, in 1919, only 4 per cent of the cases under care of associated charities were diagnosed or suspected mental cases. At this juncture they engaged a psychiatric social worker and the very next year the diagnosed mental cases jumped to 14 per cent. From 1919 to 1923, the diagnosed and suspected mental cases increased from 85 to 908; 607 of the 908 were diagnosed.

One of our Cleveland visitors told me of a little girl who was very backward in learning to talk. This did not seem to her a serious matter until its significance was brought home to her in a course in psychiatry. On examination the child was pronounced a cretin and is being fed thyroid extract which would have been futile had not the disease been discovered in its earliest stages.

But even the psychiatric social worker without access to a psychiatrist is in the plight of a spectator on shore with a telescope in sight of a drowning person, but without skiff or life-line. There should be available to every general case work agency, a social psychiatrist, one who utilizes social treatment —none other will answer. The Boston Associated Charities found that thirty-six out of fifty persons in the average intake needed psychiatric treatment; the Boston Children's Bureau, forty-five in fifty. Preferably there should be a psychiatrist on the staff of every large case work agency. The psychiatric clinic is remote from the bulk of our work. We can't take patients in droves to the clinics. Even for those we do take, there is seldom time for thorough examination or truly constructive planning. Furthermore, to evolve social treatment, the psychiatrist needs more direct contact with social work and social workers. The psychiatric clinic answers for the advanced cases. But the staff psychiatrist is requisite for the other 80 per cent. He can perhaps save enough money in relief to pay his salary.

To recapitulate, psychiatry is needed in case work not merely to prevent mental breakdowns but also to treat pseudo-physical ailments, and 30 per cent of our other problems, to increase our understanding of all our clients, to save money in relief, and to effect an infinitely greater saving in human life and character.

IN A FAMILY CASE WORK ORGANIZATION

Frances Taussig, Executive Director, United Hebrew Charities, New York

In a typical month of 1924, almost 2,000 families received service from the United Hebrew Charities of New York. In 101 families of this group some definite mental disease existed; in 85 others the presence of such disease was suspected, although no definite diagnosis had been made. Neuroses of various kinds had been diagnosed in 82 families, while in 91 families there were 107 mentally defective individuals.

These occurred in the case load not of an organization specializing in mental hygiene, but in one the objective of whose work is the normal family home. The integrity of the family is menaced, without question, by the presence of these mental disorders. Skilled service is required to decide whether the environment of the mental defective must be simplified to such a degree as to justify his commitment to an institution, or whether the best adjustment which he can be helped to make to his normal environment is enough for his own welfare and that of his family group; to understand the conditions which have produced the neurotic person, and through such an understanding, to restore him to mental health; and to recognize conditions of mental disease early enough in their development to insure for them whatever may be available in the way of constructive treatment.

During this same month, 348 of the families under care were those of widows who were trying to maintain normal family homes for their children under conditions at best difficult and abnormal. In 155 families domestic infelicity threatened family life, and in over 100 the home was already broken by the desertion of the father. Seventy-four fathers still in the home, without disabling physical conditions, were failing to provide support for their families. One hundred and seventy-five adults showed the need of vocational training to help them to make a satisfactory industrial adjustment. In over 400 families tuberculosis, heart trouble, asthma, and other chronic diseases presented more or less permanently disabling factors, the effects of which were intensified in other cases by the presence of the venereal diseases and epilepsy. Maternity disturbed the family's equilibrium in 61 cases, and acute illnesses in about 200 cases. Numerous problems of behavior presented themselves, including sex and other delinquencies.

This whole group consists largely of families whose lives are dominated by a lack of security. Some, having achieved apparent security, find the whole basis of their existence suddenly disturbed by a serious, unforeseen crisis—an accident, a prolonged period of unemployment, an acute or a long and costly illness. All of these are conditions from which the family living at a comparatively low economic level seldom emerges without serious injury. For a time or for all time, the whole way of living must be altered, new standards accepted, long cherished plans relinquished, and possibly a new leadership accepted within the home in place of that of the head of the family to whom calamity has come.

Again, there are those limited persons whose ability, strained to the utmost, provides only a precarious basis of support for those who are dependent upon them. They may fail in this difficult task, or they may maintain, with their best efforts, a standard of living so out of conformity with the standard of normal life in the community that their failure is just as complete. There may be periods of comparative comfort and even ease, but the slightest disturbance to their economic balance means disaster—disaster which is never remote in their lives.

Many of the families with whose difficulties in living the family agency concerns itself, are those who have complicated their already serious problems by undertaking the great adventure of immigration. Frequently, there are families who had not effected a successful adjustment to their original environment, and who in middle life or later decide on a new attempt in a new country. If the father precedes the family he has the opportunity for a more leisurely accommodation to new conditions than he is often willing to give his "green" family when they finally join him. If the whole family takes the chance together, the children happily renounce the old ways, and slip almost too easily into the new; while the parents adjust themselves slowly and with difficulty to a way of living in which the home, and the family, the church, work, and play

have new aspects and mean the acceptance of an entirely new relation to one another and to the business of life.

This is the job with which the family case worker is confronted. In the content of her work are the serious mental problems which we have enumerated —and undoubtedly many others which have not yet, in their lack of definiteness, been recognized. Either as causes, or as results, or as mere accompanying factors in the series of maladjustments which has made these families the concern of the family agency, conditions of mental disease are progressively demoralizing individuals, and through them, their families. Fears and anxieties, not understood, are producing more and greater fears and anxieties, to the gradual destruction of the ability of the family ever to pull itself, unassisted, out of its condition of hopeless despair. If the whole work is not to fail, the family case worker must be able to recognize these disabling conditions before they have become exaggerated, and must be skilled in applying to their treatment whatever resources may exist for this purpose in her community.

Somewhere between thirty and sixty families lies the size of the case worker's burden of responsibility. Each of these families whose rehabilitation she is attempting to accomplish, consists of persons with whose individual difficulties of adjustment she is concerned. The problems which she meets in relation to the family's health, the homemaking capacity of the mother, the vocational adjustment of the children, challenge her broad general training and her satisfaction with herself as a worker who is free from the limitations of the specialized point of view. Perhaps she should have combined in her one being the abilities, and much of the content, of the training of all of the specialists—the physician, the nurse, the lawyer, the home economist, the psychiatrist. But if such a combination of training and abilities seems at this time impossible of achievement, and perhaps not even entirely desirable, it seems certain that this "straightener," as Miss Richmond has called her, of families, cannot be without at least the ability to recognize these problems, to comprehend them, and to seek out and use effectively in their treatment whatever specialized resources the community may offer.

In the dim and distant past, families were frequently broken up into uneven, necessarily overlapping parts, each to be handled by a specialist, often within the one organization. We remember the plan proposed by the executive of a health agency, that his agency be assigned the care of all families in whom ill health was the "principal cause of distress." He went even farther, advocating a neat functional distribution of all families to specialized agencies, according to "causes of distress."

Taking issue with him, while recognizing the necessity of bringing to bear on serious problems all of the skilled service which various fields have developed, we recognized the necessity of providing some means for coordinating, instead of separating, the treatment of the problems of individuals which are recognized as standing in the way of the family's complete adjustment. The family case

work agency uses well-equipped medical services, employment bureaus, child care agencies, bureaus for the industrially handicapped, and others with ease and skill to the extent to which its workers are skilful in recognizing and understanding certain problems, and likewise to the extent to which these agencies are prepared to serve in this way.

On the whole, this skill in the use of the clinical resources which have been created for the treatment of mental problems has been somewhat slow of development. At the same time assistance on the medical side in the treatment of these problems is of comparatively recent origin. Family case workers of not many years ago had become accustomed to the possibility of securing such assistance only in those cases in which a psychosis had developed to such a degree that commitment to an institution was obviously required, or where the extent of mental defectiveness justified the segregation of the individual. A diagnosis of neurasthenia meant the end, and not the beginning of treatment. Who knows how many case workers of those benighted days prayed that their neurotics might become psychotics, that they might have the blessed relief of commitment to an institution, instead of the doubtful alternative of suffering in an environment in which their differences from the normal were not understood, and in which nobody was equipped to help them make whatever adjustment they were capable of making?

The various case work fields have been quick to avail themselves of the contribution which, since those days, psychiatry has made to the understanding of human behavior, and to the treatment of mental disease and abnormality. Family case work particularly, with its delicate responsibility for relations within the family, and of the composite family group to the community, has been given an aid to the understanding of those relations, which if well used may materially increase the effectiveness of its work.

Even now, however, the available psychiatric resources of most communities are limited, and the family care organization cannot hope for the easy access to treatment facilities which to a greater extent exists for medical treatment. Unfortunately, it is not only on the side of capacity that limitations exist. Even to the family care agency it is evident that standards in the psychiatric clinics vary as much as standards of case work; that between some of the neurological and the psychiatric clinics there are still to be drawn clear lines of functional difference; and that other things being equal, the psychiatrist who does not understand the patient's language and racial background is likely to leave the job of adjustment of the patient pretty completely to the family case worker. Likewise it will be apparent that overcrowded psychiatric clinics are even more futile than ordinary medical clinics in which too great a volume of work is accepted.

Obviously, with these limitations in clinical resources, if there is a choice of clinics the case work agency will wish to make a wise selection, based upon expert knowledge of conditions in the field. It is equally important that a

careful selection be made of the problems in the solution of which psychiatric assistance is to be sought, and that given the clinics and the problems, they be brought together in such a manner that the patient may benefit, and that each experience may add to the ability of the case work agency to understand and treat its mental problems.

At the present stage of the development of psychiatric resources, it seems impossible to bring about these results effectively through the direct contact of a group of family case workers with psychiatric clinics. A psychiatric worker in a family care organization, adequately trained in the field of mental hygiene, and equipped with case work knowledge and experience, acting as a consultant, should be able to guarantee the effectiveness of these contacts.

Through such a person, the adequate meeting of the agency's needs for psychiatric assistance may be brought about. The psychiatric worker, or department, should have no treatment function beyond that necessitated by the handling of emergencies, or of extreme cases where obviously expert service is required. The department should be the means of acquiring expert knowledge concerning the community's psychiatric resources, and of bringing this knowledge to the organization's case workers. It should, moreover, be able to learn through what method of presenting its own material the agency may be guaranteed a return in value on the diagnostic and treatment side from each of the clinics. It should aid in instructing the family case workers in these methods of presenting material. It should be able to create, through acquaintance with the content of the case work of the organization, an alertness to the existence of mental problems in their earlier, more hopeful stages, and to bring about a familiarity with the technique of handling exaggerated problems which will relieve the strain of responsibility for this difficult work. Above all, such a department may, if effectively conducted, intensify the case worker's entire job, through the relations which it may help to establish between her and the contribution which psychiatry is making to the understanding of human behavior.

After three years of experience with such a department it should be possible for the United Hebrew Charities of New York to evaluate the effect of such a piece of work in a family case work organization. Certain definite accomplishments stand out.

The recognition of mental problems has increased fourfold since the existence of the department. An analysis shows that these problems are recognized, and treatment sought in their earlier stages. Treatment is secured while it may still be effective, instead of being deferred until it can no longer have an effect. Through more skilful use of psychiatric resources, treatment secured from them is more adequate, positive, and varied. There is greater co-operation in treatment between the clinics and the family case agency. The possibilities on the positive side of the promotion of mental health are beginning to be understood. The technique of handling cases in advanced stages has been improved

and accelerated. There has been a decided effect on the intensity of the case work job done by the organization. The staff have a better understanding of human capacity and in their whole task of adjustment are more tolerant and understanding of the differences in individuals and in their relation to their groups.

THE MENTAL HYGIENE OF YOUNG CHILDREN

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER IN A HABIT CLINIC

Bertha C. Reynolds, Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases, Division of Mental Hygiene, Boston

Since I am asked to bring you, not learned lore neatly tied and labeled, but the results of a year's thinking in the work of the habit clinics of the Massachusetts Division of Mental Hygiene, I shall begin by indicating briefly just what the background of that experience has been. The habit clinics are still in the stage where experiment bulks larger than proven fact, but certain goals we know.

First, we aim to deal with young children, selected as little as possible by the fact that their parents are poor, or social failures in other ways. While we serve all social agencies, we find our children in many homes where the well-baby clinic has been the only social agency to enter, and we are always reaching out, by improvement in publicity methods, to our goal, which is that the clinics may be a resource for all young children in the community.

Second, having a group of children as representative as possible, the intake is limited by problem to those whose difficulties are not due to physical illness or mental defect, but to the formation of wrong habits of reacting to life. It is not practicable to treat any considerable number of defective children in a clinic to which the community is being educated to bring normal children. The difficulties coming to the habit clinic are those which general medicine does not reach—physical symptoms, with psychic rather than physical roots, it may be; personality defects, and forms of conduct which are socially unacceptable. In passing, I might say that habit clinic experience has clearly shown that a complete program for the care of the feebleminded should include provision for giving to mothers, who are able to care for young defective children in their own homes, the help in problems of habit formation which is given to mothers of normal children.

Third, the children who have conduct difficulties are legion. Any community presents first the persons who trouble it most, usually the adolescents. The habit clinic narrows its intake by age to the preschool child, to educate the community to see the significance of the early years, and to find the problems when an accumulation of bad habits may be prevented.

A word as to the point of view of a psychiatric social worker in a habit clinic: I confess to finding with some surprise that it must combine that of the medical social worker, the family case worker, and the neighborhood worker. We need to treat conduct problems as symptoms—asking why—not as matters for praise or blame. We should not forget that the mental health of the child is absolutely bound up with that of his family. Above all, we must have the long-time look oftenest acquired by neighborhood workers who know families in good as well as ill times, and who know that some things pass, while general tendencies endure. We must not, in eagerness for results, forget that "playing Providence" is not a game for those who wish to see souls grow by wrestling with their own responsibilities. If, as Dr. Richard Cabot says, we can "unblock and keep clear the channels of understanding," inspire and learn and patiently let alone when we ought, then only shall we keep close enough to nature's processes of growth so that our experience will add to the sum of knowledge of what is the mental hygiene of a young child.

By what standard can we judge whether a certain thing means mental health or danger? Every mother knows that almost anything may be a passing phase of a growing child's development, as he leaves behind one funny little trick after another, like outgrown clothes. There is always some neighbor to tell a mother that her boy will outgrow his disagreeable habit, and to prove it by examples. If malformation is already apparent in the jaw of a little thumb-sucker, a doctor can say that if the child persists, a certain unsightly result will follow. He cannot say that the child will persist. We try, on general principles, to see that he does not. But many habits have far less obvious effects, and at present we can only estimate what is likely to be permanent, bearing in mind that what attention is fixed upon and emotional interest is attached to does tend to persist. One of the fine points of a social diagnosis is to estimate just this: How much attention is the mother drawing to this habit, and what tangible satisfaction does the child get out of it?

The balance of present and future values is another point for analysis. It is easy enough to see that a child whose selfishness is disrupting a whole household is a subject for treatment now, whether or no he is destined to recover by adult years. Some habits exact heavy penalties at once, as, for instance faulty food habits which impair health, while others demand payment years later. Take the shrinking child of shut-in personality, whom no one thinks of bringing to a habit clinic because he is no trouble. I remember with startling vividness how often, as a worker with the mentally sick, I have heard a heart-broken mother say of the patient, "He was the best of all my children—never any bother, and so quiet." While we cannot say that the seclusive child will become a mental patient, we realize that we need to seek out such children and find the cause of withdrawal. It may be a habit, comparatively harmless in itself, which has caused shame and hence seclusiveness, or someone's teasing may have borne bitter fruit. Social efficiency is at least at stake. Of two

brothers, five and three years old, the elder is sensitive and shy—the younger social and aggressive. Already, the prizes come to the younger, while the other draws away, hurt, and becomes less attractive than before. Where a tendency grows, as does seclusiveness, by the very situations it creates, one may well look to the future.

Again, a social diagnosis must take account of racial factors. A storm of temper in an Italian child may conceivably be less serious than the same outbreak in one of self-contained northern heritage. Imitation of adults plays a part, and then the Latin nature cools quickly and without an aftermath of hate. We know almost nothing about varying methods of training; but why should we suppose that the child of Africa, warm-hearted and merry, the reserved son of the Puritans, and the precocious, purposeful Jewish child should have the same standard of mental health, or reach it by the same means?

A standard of proportion between stimulus and reaction is perhaps a convenient test of normality. Excessive reactions, or those persisted in too long, make one suspect irregularity in development. Social factors, however, affect the definition of "excessive reactions." A child who screams for an hour over the refusal of candy may be emotionally unstable, but if his mother has trained him to expect that she will give in after just so much crying, he may be adapting means to end as skilfully as an engineer plants dynamite. In our experience, children are usually adapted to the world their parents have created for them, but too often it is a false world where the child is king, and even his subjects in the home soon tire of him. Treatment might be described as trying to bring the environment in the home into harmony with what the community is going to demand. This varies somewhat with communities, since a burst of spirits quite in keeping with ranch life may land one in court in a large city—but some things do not fit with social living anywhere. A boy of seventeen, arrested for threatening his foreman with a pistol, explained that he always made a scene when he wanted his own way. Then he said: "Gee! I wish there'd been a habit clinic when I was a kid!"

It seems to us that lack of balance in training causes as many evils as do outright sins like lying and cruelty. Parents err in doing right things when they fail to balance one line of training with another. If they teach a child to give up to others before he knows his own rights, they get—not unselfishness—but weakness. One mother makes her child conceited by failing to balance praise with criticism, while another, "just to teach him that he is not too important," kills his self-confidence. Mothers' love too often makes moral cripples by prolonging dependence. Fortunate is the child whose parents, both interested in him, are different enough in temperament to balance each other's training—provided, of course, that they do not argue their differences in his presence.

Getting the self in right proportion to other selves for social living seems to be the purpose of well-balanced training. It is surprising how early in a child's

life definite attitudes appear. A boy of two and a half years at the clinic play-table quietly corners all the toys and barters with his mother for a satisfactory bribe. Another, as young, has no interest in play unless someone is looking at him. A little boy, teased because of a racial handicap, gives up everything to win over his playmates and saves his self-esteem by tyrannizing over his younger brother, who, in turn, cannot be trained not to give the best to him.

Habit clinic work increases one's sense of the importance of family life, and also of the handicaps under which families labor, especially in city neighborhoods. Many homes are too restricted in space to give outlet for the energies of very active youngsters, and the shy, or dreamy, child, and the overcoddled child, kept at home unless mother can take them out, are already, when school years come, too unlike their peers to mix well. Some mothers, excellent in physical care it may be, are temperamentally unable to understand how a child looks at things. A nursery or play school for children of from two to four years, where there is freedom to play, understanding, and wise discipline and contact with other children of the same age for part of each day, is, to many a little child, a resource quite as essential as a playground to his older, more troublesome brother. The home, especially the city home, adapted for adults, not children, needs to be supplemented in social contacts for the younger ones, or there is loss of balancing factors of great importance.

Habit clinics aim to do both educative and curative work—and are belated in both. Parents ought to be caught much younger. What twisted training has produced a mother who refuses, quite casually, a promised reward which her little boy has earned by incredible effort, and is surprised that he does not trust her again? How can one combat endless gossip over children in their hearing when there are no interests to substitute? What can one do with a mother who refers to her child's morning waking as the time "when he starts raving" and envies people who have no children? Fear sometimes defeats its object, as when two tiny sons of a mother who denies them the playground lest they learn bad words, shine in their alley for the richness of their vocabularies. Education waits on cure as often as cure on education. A mother who was frantically trying to check the normal activities of two small boys was found to be lonely and under-occupied in the tenement where she had shut herself from neighbors, in false shame over her children's behavior. A part-time job, while the children played freely in a day nursery, gave the mother social contacts and a new outlook, and was truly curative for them all.

To sum up—our experience indicates that children's habits are often only passing phenomena; that they are likely to be taken quite seriously enough when they cause inconvenience, and neglected when they simply bode ill for the future; that standards of conduct vary with race and circumstance, but adaptability to social living is the real test of value.

Finally, many influences must play upon a child's life to produce a well-rounded personality. Better parents must be educated in heart as well as

head; they must not come to parenthood with morbid fears, or twisted attitudes, and too overburdened or starved in soul to give what the new generation asks of them. To achieve this demands every social reform that any of you have at heart.

We are not discouraged, because we believe in the genuine love of most parents for their children, and that if we can only remove crippling handicaps, nature will, after all, work as surely for mental as for physical health. We reverence the mysteries of personality and the natural processes of growth which, taking time, nevertheless go on ceaselessly.

MENTAL HYGIENE OF YOUNGER CHILDREN

Harriet M. Johnson, Nursery School, Bureau of Educational Experiments, New York

If the principles of mental hygiene were applied to a school situation there would logically result an ideal educational process, as far as I understand the two terms. Education is a question of experience and growth, harmonious development and integration, and it is in the last analysis an individual matter. It is only from this point of view that the bureau nursery school is of interest to you, for we have no clinical work going on.

The questions you raise are, I believe: What do we plan as a set-up and program? What governs our choice? What reactions do we expect to find? What remedial or corrective processes do we see going on?

We have tried to make the set-up like a home in its informality and intimacy and unlike it in that it is planned to serve children's activities rather than adults' occupations. We have attempted to plan an environment that unmistakably stamps itself as belonging to children. We have subordinated adult furnishings and belongings, reducing them to the minimum equipment necessary for record-keeping and for getting meals. We have also in the process subordinated prettiness and grace in our surroundings.

The home into which a baby comes is a going concern, with the affairs of the family already organized and in operation at his advent. The home is planned for adults to live in. It may have been founded largely for the rearing of children, but babyhood is after all a small part of life and there are adults in a family before and after there are children. Moreover the care of children as well as adults requires a set-up which is essentially adult-planned and adult-managed. In these days of congestion and small incomes the needs of the majority must be considered first. If children have separate sleeping rooms and a play space of their own they are unusually favored. The baby is then more or less of an outsider in the environment waiting to receive him.

Before the runabout age, food, sleep, and changes of position are the chief essentials, and are well met for the most part in the well-regulated home.

Education on the physical needs of babies has taken long strides ahead through public health centers with their prenatal work and baby clinic.

Without definite plan, the Nursery School environment differs from the home in its emotional quality. Persons whose chief interest is in an objective study of children are unlikely to have an emotional attitude toward them. Furthermore, the nursery group has some of the advantages of the large family. No one baby can hold the center of the stage all the time. The situation itself has this to offer, but besides our set-up is planned. The situations that confront the children are for the most part intentional, and our procedure with them, while it is experimental in the sense of being tentative and not dogmatic, is a thought-out procedure. Faulty it may often be because it is of necessity based upon the theory and experience which colors the attitude of the staff who share the children's lives. It is not, however, colored by a personal, intimate relationship, nor by a sense of responsibility or of fatalism such as a parent often feels when he sees his own qualities manifested in his offspring.

I am trying to show that the atmosphere of the Nursery School is objective, not that it is impersonal. We believe that the babies should find in the new environment a genuine personal welcome. We wish to make it possible for the children and adults to form real relationships. A part of their social experience comes to them through contacts with varying personalities, and their adjustments to them.

I wish to emphasize again the intimacy and informality of the nursery family. We have an intentional set-up and we have intentional attitudes, but we try to indicate them in the course of living. Our social environment seems to me to be comparable with the material environment. We have not chosen specific material for the specific training it will give a child. We have no didactic material, and our test of the appropriateness of our toys and pieces of apparatus is whether they are capable of variation and progression in the use to which they are put. We have chosen them because of physiological needs which they seem to meet, but we have purposely chosen ordinary commonplace materials which have genuine play content: wagons to pull, kiddykars to ride, shovels to dig with, etc. In the same way we try to make the social situation a genuine one, holding genuine possibilities, though under quite definite control.

The general tendency of the Nursery School environment should be then to open up avenues of physical investigation, to make possible experimentation in the use of limbs and body, to turn children to a free attack upon play materials, and to introduce them gradually to a social life, the privileges and restrictions of which they share.

We must remember that nursery babies on arrival have not yet perfected their powers of locomotion. They are quite able to get about so that they are making contacts far beyond the boundaries of the infant's reach, but they are often hardly more than launched in the adventure of walking. Wide, free spaces to explore, possibilities for climbing, stepping over obstacles, pulling,

hauling, and lifting with materials to be investigated are to a child what a well-equipped laboratory is to an eager scientist, and even the dependent child turns from adults for experimentation down such paths.

On the other hand these same paths lead them, head on, to social contacts with their peers for which they are ill prepared. In the early months this means little to many babies. There seems to be a sort of generalized, diffuse awareness, and enjoyment of other children but little assertiveness. Later in most cases the gamut is run, through aggressiveness and attack to social playing together—playing with similar material at the same time—finally emerging into true co-operative play—a joint effort toward a common purpose. Such a consummation is not attained without fundamental adjustments and attendant strain. Whether the strain is commensurate with the developing powers of children of nursery age is one of the questions we must ask ourselves.

One cannot fling babies into the maelstrom of a self-determined physical existence and a communistic life and then stand coolly back to watch the results and applaud the survivors. The ordinary home places gates at the head of the stairs, not with the determination to bar out a dangerous experience from its child's life, but in order that he may have time to learn under supervision the difficulties of that sort of descent before he hurls himself down to his destruction. So in the nursery, we are at hand, not to reduce adventure but to assure children safety in their experimentation in the initial stages. We know what the effect of fear is in building up aversions as we know what is the effect of success in the acquisition of beneficent habits. We try not to hold children back in their experiments with their bodies and the physical environment, but in really perilous undertakings we attempt to assure them safety. Also in cases of disaster we encourage an immediate return to the unsuccessful undertaking and persistence in it till the feeling of insecurity or reluctance has worked off. I do not mean that we introduce children to pieces of apparatus that they do not seek, nor that we urge them over a reluctance, but that once they have adventured and failed we encourage another immediate trial.

In the same way we attempt to safeguard their social experimentation until they have become somewhat oriented. It is a radical venture we are carrying on when we undertake to rear children in litters, for though the age range is small, individual differences even below two make children unequal opponents. We feel that the introduction to group life should come very slowly, in the first place because, as I have said, we believe that experimentation with the physical environment is more profitable than with human material, and in the second because there must develop out of social experience a social technique, if success is to crown our efforts to live together. A technique of a sort would probably result if we let our youngsters explore the possibilities of their contacts with each other without our intervention, but we believe that a problem which in its complexities has proved baffling to so many of us, they would meet at too great an expense of nervous energy. Therefore we do try to protect the children from

each other at first, to mitigate the force of personal encounters, and lead their attention to the play materials. We also attempt to give them little by little the "rules of the game," which develop very logically out of the group situation and are applicable alike to all members of it.

What lies back of the fears, compulsions, repressions, and conflicts of the neurotic individual? Is it not a lack of balance in development, a failure in physiological integration? We are growing to regard the normal human being as worthy but uninteresting. The normal should not mean a lack in the intensity or sensitiveness of emotional life but a harmonious development of physical and emotional, and the maintenance of a balance between the two—a complete functioning of all one's powers. It sounds as if we were Utopian enough to set perfection as our goal, but we are concerned with developing a method. We know very little about small children. We have tried to understand them by introspection which has led us into intricate irrelevances. We must, I believe, work back from behavior to "the integrative action of the nervous system" before we can understand the simplicities as well as the complexities of a child's response.

If we can once accept the assumption that the child under three is carrying on a life with which cerebral activities have little to do, we shall have taken an important step toward a scientific study of children. Postural tonus, conditions in the viscera, fluctuations in kinesthesia, are responsible for an interplay of nervous impulses directing the response of the organism. The response is modified or conditioned by what is met in the environment but for some time is probably distinctly on the sensory level. It is comparable to what we have called the "flitting" stage in the attack on materials, which also has a physiological basis. Mary, being consoled after a tragic outburst of grief over an attack from Jim, ends her crying with a sob, "I want go play with Jimsie, I do," cause and effect of her woe already forgotten. There is little hang-over or reinforcement by recall, and the duration of the "feeling" is short.

We are constantly trying to advance children from this level to control in their emotional life, to ethical and moral behavior in their social relationships, and to "concentration" in their play. However their responses are initiated it remains true that patterns of behavior are being laid down which will determine future character and personality. Moreover the sensory stage is soon past, to be replaced by one in which awareness enters in, but while it lasts its domination of the situation is absolute. Little by little a rehearsal of past events is brought up to stress familiar features in a present situation. Little by little self-control or self-mitigation of an unpleasant experience is manifested. Little by little, too, the capacity for attention increases, and the course of play activities is no longer directed by external circumstances, by the materials that are met in the course of an excursion about the environment.

It is possible, given an adequate mechanism, to speed up the emotional processes, just as it is possible to turn a very young child to interests which he

would not spontaneously seek if left alone. That is, it is possible to cultivate true emotional reactions at an age when one expects affectivity to be on the sensory level. The question to ask ourselves here is, it seems to me, how these specialized increases in maturity affect the integrative process. Growth goes forward, not in an absolutely straight line, to be sure, but at least in progressive steps and with definite balance. In studying those of our children who show unprofitable behavior patterns we find quite consistently evidences of induced maturity and a corresponding disbalance in emotional tone.

In the beginning of my remarks I raised for you certain questions. The final one as to remedial work I have left unanswered. Time forbids my adding case studies. In general, however, I can say that we see a more whole-hearted attack upon childlike occupations, as a child remains with us; we see independence and initiative developing; we note the gradual formation of habits that mean serenity and control. Our experiment is still too young to show results that would admit of quantitative analysis.

I trust that these remarks do not sound dogmatic. Our attitude is far from that. We are watching children grow. We are trying, in the first place, to explain what we see in the light of what science can give us on the developmental needs of the human organism, and second to find soils which are most suitable for growth—channels through which growth can flow to the wider sea of adult fulfilment. We look to you for help in criticism and support.

MENTAL HYGIENE OF YOUNGER CHILDREN

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Mental hygiene seeks to improve the human mind and prevent its deterioration. It aims to promote the capacity to live honestly and fearlessly and to achieve satisfaction through living, thus contributing to human happiness. From a psychiatric standpoint, mental hygiene grapples with the broad problems of feeblemindedness, epilepsy, mental disease, and psychopathy. Psychiatry, however, has progressed beyond the stage of classification, involved nomenclature, and explanatory diagnosis. The psychiatrist is interested in human behavior as an index and reflex of personality—in the dynamic habits that function to the advantage, as well as to the disadvantage, of individuals. The psychiatrist is engrossed with the origins of antisocial behavior and therefore investigates childhood for light upon the difficulties that distress adults. Practical interpretive psychiatric treatment is now in order, and its outlook is that of preventive and protective service.

A child's behavior is always significant, and at times it is prophetic. His behavior of today is of less importance than are his habits and conduct during the years to come. The forces that originate within a child, and the influences

which surround him, may determine his future mental conflicts as well as his present maladjustments. Therefore it is desirable to understand the innate elements of children and their typical responses to the forces acting upon and in their lives. This knowledge obviously conditions all scientific psychiatric service.

Mental hygiene service to young children is based upon the conviction that character is not a fixed quantity or quality, but that the component elements may be modified, attenuated, or strengthened—may be suppressed, transferred, or energized by helpful leverages upon them. The purpose of mental hygiene for children is to leaven the lump of life out of which the adult being is developed —to make individuals social, without the loss of their individuality.

The psychiatrist endeavors to view the child in its world and not apart from it. He views crime, truancy, unmanageability, abusiveness, dependency, defectivity, and similar difficulties as the result of numerous factors acting upon the human substance. He prefers to know more of the effects of the constant human contacts than of the conflicts with the occasional insurmountable obstacles. The family and home, the school, the church, settlement, charitable organization, orphan asylum, recreation house, are more than institutions; they are contact points for human electricity; they are stimulators of juvenile emotional experience. The economic, social, moral, educational, and industrial status of groups possesses human values that affect the character development of the juvenile population. The physical, intellectual, emotional, moral, and spiritual qualities of adults pervade institutions and enter into the lives and characters of their children.

By younger children I mean those between birth and adolescence. The difference between young children and older ones is the difference between the bud and the flower, the larva and the imago, the crystal and the cut jewel. The essence of later being is contained in young children, even though concealed in different types of expression. The elemental forces of fear and temerity, love and hatred, jealousy and envy, are present, as well as the potential elements that may lead to aggressiveness, initiative, emotional intemperance, egotism, selfishness, hypersensitiveness, moodiness, superiority and inferiority, social or antisocial judgments. The child is indeed the father of the man.

Contemplating the mental problems of younger children, one faces a battery of forces trained upon their personality. There are internal and external factors that affect adaptability for successful living. The physical organization of childhood cannot be ignored. The inherited build, temperament trends, the physico-chemical levels of functions constantly influence the mental life. Mental hygiene takes cognizance of anatomy and physiology.

Intellectual power and emotional reactions are not merely causal elements in the expression of youthful activity, but they also possess qualities as effects of the struggle for a happy existence. Hence, psychology is of profound importance in grasping the nature and significance of juvenile behavior. Mental

hygiene requires, therefore, a psychologic approach. Above all, however, the understanding of the mental trials of childhood demands the recognition of the social setting that creates for the child an advantageous or disadvantageous condition.

Working mainly with children, I have been impressed with the part that parental traits as honesty, frankness, thrift, courtesy, industry, sobriety, and patience, and their opposites, play in developing a sense of mental balance among children. It is not difficult to secure parental co-operation when major delinquencies exist, but this is too late for most effective service. Tact, persistence, encouragement, and praise, coupled with justice and consideration, make it possible to educate parents concerning their responsibilities toward their children. Parents can be taught successfully the meaning and value of mutual self-control. Mental hygiene for children calls for healthful attitudes toward children and patient willingness to serve them.

Experience has taught me that too frequently social workers sit in judgment on children rather than upon the circumstances that have molded them. The psychiatrist, psychiatric social worker, and educator are most serviceable when they can think in terms of a child's mind, and see and hear with the sense organs of children. The child in his setting must be re-visioned in terms of one's own possible reactions during a childhood long since past. Children are not to be condemned, but to be understood. They are not primary causes of their own deviations, but secondary effects of a clash between their desires and their opportunities as afforded by their world of unorganized influences. Responsibility for action should not be placed upon the child's inherent nature until every other force has been examined. Mental hygiene is less concerned with immediate responsibility than with continued guidance, and the constant redirection of energies and interests into constructive channels.

Mental hygiene in its methods supplies a coarse sieving process that differentiates children into broad types demanding dissimilar treatment. One is able to note many physical and mental handicaps that may dwarf personality and undermine right thinking and effective living. In attacking juvenile difficulties in adjustment, I have been impressed by the imperative need for reaching the largest number of children in the shortest period of time. The necessity for prolonged careful individual study should not constitute a barrier to affording service to large groups of children. The purely investigational research approach is complicated and involves a time element that precludes its usefulness for practical purposes. My own practice in the Health Class of Mount Sinai Hospital has been to employ a group method through which, however, each child is considered individually, though in the presence of other children and adults. The results have justified this approach. By frank discussion, children learn to face the realities of life and find that their traits are removed from the categories of the damned, the taboo, and the sinful. The values of the confessional are undeniable, and the public admission of specific acts of unusual

behavior serves to aid the confessor. In a sense, the behavior of children becomes a conditioned reflex to secure the good opinion and respect of the group. New controls and more vigorous efforts at self-direction develop. Thus there is a cultivation of the constructive herd responses that serve to inhibit or stimulate the inherent egoistic trends to more acceptable levels of conduct. The power of group suggestion is capitalized, while individuality is recognized as both cause and effect.

The aim is to bring the child to recognize his problems, to want to alter them, and to make a continuous effort to overcome them, in order to achieve a greater satisfaction. There are no preachments, directions, "musts" and "must nots" inflicted. The child is brought to accept the responsibility for his actions, and is strongly motivated toward self-improvement. Time and patience are essential aids.

At the same time, the physical health is given full attention, and all defects and handicaps are corrected to the maximum extent. The needs of the home situation are analyzed, and this does not mean the economic status alone, but the social relationships and individual ideals. Mental tests and reports from schools, the nature of the juvenile interests, companionships, and recreations necessarily are studied, in order to develop a program deemed advantageous to bring out the best side of child nature. There are no categories utilized, and no labels employed. The child and his setting are considered in a unitary manner. All the resources of a general dispensary are available to the psychiatrist, as well as are the special services of social service nurses, psychologists, and a psychiatric social worker. Team play is constantly needed to succeed against the active internal and external factors operating to produce errant behavior. The forces for good contest with the forces of evil for the body, mind, and soul.

Furthermore, there is the point of view that the child is not the problem, but is the result of many problems that call for study and solution. To say that the child is not the problem makes his problem more easily solved. In younger children one approaches the early exhibition of personality trends with an open mind, free from any idea of the necessity of their becoming permanent. The methods and purposes of securing readjustments during childhood are designed to suppress undesirable tendencies and to evoke responsive favorable traits. The improvement of vitality, the correction of handicapping defects, the fostering of a better state of nutrition, are not inherently juvenile problems, but relate to the home and the community. The special adaptations in schools, special classes, and vocational adjustments, affect the child, but are procurable only through the school and the community. The smoothing out of emotional waves and bringing about a more rational emotional stability is bound up in the emotional responses of the home, school, playground, Sunday school, settlements, and all communal activities where personal tensions may arise. To arouse, develop, crystallize, and focus social impulses calls for the harmonious interaction of all communal forces. The hereditary possibilities of children are

infinite, even though limited in many directions. The familial inheritances, traits, and peculiarities merit study and appreciation. The psychiatrist is primarily desirous of educing the best patterns of conduct through enabling heredity to benefit by guidance and development in the most sane and helpful socialized environment.

Childhood thrives on success, pleasurable occupation, and energizing recreation; but also upon recognition, praise, and a sense of fair play. These elements must be gathered together and tied somehow to a child's soul, if he is to respond with socialized forms of thought and action and establish desirable habit patterns. The curses of early life are failure, abuse, oversolicitude, injustice, coercion, and thwarting.

To assert that a six-year-old child is foreordained to a life of criminality or failure is monstrous. To stigmatize a child as stupid, crazy, lazy, useless, is unpardonable. Who is the adult that possesses the omniscience to see the adult in the child? Child character is not an end product, but a character in process of growth and development. A single word, circumstance, or event may alter, for better or worse, the nature of a child. One untoward experience may make or mar the growing self. All workers with children should be friendly aids, and not forbidding judges; counsels for the defense, rather than prosecuting attorneys. Above all, they should be intelligent juries to weigh the facts and evidence, listen to expert testimony, consider the nature and meaning of hypothetical questions, and then arrive at a verdict.

If the verdict be carefully considered, it will involve a criticism of social organization that has overmechanized an adult world and demands that childhood conform to it. It will bespeak a greater insight into the nature, thoughts, motives, attitudes, and reactions of children. It will call for an intelligent understanding of the part that social and economic conditions play in determining juvenile variants. It will demand far more attention to mental hygiene and the prevention of juvenile problems than to the elaboration of costly measures to correct difficult but preventable social defects. It will announce to the world that the child must be handled so as to become a communal asset, rather than develop to be an adult liability. Finally, it will announce that, while the complete redemption of childhood is unattainable, intelligent mental hygiene for children offers the most effective preventive, protective, corrective, and constructive service for attacking the major problems of juvenile maladjustment.

THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE NEGLECT OF MENTAL HYGIENE IN YOUNG CHILDHOOD

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The educator, the social worker, and the specialist in mental hygiene are all coming to a new and vivid realization of the importance of the experiences of

early childhood to the future life of the individual. More and more our attempts to deal with delinquency, mental disease, and warped personalities are convincing us that these disturbances of human behavior frequently have their sources in the first few years of life. We have little as yet which can be counted as scientific proof for the point of view. It is rather a question of judgment and inference and consensus of opinion. One interesting bit of evidence was reported at this conference by Miss Theis, in her presentation of the results of the study of adoptions made by the New York State Charities Aid Association. The only significant difference found between the adopted children who had reached a satisfactory social adjustment and those who had not, was in the age of adoption. Among the adopted children who made good in society, there was a distinctly greater proportion who had been adopted under five years of age than among those who did not make good.

Most of our convictions about the importance of early years have been gained by studying adults or adolescents, and tracing their troubles back. In Detroit we are beginning at the other end. We are studying an unselected group of young children, between two and five years of age, that we may observe behavior tendencies in the making. The school is new, but two and a half years old. Our oldest living graduates are now seven. We cannot recount how any given child turned out as an adult, but we can observe the formation of tendencies, and see how such or such a trend in young childhood might modify adult behavior if it were maintained and developed. We have now had about one hundred children under five years in the school long enough to make something of a study of the personality of each. These studies have included thorough mental and physical examinations.

It is difficult as yet to formulate and classify the results of such observations. One can see types of reaction becoming established, which might, if maintained and developed by circumstance, result in delinquency, in mental disease, or in those more frequent forms of warped personality which are neither disease nor delinquency, but which give rise to much of the misery of the world. So far the formulation which seems most helpful to me is that in terms of certain fundamental attitudes toward the world which every child must establish, and which, if not correctly formed, are sure to give rise to various types of maladjustment. The three outstanding ones are the child's attitude toward authority, his attitude toward reality, and his attitude toward the life of affection, both his intimate family affections, and the more diffuse feeling toward his social group. In addition to these matters of fundamental attitude toward life, we must take into consideration the effect of very vivid isolated experiences.

A little child's attitude toward authority is determined in the first instance by his parents' policy in the matter of obedience. Parents err sometimes by demanding too much obedience of children, and sometimes by demanding too little. There is a legitimate field for obedience in dealing with little children. They must be taught the fundamental habits of life at an age when their own

judgment can play little part. Furthermore, obedience may be made to serve the end of establishing self-control. Doubtless every parent, if asked, would say that he wished his child to develop self-control and judgment of his own, and yet many of them apply the principle of obedience in a way that hinders rather than reinforces this aim. Some parents make a fetish of obedience. The child is expected to obey every command merely because the parent issues it—and commands are frequent. No child can be bossed all the time without suffering in one way or another. If he is a strong, vigorous, independent type, he inevitably rebels and begins to resist. The upshot is a fixed attitude of resistance and negation. The attitude easily becomes transferred from parental authority to authority in general. The result may vary, according to circumstance, from a generally negative type of personality, to open social rebellion. If the child, instead of being strong and independent in type, is weaker and more yielding, the parent may succeed in his effort to dominate, but the result is the establishment of an unduly yielding type of personality which loses the initiative and learns to desire to be managed. Such an individual may easily fall a prey to other stronger characters. A type of self-distrust, which prevents him from using his own capacities to best advantage, is almost sure to result.

The effect of too little demand for obedience is no less disastrous. A small child who never learns to conform, even about the necessary everyday habits, becomes capricious, unreasonable, and often tyrannous, the kind of child who is usually referred to as spoiled. Such a parent is apt to be vacillating in his demands upon the child, and the child soon learns to take advantage of the opportunity and try various tricks to get his own way. Indeed, getting his own way becomes a game in which he takes special delight.

The parent who can be firm and consistent in the realm in which obedience is necessary for the child's welfare, and who can keep clearly in mind the higher purpose of developing independence, good judgment, and initiative in the child, can avoid these pitfalls.

Understanding the conditions which mold the little child's attitude toward reality is an even more difficult matter. His conceptions of truth and falsehood, of possession and non-possession, of the real and the imaginary, all have their inception in the first few years. He gets a set which is a large element in determining whether he is to be fundamentally truthful, fundamentally honest, and capable of facing and dealing with reality even when it is unpleasant. It is the atmosphere of the adults about him, their own ability to deal successfully with reality, which has the most profound effect upon the little child. If when he is very young the child is lied to, and knows that the people about him lie to one another, then he too, out of imitation, adopts that method of procedure. Little children understand far more than adults give them credit for. If a child is habitually lied to as an easy way of getting round him and managing him, or as a way of entertaining adults with his ready credulity, he soon learns the method.

It is impossible to keep on telling a child that there is no candy (when there is), that the drawer won't open (when it will), that you are not going out (when you are), or that if he does this and that you will inflict dire punishments (when you won't), and not have him find out that your statements are false. Many adults consider such methods as mere diplomacy. Their purpose is not primarily to deceive the child, but to manage him peaceably for his own good. They fail utterly to estimate the effect on the child. He learns that the proper method of getting your own way is to say anything that seems most likely to gain the end in view. He also learns a fundamental distrust of other people. The result is an attitude that comprises no real understanding of truth or respect for it. Next to example and imitation, unduly severe discipline, which creates an overmastering fear of confessing small accidents and misdemeanors, is the most common source of untruthfulness in early childhood.

To form wrong attitudes about property and its possession, through imitation, is also possible. There are comparatively few parents who steal. When they do, there is no mystery about the fact that their children do it. There are many parents, however, who make no effort to give little children experience with property. There is a kind of communistic attitude about property within the family which makes of family possessions common property. The family comprises the world of the little child, and thus he gets the impression that things that he wants are for him to take. Since the society we live in is far from communistic, it would seem wiser to begin very early giving a little child individual possessions; teaching him that certain things were his, and would be respected by others, and that other things belonged to others and must be respected by him. If there is no attempt to teach property, and great inconsistency in dealing with a child's depredations, then the habit of stealing is still more apt to develop. I have known one four-year-old who stole. He took things which he knew belonged to the other children, hid them among his possessions, and then denied all knowledge of how they came there. The child came from a family in which he had few individual possessions, and little attention paid to him unless he was obstreperous. The parents were absorbed in their attempts to earn a living, and their quarrels with one another. The boy soon found that if he got anything for himself, he would have to grab it when he could. Sometimes his depredations at home were unnoticed, or allowed to pass, and he could enjoy his booty. Sometimes he was caught and punished. However, since it was the only method by which he ever got anything for himself, he felt that it was worth taking the chance. It was only for a few months, between the ages of four and five, that I had an opportunity to observe this child closely. Three years later, when he was seven, I heard of him again. He had started in school and was already recognized as a behavior problem. Truancy and stealing were the charges against him. Our brief though valiant efforts to change the home atmosphere and treatment had been fruitless, and no outside influence powerful enough to counteract the home was to be looked for.

An even more important aspect of a child's relation to reality is involved in the way in which the little child gradually makes the distinction between the real and the dreamed, or the real and the imaginary. A very young child may fail to know the difference between a dream, a reverie, and a real event. Children of about four are much given to imaginings. They frequently tell wild tales which are totally without foundation. They create imaginary companions whom they endow with a high degree of reality. The problem of the adult is to help the child make the discrimination between the real and the imagined, without impairing the valuable element of imagination which enters in. The danger in allowing the imaginary part of a child's life to go unchallenged is that it may easily become an illicit refuge from the real. The child who undertakes to get away from that which is difficult or unpleasant in the real by retiring to the imaginary, may be taking the first steps on a serious split of personality.

For all of us, child as well as adult, doubtless, the most vital aspect of life is that which has to do with affections and personal relationships. It is toward his parents first of all that the child's feelings of love are aroused, and it depends upon his parents whether his first ventures into the realm of love are such as to be helpful to the development of a fine personality, or a hindrance to it. Probably the deepest need of a child's life is to be loved, and feel that he is loved. A child who has not the sense of being loved by his parents (or those who take the place of parents) has little chance of developing a normal life of the affections. Nevertheless, it is possible for the love of parents to take form that is harmful. One cannot love children too much, provided the love is tempered with wisdom and justice. One can easily lavish too much physical display of affection, or too much open admiration on children. It is again an instance where either too much or too little is harmful. The child who in very young years has too little affection is apt to become hard and resentful—incapable of feeling the normal amount of affection for other human beings. The child who has too much physical affection is apt to become unduly dependent upon it, and allow it to absorb his energies in an unwholesome way. Many children develop a degree of emotional dependence upon a parent which becomes a real hindrance in forming the normal attachments of adult life. If to the affection is added indiscriminate praise and admiration, the child gets a totally disproportionate sense of his own importance and perfections, and a taste for easy victories and undeserved praise which kills effort. On the other hand, too much and too constant blame and criticism may easily lead a child to undervalue himself and be unwilling to try because he is sure ahead of time of failure.

In addition to these more or less constant attitudes toward life which are formed in early childhood, one must always take into account the effect of single vivid experiences. Probably fears constitute the best illustration. Many people are subject all their lives to certain types of reaction which were started by some severe fright. Tracing the ramifications of such experiences is frequently the task of the psychiatrist. We cannot always protect our children

from shocks, but we can learn to understand the importance of them, even when they seem childish to us, and we can find ways of preventing their most disastrous results.

This paper has dwelt upon the importance of the experiences of the years under five. Doubtless very much and very effective re-educating can be done after five years, but it is important to know that much re-educating may be necessary if one begins after five.

THE SPECIAL CLASS

SPECIAL CLASSES FOR MENTALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES

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It is well for the practitioner of the art of training children to satisfy himself regarding the facts of human nature and of human development and to be possessed of a workable theory. We cannot expect all superintendents and principals of schools, much less all teachers, to be either Harveys or Darwins. We have a right to expect, however, that no one of them shall blink the facts of human nature, and that everyone shall preserve an open mind for revelations of the secrets of human nature. Such revealed secrets of human nature are as likely to open opportunities for individual development as to exhibit general causes of dulness and of inability to progress in school. By preserving an adventurous expectancy that such secrets will be revealed one carries with him always the necessary background for the successful management of every handicapped child as well as for the facilitation of the fullest development of such child.

State training schools and public day schools are today nowhere linked in a clear recognition of the common mission upon which they are both embarked. Despite the existence of special classes for feebleminded and otherwise mentally handicapped children in many of our public day schools, we find teachers even in these schools and classes who consider feebleminded children something apart and different from the ordinary children of the public day school very much as the insane were considered apart and different in the days of Pinel. Feebleminded children, they feel, have no part or parcel in the work of the community school, even as members of the special class for mentally handicapped children. They lose sight of the original concept of the state training school. It was conceived of as a service station to supplement the home in the training of a class of specially handicapped children. They lose sight of the fact that there is no rigid separation of feebleminded children any more than there is of insane persons or of good persons or of brilliant persons or of the delinquent or of the rich.

They lose sight of the fact that the mentally handicapped children sent to state training schools are predominantly delinquents. They lose sight of the fact that many feebleminded children are better trained at home and in local schools than they can be in any boarding-school.

It is impossible to question the great variety of human endowment. Children differ tremendously in capacity for development. From the first moment of his intra-uterine existence each human being has endowment somewhat different from every other. As development continues different sets of conditions determine different development capacities. Some are to be short, and some are to be foolish, just as others are to be tall, and others are to be wise.

With the tremendous progress made in measuring learning-capacity in the past twenty years, since Albert Binet developed his first scale for measuring and stating individual mental development, it is still impossible, even if it were desirable, to separate out in early childhood for institution training and for life-long custody all those who will prove dangerous to themselves or to others if allowed at large in the community after adolescence sets in. If we knew enough of the secrets of human nature to foretell which ones would be dangerous in youth and early adult life, it is probable that we would also know how to train and manage some of them by means less expensive and more fruitful than that of segregation in an institution. A large percentage of those children we all agree to designate as feebleminded, we now know can be trained better in special classes in the public schools than in boarding-schools, and we know they can be managed better thereafter in the community.

Individual differences between children are so great in every school that some laboratory-workshop plan, whereby the developing impulses and felt needs of each child can be allowed to carry him along in each field of opportunity afforded by the school, seems to be a most reasonable application of our knowledge of the secrets of human nature to schoolroom practice.

In that day when some combination of Pueblo-Montessori-Gary-Dalton plan has really produced a sort of glorified ungraded district school it may well be we shall find no further need for a class designed especially for some of the most seriously handicapped children. If the school has no classes at all there will be no need of special treatment for the least endowed. The individual needs of the specially handicapped will be met when each child is carried on in school as an individual whose needs are not identical with those of any other child. Feebleminded children and other mentally handicapped children will be recognized in such a school as they are in the community, as being in greater dependence upon others. Their minds, however, and their personalities will be recognized as being organized upon the same basic principles, subject to the same stimulating forces, and likely to produce reactions similar to those of other children.

The special class in the United States is of relatively recent origin. Tradition has it that a special class for mentally handicapped children was organized

in Cleveland, Ohio, as early as 1880. It seems to have been planned unhappily. Possibly its pupils were a collection of disciplinary problems rather than a group of lame-minded children. At any rate that class lasted only one year and the teacher retired at the end of the year, becoming then a patient in a state hospital for mentally ill persons.

In 1895 Miss Elizabeth E. Farrell started the first "ungraded class" in New York City. Under her efficient supervision these classes have developed continuously. In 1922–23 there were 5,419 pupils enrolled in 273 ungraded classes in New York City. Providence, R.I., shows consistent and continuous growth of special classes from their beginning in 1896 to 403 pupils enrolled in 23 classes in 1922–23.

The best known registration of the growth of such special classes in our public day schools in the United States is shown in the aggregate numbers of such schools, of their teachers, and of pupils enrolled, as published in the bulletins of the Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., for 1919 and 1922. These bulletins are entitled "Schools and Classes for Feebleminded and Subnormal Children." In such special or opportunity classes in public day schools of the United States there were enrolled pupils and employed teachers reported by years as given below:

For 1913, 9,357 enrolled pupils with 586 teachers
For 1914, 10,890 enrolled pupils with 650 teachers
For 1915, 12,797 enrolled pupils with 797 teachers
For 1916, 16,524 enrolled pupils with 939 teachers
For 1918, 18,133 enrolled pupils with 1,134 teachers
For 1922, 23,252 enrolled pupils with 1,321 teachers

In 108 cities of the United States in 1919, Dr. V. V. Anderson reported 21,251 mentally defective children enrolled in 1,177 special classes.[1]

In a study of the special class facilities for mentally handicapped children made for the school year 1922–23 by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene there were reported 45,179 pupils enrolled in 2,492 special classes. These special classes were reported from 430 different cities and school districts in 37 states and the District of Columbia.

In the 184 cities of 25,000 population or over by the 1920 census, which reported such special classes in 1922–23, 38,569 mentally handicapped children were enrolled in 2,075 special classes. There were, therefore, 6,610 pupils enrolled in 417 special classes in 246 smaller cities and school districts (places of less than 25,000 population in 1920). In some few of the states special class formation has been greatly facilitated both by voting state school funds to offset some budget increases incidental to organizing such special classes, and by providing for the competent clinical study of problem children.

Setting in contact with each other the 1913 figures of the Bureau of Education and the 1923 figures of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, ten

[1] *Mental Hygiene*, V (January, 1921), 85–122.

years' growth in special class facility in our public schools in the United States is indicated by the increase in numbers of pupils from 9,357 to 45,179 (483 per cent), and the increase of teachers of special classes from 586 to 2,492 (425 per cent).

The frequency of facility offered for the special training of mentally handicapped children has been worked out for states and for cities as for 1922–23 from the National Committee for Mental Hygiene figures. We calculated the probable numbers for cities and states, of seven to fifteen-year-old children in school from the 1920 and 1919 figures of the federal census. The states providing such special class facilities for the highest percentages of children seven to fifteen years of age are as follows:

	Children per 10,000
Wyoming	78
Massachusetts	74
District of Columbia	66
Michigan	65

Louisiana, Montana, and Texas each show one child per 10,000 (7–15 years) to be in such special classes for mentally handicapped children. Eleven of our states have developed no such special facilities for training the mentally handicapped in special classes in the public schools. Similar figures follow for the nine largest cities and for a number of smaller cities holding high records:

Children per 10,000 (7–15 Yrs.) Are in Special Classes

New York	63	Battle Creek, Mich.	207
Chicago	59	Plainfield, N.J.	206
Philadelphia	93	Lima, Ohio	199
Detroit	212	Grand Rapids, Mich.	195
Cleveland	90	Easton, Pa	191
St. Louis	42	Elmira, N.Y.	191
Boston	142	East Chicago, Ind.	188
Baltimore	61	Phoenix, Ariz.	186
Pittsburgh	21	New London, Conn.	183
Pasadena, Calif.	731	New Brunswick, N.J.	179
Norristown, Pa.	547	Rochester, N.Y.	174
Berkeley, Calif.	324	Warren, Ohio	173
Highland Park, Mich.	263	Revere, Mass.	171
Evanston, Ill.	221	Nashua, N.H.	170
Kalamazoo, Mich.	212		

It should be considered in this connection that our states vary greatly in the training facilities afforded mentally handicapped children at state training schools. In undertaking to rate either a state or city in this respect it should be known how many children of such ages from that city or state are receiving special training in other schools or classes than those afforded by the public day schools.

It is quite unlikely that the needs of any single community for special class facilities have been adequately met. In recent surveys of groups of public school children in ten states and two cities comprising a total of 51,191 children, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has found that in each 10,000, 258 are mentally defective; 284 are of borderline intelligence; 472 are subnormal; and 1,495 are dullards.

This gives us a total of 544 per 10,000, or nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of all these more than 50,000 children as being either mentally defective or so handicapped that it seemed highly probable that they should have been classed among the feebleminded. Certainly $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of these children in cities and rural schools in the East, the West, the North, and the South are children who must needs have very special adaptations both of the course of study and of the daily program if they are to secure any real profit from attendance at a community school. No one of our large cities approximates such a figure in the facilities afforded, nor does any state offer more than one-eighth of such average desirable facilities (542 per 10,000). Only two small cities reach this figure: Pasadena, California, and Norristown, Pennsylvania.

Some school systems have adopted a three-track system. They have X, Y, and Z groups for which the children are sorted out for rapid, medium, and slow progress. If the sorting is well done and they have no special classes for mentally handicapped children, the 20 per cent more or less of the pupils found in the slow-going rooms will comprise the mentally defective who have not been placed in state training schools, the children of borderline intelligence, and most of the dullards. We find that some of the superintendents who have this plan in operation do not consider that they have any special classes for mentally handicapped children. The first aim of this device seems to be to diminish the apparent waste of teachers' time spent in carrying pupils over grades in repetition of work already done. This is a worthy object. It also gives to the slow pupil time in which he can do the work for which he has less capacity than the average or normal child. He must proceed more slowly because his mind develops less rapidly. The slow-moving room does afford an opportunity to the mentally handicapped child. Its opportunity is the opportunity of more time to do the work of the regular curriculum. It affords no opportunity to the vastly different powers and capacities developing in the slow mind which bear no clear relationship to the curriculum.

Some mentally handicapped children are unable to progress very far in the work of the primary and grammar grades even with long years of mental development, and it requires long years for them to develop their utmost capacity for pursuing these formal culture subjects. Meanwhile if these children in their school studies are confined strictly to reading, writing, and arithmetic and other formal school subjects, they will have wasted most of their time trying to do and to learn that for which they have not yet developed capacity. They

waste this time in a slow-moving class just as definitely as in a regular grade where they would have to go over the work two or three times. The advantage to the slow child is that he is not compelled to make repeated failures. The disadvantage under which he still works in the slow-moving class is that it does not utilize his interests and energies.

In other words, the mentally handicapped child needs an enriched curriculum in addition to a slow-moving program. In the acquisition of the formal arts (reading and arithmetic) he needs his interests and his learning capacities fed and stimulated. It is important for the school to provide constantly for the emerging impulses and tendencies of the child to react. These are the means of his real education. The feebleminded child has tendencies to act. He has enlarging interests. These can be seized upon. They can be made the means of real growth and of development of personality. Only a small part of the "course" for the handicapped child will be reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The mental handicaps of many children who are rated as feebleminded, and of some who are rated as dull, consist in large measure of inabilities to use concepts and other symbols in the same manner as they are used by other children of their ages. Such children, therefore, have special incapacities for language and for number work. In other words, the very activities in which the ordinary school seems to be designed to afford him practice, are activities in which he is very definitely handicapped by the limitations of his endowment. He is interested in shaping plastic material, and otherwise manipulating and molding his material and social environment. The life about him outside the school is manifoldly more rich and interesting to him than is the life of the school itself. If the only opportunity afforded him in the regular school is an opportunity to do and to acquire more slowly, according to the "regular program," mental performances for which he is so definitely handicapped, it is the logical thing for him to play truant, to go fishing, and even to get a job and work for wages. Part of his school time must be employed in some form of extra-school activity when and so long as the school is so ill adapted to his needs. Proper employment of this time and of these spare energies of the mentally handicapped child constitute the real business of the school in its relations to the handicapped child. The special class, wherein these special facilities and abilities of the handicapped child are observed and developed, is the answer of the public school to the special needs of the mentally handicapped child.

The size of the special class and the greater expense of training of mentally handicapped children, both because the teacher must be well-trained, and because she is generally supposed to be able to manage only about fifteen such special children, are not immutably fixed by the logic of the situation. We are indeed short on these secrets of human nature. We need vastly more information such as Seguin and Binet set out to obtain, before we can successfully apply psychology to the happy guidance and most useful development of

the handicapped child. We have supposed that we must use the individual method, and give a great deal of individual attention to each mentally handicapped child, because each one is so different from every other. In the recent history of education, however, we find frequent emphases given to the importance of individual differences of all pupils in all school work.

The Dalton plan seems to center its drive in affording to each pupil the opportunity to do his school work (to develop his personality) in his own time and in his own way. The first aim of the plan is to transfer the drive for accomplishing education from the teacher to the pupil himself. This is a true reversion to Rousseau and to Pestalozzi. The Dalton school is organized as a set of opportunities. This may appear to one as the extension downward of the university idea of the elective system. To another it may appear to be the spreading upward of the Seguin plan as developed by Montessori in her "houses of children." From whichever direction it comes, we see in this organization of the primary and the grammar school the adoption of a plan for all children, like the plan of the special class, organized to afford opportunity to each mentally handicapped child. With a more general adoption of this plan, it is highly probable that the handicapped child will require no more outlay of teaching talent than his more highly endowed brother. The Dalton school could afford him his opportunities to grow and develop just as cheaply as it furnishes them to the normal or superior child.

We need only apply the secrets of human nature which have already been revealed, to bring real education (usable opportunity) to the door of every handicapped child. His tendencies to grow, his natural curiosities, and interests may be depended upon for mental development just as surely as his appetites for food and assimilative capacity for body growth. In a school organized to feed interests and appetites every child will have a pleasure in helping others to achieve, second only to his joy in making achievements himself. In the glorified ungraded school of the future we shall find organized opportunities for the children to help each other. The school will be an organization for children designed to develop productive capacity rather than inferiority complexes, to bring the joy of accomplishment to everyone and to confine the sense of failure to its legitimate and natural sphere of defining one's knowledge of himself and his capacity for living.

OBJECTIVES FOR THE SPECIAL CLASS

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This paper has to do with the educational objectives in a special class for subnormal children, those of the borderline and moron group. It is not a discussion of the work of special classes for restoration cases (adjustment classes), or for recent immigrants (steamer classes), or for incorrigible children (disciplinary classes). A few imbeciles of high grade may be included, but most imbeciles and all idiots have such a low degree of educability that they are not properly enrolled in school at all.

The first and axiomatic principle which should govern the organization of all school work is that it should be adapted to the capacity and needs of the pupils, in content, method, and expected rate of progress. A uniform curriculum which can effect a classification of pupils only by frequent failure to promote, and less frequent extra promotions, has produced in our schools a serious problem of retardation and "overage-ness." This is discouraging to pupils and expensive for the taxpayers. The standard elementary curriculum requires six years for the average pupil to complete five grades of school work, since it is standardized for pupils of superior rather than average ability under present teaching conditions. Even where differentiated curricula are organized for superior, average, and inferior pupils, a group of pupils will still be found at the lower end of the intelligence scale who cannot make satisfactory progress even in the curriculum for the inferior group. The better, however, this differentiation of curriculum is organized, the smaller this number of cases of low educability will be, but it is seldom less than 1½ per cent to 2 per cent of the elementary school enrolment.

The first objective of the special class is to adapt school work to this subnormal group. To attain this end the academic work must be of a very elementary character, and competency in the three R's beyond that of the standard fourth grade will seldom be attained. Steps of progress must be small. The material must be concrete rather than abstract. Much that will be found in the standard curriculum for these first four grades must be omitted. Motor and sense training for younger children and prevocational work in manual and industrial arts for older pupils should receive a larger share of time and effort in the daily program.

The mental age-levels of these pupils will range approximately from 4½ and 5 to 9 and 10 years. But even pupils with the same mental age scores in the Stanford-Binet and other standard tests will vary in their ability for different kinds of school work and therefore, though group instruction is continued, the class must be small enough to allow a large amount of individual attention.

The second objective of the special class is a psycho-educational analysis of each pupil. Where possible this should begin with a careful individual exami-

nation in which the school physician's report, the previous school record, if any, and the main facts of family history, home environment, and individual development should be reviewed and studied. Interpretation is facilitated by a careful psychological examination, not just a Stanford-Binet mental age result, but an all-around mental analysis. Remediable physical defects should receive attention. The co-operation and intelligent good will of the home should be secured. The psycho-educational analysis should determine a tentative classroom procedure and should be followed up by diagnostic teaching by a trained teacher.

The health education of the pupils of a special class, as in the case of normal children, is too frequently considered an added activity rather than an integral part of the educational program. Through well-directed physical exercises, games, supervised play, folk-dancing, and the like the pupils not only gain health and physical vigor, and improve in motor co-ordination but acquire self-control, a sense of fair play, and ability to get on with other children. In the formation of habits of personal cleanliness and attention to other matters of personal hygiene they can compete on almost equal terms with normal children of the same ages. Developed in ways suited to their mental handicap, much of the content of the regular course in health education can be adapted to their needs.

A large portion of this content is within the comprehension of eight-year mentality. No one of the health habits which are emphasized in such a course need be omitted. Moron girls can learn not only to know the difference between wholesome and unwholesome foods, the importance of fresh air, and why we must have a pure supply, but can learn to bathe a baby, to care for young children, and to practice some of the simpler forms of first aid work. Health education that will carry over into the home and into adult life is an important objective in special class work.

No special class should ignore the importance of mental hygiene. Both preventive and corrective work can be done. An even temper, a pleasing disposition, and responsive personality count for more in social adaptation, both in school and adult life, than long division or English grammar. Extreme shyness, emotional instability, sullenness, and the like may be corrected in most cases. To this end no matter how much individual teaching seems to be needed, there must be a large amount of group activity so motivated that the children participate eagerly and happily. A cheerful sunny schoolroom with plenty of pictures, plants, and if possible pets, a varied program with short periods for work that requires sustained attention, a well-dressed teacher with a well-modulated voice, all play their part in this mental hygiene work. Pupils who do not respond to favorable conditions of this type should be studied carefully. In many cases a psychiatric examination is desirable. Problem children may be truly psychopathic but their difficulties are more often found to be a combination of lack of intelligent home training and the failure of the school to understand them. Those of the subnormal group who fail to make satisfactory

social adaptations as adults are more frequently those described as "emotionally unstable" or of "inadequate personality." One of the major functions of the special class is to stabilize these boys and girls.

The unskilled or semi-skilled occupations which these boys and girls go into on leaving school at sixteen are of so varied a character that it is not usually practicable to attempt strictly vocational training. The trade skills, except for the increased efficiency which comes from practice on the job, are not complicated or difficult in most of these occupations. The industrial arts work of the special class should therefore be primarily prevocational rather than vocational. Wood work for boys, and household arts for girls will develop some manual dexterity which may be expected to transfer to most of the occupations which are likely to be open to these children on leaving school. Exceptions may be made in a locality that has only one or two industries into which these boys or girls go, and sewing, cooking, and the care of young children are more or less vocational for girls who will live at home or marry and have homes of their own. But the primary objective in these industrial arts in the special class as prevocational training is to cultivate an attitude of work—following directions, punctuality, dependability, cheerfully sustained effort, interest in the job, and the like. Many moron girls can learn how to run a stocking machine or tend a loom in two weeks, and compete successfully with normal operatives if this attitude of work has been well established in the special class.

In smaller communities the special class teacher, and in cities a trained social worker (visiting teacher) should be responsible for some guidance and supervision of these boys and girls in the community after they leave school at sixteen. Local industries should be studied to find the types of work which these boys and girls can do. Some placement work and even training on the job should be done. If the teacher has made the contact with the home which she should have done while the pupil was in school it will be easy through occasional home visits to impress upon the parents their responsibility in home supervision. Where the pupil is clearly unfit for marriage and independent home life, this aspect of their problem should be made clear to parents. Where the home is an undesirable influence, institutional care or supervision by some welfare agency in a boarding-house should be arranged. The priest or workers in the church to which the pupil belongs should be interested. Much of the success of the special class as a substitute for segregation in an institution in the case of mental defectives, will depend upon this guidance and supervision after the child leaves school.

The private schools for the subnormal children from wealthy families have taught us one thing of great importance. It is one of their primary objectives to make the subnormal child inconspicuous by making him as much like other people as possible. Courteous manners, becoming but inconspicuous clothing, clearly intelligible speech, erect carriage, and normal gait all count. Children who do not seem queer make social adaptations more readily than those less

carefully trained. The well-behaved child whose rating on a social conformity scale—manners, morals, speech, and conduct generally, is high, can overcome much of the handicap of his deficiencies on the intellectual scale. Much of the training in good citizenship of the standard curriculum has its place in the special class. Speech correction work must be patient and persistent. Awkwardness can be overcome by physical exercises, eurhythmics, and dancing. Moral training can go far without any clear comprehension of moral principles. In other words, the special class can do much to make the subnormal child grow up "just like everybody else."

The last objective of the special class that I shall mention has little to do with the pupils in the class. One aim of the special class should be to influence trend of elementary education for all children by directing attention to the needs of normal children who differ among themselves in so many ways. Superintendents tell me that starting a special class in a school district stimulates other teachers to make the child and not the curriculum the central fact in school work.

Let me summarize these objectives of the special class: first, an adapted curriculum—trained teachers in well-equipped rooms by modifying the standard curriculum give these children an opportunity which is not possible in the regular grades; second, mental analysis—a thorough analysis of each child must be made; physical condition, family history, and home background as well as differences in intelligence, personality, and emotional stability must be considered; teaching must continue this diagnostic process; third, health education —the development of physical and of health habits is both possible and desirable; fourth, mental hygiene—mental as well as physical hygiene can be corrective and preventive; emotional stability and normal social reactions in simple life situations should be sought; fifth, prevocational training—much of the academic work of the standard curriculum should be replaced by industrial and household arts. This work is prevocational rather than vocational; sixth, guidance and supervision—responsibility for the mental defective should not cease when he leaves school at sixteen; seventh, conformity—well-behaved boys and girls with courteous manners and clear speech are less conspicuous than others and more likely to succeed; eighth, influence on school organization and method—the special class can and should influence the organization and method of all elementary school work by emphasizing the fact that schools are made for children, and not children for schools.

NEXT STEPS IN STATE HOSPITAL SOCIAL SERVICE

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There seem to be two distinct situations which are presented when one considers the next steps in state hospital social service.

First is presented the state hospital which sees its obligation to the community it serves, and whose budget is arranged to care for this responsibility. It can employ trained personnel and sufficient personnel to carry out the treatment recommended by its physicians. The patients are given convalescent care in the same way that the general hospital gives convalescent care, the treatment carried on under the direct supervision of the physician but by the social service. Another indication of this social responsibility is the establishment of community clinics in various centers connected with state hospital service. In April, 1922, in *Mental Hygiene* was published an outline of a good working social service department in any large state hospital. This included a chief of social service, a historian who is a trained social worker, six social case workers, and adequate stenographic help. This personnel is absolutely necessary for a state hospital to fulfil its responsibilities.

Second is presented the state hospital with which most of us come in contact day by day—the state hospital whose budget is limited, thereby limiting not only the training and experience of its social workers, but also limiting greatly the number of its workers. It is with the second situation that I am concerning myself—the practical situation that all of us face today and that all social workers in the community must realize to aid us in our difficulties.

The next steps as I see them are first the immediate appointment of a historian who is a trained social worker; second, retrenchment of work to two groups: the acutely ill whose prognosis is recovery, and the chronically ill whose illness is such that, with proper supervision and training, the patients can live long periods in the community; third, immediate steps toward closer relationship between doctor and social worker; and fourth, some definite preventive work.

Every mental patient is potentially a social service problem. If, at the time of admission, a very careful social history were taken of every patient, the historian would understand immediately the situation. She would do the exact service necessary on numbers of cases. She would give careful direct information about the hospital, its functions, its rules, its treatment. In many cases this service would be all that is necessary. It would bring to the family comfort, understanding, and relief. In return the hospital would get cooperation and appreciation from the family. We all know an hour well spent at admission means the saving of many hours of explanation later. The historian would sort the cases here and the hundred and one odd jobs that later

come to social service would immediately be cleared or turned back to the families or the social agencies best fitted to handle the service needed.

There are three great groups of patients entering our state hospitals yearly: first, the chronically ill whose hospital commitment means permanent residence; second, the chronically ill for whom hospital care is needed but whose illness is such that, with proper supervision, they can live indefinitely in the community third, the acutely ill whose prognosis is recovery.

To the first group, the chronically ill, the hospital fulfils its obligation when it receives the patient in the hospital. The hospital should hold itself responsible if there is a mental problem in the family, should hold itself ready with advice, with information about the mental clinics in the community, should consider itself as a consultant to the family. The families of the chronically ill do need social service care. There are situations in almost every case where assistance is needed—physical care for other members of the family, financial assistance, placing of children, advice and adjustment in keeping the family together, employment. The service needed, however, can best be handled by the social agencies in the community who have specialized workers in those various fields, the hospital social worker acting merely as a steering agent in an advisory way or as consultant.

The historian, on admission, would learn the family situation in every case, and it would be her duty to turn back the problem immediately to the community agencies. The hospital's duty is fulfilled—hospital care. More and more are the state hospital social workers doing good social case work, but work that belongs to the family case worker, the child-placing agency, the general hospital worker. This situation has arisen because so many workers believe that because one member of the family is in the hospital, the hospital should accept the family problem. The state hospital social worker is trained to work with the psychotic, and the community workers should give her the time to do so.

The second group, the chronically ill who after an indefinite hospital residence can be trained to live in the community, is the state hospital social worker's job. At this moment, all our state hospitals where there is social service should consider for community life all patients whose conduct in the hospital justifies the consideration of a trial in the community. We all know that there are numbers of patients who with care and guidance could live indefinitely outside the hospital. In every case there should be a careful home investigation and wherever possible the families should be urged to accept the responsibility. If good supervision could be given this group in their homes, recreation planned, certain regular tasks assigned, many families would cooperate willingly in giving the patient an opportunity. The families, however, must be given help, advice, and guidance when it is needed.

In Massachusetts the superintendents are allowed to board suitable patients in the community. The amount of this allowance must be sufficient so that the families can accept in the circle the burden of patients who can in no way con-

tribute to the family income. I see no objection to boarding patients in their own homes wherever possible.

There will be among this group a large number of patients who could not fit into the home circle, and a number without homes. With these, occupational centers, where patients could earn perhaps a small amount, should be started at once. Homes, with a group of from eight to twelve patients, where household tasks could be taught, graded handiwork of all kinds, farming and gardening, supervised recreation carried on, should be planned and started at once. Some of these patients might even enter the commercial world and return at night to the center, where their free time is planned and supervised. The Occupational Therapy Center started by the social service of the Boston State Hospital is still a going concern. It is on a very small scale necessarily because the money allowed to board patients in the community is not sufficient. The state should allow sufficient to care for patients during the convalescent or adjustment period.

I feel, too, that there should be assigned to the out-patients an occupational therapist. She could visit those patients in their homes who needed planned work and supervised recreation. I am convinced that numbers of our patients who return could be kept for much longer periods in the community. In addition to the happiness that would be brought to patients and to relatives, the vacancies left for the acutely ill, and the time and energy left free for the doctor to work with the acute group can hardly be imagined. This large group for the most part does not need medical care. Whenever this was needed, the social worker could request the doctor's services or could return the patient temporarily to the hospital.

The last group, the acutely ill, is the group with which social service should especially concern itself, the group for whom recovery is possible if the proper care, planning, and treatment is carried through. To this group, psychiatric social service comes with something of real value to offer. This group is recognizable almost from the very onset of the mental illness. From the moment the patient is admitted, he should be accepted as an intensive social service case. A thorough investigation and history should be obtained first of all to assist the physician in understanding the patient and making his diagnosis. The social worker brings to the physician the social situation, the environmental factors that have contributed, the attitude and relations of all the various members of the family.

While the doctor is studying the patient in the hospital, the social worker is studying and correcting the environment to which the patient must return. She assists the family to understand the illness, educating them in mental hygiene, clearing up difficulties, adjusting the family's mental attitude, advising and adjusting in regard to financial stress, in fact, caring for all problems that will affect the patient both during hospital residence and later when the patient returns. At the proper moment in the doctor's treatment, the social worker

can bring to the patient news of the home, encouragement about worries that the patient may have. The social worker, if she is on the job, must necessarily be making adjustments and caring for the physical needs of the family.

Unquestionably there seems some step necessary between hospital and home. The burden placed on the patient in the home immediately after hospital residence is often too severe, and the patient returns. The step between hospital and home could be made in the occupational therapy centers. Convalescent care, supervision, and guidance could be given; hours of rest, hours of work planned and adjusted before the patient needed to take on the full home duties. It is to this group that the social worker has most to give. She has made a large contribution to the physician for his diagnosis, which naturally influences the whole course of treatment. She has adjusted the home situation; she has prepared for the patient's return. The moment the patient leaves the hospital she begins intensive work to keep the patient well. With this group a special study of the means of social therapy we have at hand should be made. If we study the methods of social therapy with those for whom we make the adjustment, with those for whom we fail, we would unquestionably contribute something of real value to the state hospital workers who are just starting. We might reach some real conclusions in regard to social treatment of the mentally ill.

The state hospital social worker cannot possibly accept the burden that is thrust upon her. The hospitals where social service is just starting should accept the experience of those who have been at the job for some time, admit the impossible, and only try to do what can be done well. Of course, our mental patients are returning again and again for hospital care. Why shouldn't this be the case, when after a few weeks of hospital residence they are returned to the same or worse conditions, to broken homes, even greater financial worries, illness? With the group of mental patients whose prognosis is most hopeful, social and environmental factors play a very important part.

The psychiatric social worker brings to this group her specialized training in social case work, her training and experience in recognizing the symptoms of mental illness. She brings from the physician all his understanding of the mental mechanisms at work, she has gained the confidence of the patient and of the family. She cannot help but bring about adjustment if she is given the time to work individually with her patients. I feel that the time has come for the social worker to ask for the opportunity to do the kind of work that she is trained to do. She can never truly prove her worth until this opportunity is given.

The third step, a closer relationship between doctor and social worker, would necessarily follow of itself were the social worker successful in her work with the last group, the curable cases. The social worker couldn't bring to the physician all the information necessary for diagnosis, all the encouragement necessary for treatment, carry through the physician's directions in regard to adjustment, without having a close relationship between the two departments,

medical and social, develop. The doctor must give to the social worker advice, help, and direction with the patients in the community at the time this help is needed, must be willing to consider carefully and advise willingly the next step to keep the patient mentally well.

The fourth step immediately to be taken in every state hospital is some definite form of education and preventive work. The type of this work in each hospital can best be determined by the superintendent, by the special interests and abilities of the social service, by the community the hospital serves.

I have not touched upon the problems that are facing the social service departments of all our state hospitals. Two of the most serious, as I see them, are the problem of salaries and the problem of personnel. These are very grave, particularly as the opportunities opening now in the mental hygiene field are so tempting, both in the type of the work and in the salaries offered to new inexperienced workers.

There is, however, no more interesting opportunity than the opportunity offered for psychiatric social case work in our state hospitals. If the opportunity is given us to do the work that we are trained to do, the real value of social service in our state hospitals will be demonstrated.

VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

WHAT TYPES OF ACTIVITIES ARE PROVING TO BE BEST FOR A CO-ORDINATED GROUP OF SOCIAL AGENCIES IN CITIES OF FIFTY THOUSAND TO ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND POPULATION?

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We are to hear later about the best type of organization for the small city, but in introducing my subject may I say that simplicity of organization is essential to success in the small city, and if this is true in regard to the form of organization, it is also true in regard to the program to be followed.

The attempt to organize social forces is being tried out in small cities far more than in large ones. I can do no more than provide a basis for a discussion which should reveal the experience of many small cities.

First of all, a program cannot be imported. Consideration must be given to the character of mind and thought of the citizens. A program attempting to deal with social problems in a purely technical way would gain little acceptance. Most of these places are just grown up villages, just as many larger cities are just grown up towns. There is no clear conception of the problems which accompany increase in the size and importance of the community, but only a belief that the city is somehow the best ever. Most of our so-called charities have been the result of blind impulse. A group of men and women have developed a desire to help somebody, and a children's home or rescue mission or some other type of institution is the result, or if no institution seems appropriate, the group has become a sunshine society, a relief society, or they have employed a nurse and become a nursing association. Seldom do we see any anxiety about the cause of all the distress which these good people seek to relieve, or any thought of the general upbuilding of the community.

It sounds like a contradiction to say that unselfishness can be selfish, and yet selfishness is a common characteristic of these groups in their attitude toward other groups engaged in similar service. Their sacrifices for the preservation and extension of their own societies have been long extended and competition for popular favor and support has not found expression in broad measures of public enlightenment, but instead has too often resulted in suspicion and jealousy.

In most small cities there has been little idea of conducting philanthropic undertakings as a public trust. Most of the agencies have become more private than commercial enterprises, dependent upon popular approval, dare be. The contributor has had little or no share in the enterprise. Directing boards have

been practically self-perpetuating and in many cases even the contributor's support has been solicited for a charity ball or a rummage sale or an entertainment, with no statement of service rendered and no discussion of purposes and principles. In just such communities, with contributors not only ignorant of social service but convinced that all charity is relief, and with directing boards quite selfish and narrow with respect to their particular agencies, we have the task of developing an intelligent public opinion and almost revolutionizing long-established enterprises.

What plan of getting at the job is proving most effective? Not something difficult, but something simple and natural so that the agencies and the public are carried along with the program. The first important step is getting acquainted. There is nothing new about it, but we are convinced that if this group knew just what the other group was doing, and if the other group knew what this group was doing, both might modify their conception of things. The first meetings of a co-ordinated group of social agencies in a small city should be taken up with this task of getting acquainted. It may seem futile where everyone seems to know everybody else, but folks will be glad to tell something about their programs, and it will be more of a new story than you have thought possible. At one meeting a couple of children's agencies may be given the opportunity to tell of what they are doing, and at another perhaps the Boy Scouts or the Y.M.C.A. may take the floor. Of course, there should be discussion. Discussion in an open meeting may be a difficult development, but even without open discussion you can count on outside comment, and new impressions will be made. Eventually some of the points of most heated private discussion will be brought out in meeting. The answer is very often a surprise. Impressions of poor management have come from uninformed persons or persons who have a personal grudge.

The small city has an advantage in the possibility of bringing together into one body representatives of all the agencies public and private, as well as representatives of contributors, without being compelled to split up into functional groups. Representatives of the central labor union sit with delegates from the chamber of commerce and all other civic bodies in considering the social service projects of the community. Each agency may learn, through representatives, of the problems presented by every other agency.

The process of getting acquainted is a long one, in fact it is continuous. New problems and new plans for meeting them are constantly arising, and we seem never to get beyond misunderstandings. Budget time for the small city that has joint financing affords a splendid opportunity for acquaintance, particularly if each agency is required to have a representative on the committee. Indorsement processes help, too, in passing suggestions from one agency to the other, and in educating citizens not familiar with the agencies. In our city we have used as many as thirty-five men on an indorsement committee divided into seven subcommittees, each with the task of reviewing the work of several

of the agencies. Outside speakers should, of course, be used by the co-ordinated group, but I believe that they should be used sparingly. After all, progress depends on the understanding of the rank and file of the group with which you must deal, and understanding and interest will come more rapidly if the members of the group do most of the talking.

A second task of the co-ordinated group is to promote the training of workers. The city that has a resident school or university is fortunate, but not all citizens can have such ideal training conditions. Social workers in small cities are usually poorly paid and consequently no great measure of training and ability has been attracted to these positions. The feeling still persists among board members that there is danger of professionalizing charity, and preference is given to the kind-hearted local applicant. Many boards are sure that their own co-operation and volunteer service is so unusual and valuable that trained workers are really not required. With such a feeling workers will not flock with one accord to a training course, and for that reason the idea that Dr. Devine is putting into execution, that of conducting short institutes under wise leadership for miscellaneous groups, is most valuable. It is possible to bring into such institutes both board members and workers and the result is a new conception of what really is meant by training. Successful experiments have also been carried out in organizing local study classes and extension courses are made possible by some resident schools of social work. At least the small city can organize a social workers' club that will further acquaintance and help to inspire some pride in the job of social work.

There is another plan of attack on this problem of securing trained workers, and that is through the service that can be rendered in making sure that directing boards have the opportunity to interview the best possible applicants whenever there is an important position to be filled. It will be a rare incident if the board is not favorably impressed with the best-trained and most likely applicant, and surely if we can help to secure for our agencies strong and capable people, particularly as executives, our problems are well on the way to solution.

Another task of the co-ordinated group is to arouse public interest and understanding of social service programs—a task so great that our progress can only be measured in comparative terms. If we can just feel that we have more folks "with us" this year than last, we are making progress. There should be planned at least one and if possible two events during the year, around which we can rally our publicity and educational efforts in a way to make an impression on the public mind. The financial campaign of the cities that have joint financing provides one of these events, and the other may be a "Come and See" or an exhibit, the annual meeting, or something else that will secure favorable public attention. I do not believe that those of us who conduct campaigns are making the best use of the great educational opportunity presented. Too many cities are presenting an appeal for the relief of distress when the program of the agencies cannot be justified as a relief program. We are timid about presenting

the idea of trained service, although trained service is the explanation and justification for our program. It seems to me that the small city must make a part of the program the presentation of facts upon which we can build for the future.

Taking up the matter of arousing public interest when a campaign for funds is not at hand, there are, of course, annual meetings with which we constantly struggle in an effort to give them new life, and then there are such experiments as the mid-year publicity week, which Cleveland has demonstrated. It has been shown possible to arouse even a great city like Cleveland to a very considerable degree of interest through "Come and See" trips and newspaper stories and downtown demonstrations. Certainly a small city can do as well, driving home some of the facts that are passed over at campaign times as "more campaign dope." An institute such as referred to before would provide an excellent vehicle for such educational publicity.

Then there comes the problem of adjustment of agency programs. It is unfortunate that we so often overstate the advantages of co-ordination in the first steps of organization, and then because we have promised elimination of duplication, and prompt abandonment of our sins of omission, we feel compelled to set up an impressive organization with a whole series of committees that will require all of our energy just to keep alive. I believe that the small city can handle agency problems through a single planning committee on which there should be representatives of both workers and board members from agencies in each general field. This need not require a membership of more than ten or twelve in the small city. This committee is not judge and jury, but to it may be brought the problems that perplex, and then the committee may decide just the sort of conference required for a solution of the problem. For instance, in our city it was found that transient men were making the rounds of the several relief agencies. The planning committee called a conference of all interested agencies and it was agreed that the Bethesda Mission should assume responsibility for the care of these men. A new agency was proposed and application was made for admittance to the budget. A hearing was granted by the planning committee and then all of the agencies that might be affected were consulted. After a number of conferences, the committee recommended the agency to the executive committee as proposing a program which would meet an unfilled need in the community. The executive committee after further inquiry approved the program of the agency, helped to set up a directing board and referred the matter to the budget committee for consideration of budget requirements.

A group of enthusiastic women proposed a new institution to care for women discharged from jail. A conference with the planning committee was arranged and it was shown, in the first place, that there would not be a sufficient number of such women to justify the maintenance of a separate institution, and that the Florence Crittenton Home was authorized by charter to care for this class of unfortunates. A conference with the Florence Crittenton Home board

was arranged and a plan of co-operation was agreed on, under which the Home will endeavor to secure larger quarters so as to segregate special groups of inmates, and the women originally interested will help in the maintenance of the institution.

I cannot resist the opportunity to give you a brief report of the child study which has just been completed in our city as an illustration of the sort of program which even a small city group can foster.

We have two Protestant children's homes which have been engaged in parallel programs for many years. Both are housed in worn-out buildings, and a merger of the two has been talked of for at least five years. Finally a joint committee was formed and the legal merger was completed in preparation for a campaign for a new institution. The combined population was 112 children at the time, so for good measure a home for 200 children was proposed. There was just enough discussion of this proposed capacity to permit some question of the need for so large an institution, and with the help of the superintendent of one of the homes the merger committee was persuaded to ask for a study of the children in the two homes to determine whether institutional care was best for them.

For eight months a careful case study of each of 105 children in the two homes was carried on by Miss Alice Wolhaupter, a children's case worker secured from Philadelphia, in co-operation with the homes and the local children's bureau. A consultation committee representing these agencies considered and passed on each case, and then the recommendations were transmitted to the board of each home, and finally to the children's bureau which is the placing agency. The final recommendations are as follows: Of the 105 children, it is recommended to return 37 to relatives; to return 5 to relatives at a future date; to place 36 in foster homes; to admit 6 to other institutions; and to retain 21 in the two homes. So that in place of a large institution for 200 children, a small receiving home is proposed with a capacity not to exceed 50 children.

Still more important changes in policy seem possible, however, as a result of the study as brought out by the following summarized recommendations of the report: first, the adoption of a working philosophy of the principles of child care laid down in the White House Conference of 1909, and reaffirmed ten years later by representative children's workers; second, the placement in accordance with these principles of the children now in the homes, as advised by the consultation committee; third, immediate attention to new applications with a full appreciation of the vital importance of family ties and the need of home life; fourth, provision for constructive health work for all dependent children; fifth, adequate legal basis for admissions; sixth, placement of each child accepted according to a carefully thought out plan, regarding him primarily as a member of his family; seventh, building a small home to be used partly as a receiving home and partly to care more or less permanently for a small

group of children who for one reason or another cannot be placed in families; eighth, very close working together of both boards and executives of the home, and the associated aid societies in order that all information about the child and interest in him may be used for his good.

These recommendations are not the hurried statement of an expert who has been given a few days to look the ground over, but are the result of a thorough demonstration of excellent case work carried on day after day with the agencies concerned, so that they have absorbed a great deal of the spirit of the task. The recommendations seem possible of fulfilment particularly as the child-placing society has just strengthened its staff by bringing in a capable executive fully in accord with the findings of the study. The study was financed by the welfare federation and has been commended as a wise investment of community funds, largely because the new plan will eventually mean decreased expenditures, but also because of a growing consideration for the best good of the child.

Other cities have similar and more striking examples of the solution of problems by this conference method. The point is that a readjustment of programs does not mean a general breaking up and reassembling of agency parts but rather a natural progressive program which every co-ordinated group should foster. Some of the adjustments will require a long period of time and many discouragements will arise. The process is gradual. The executive cannot personally change the program in any city. That must be done by the group, but the executive can plan and promote a program that will reveal needed changes and the reasons for them.

WHAT ARE THE CHIEF FACTORS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES IN CITIES OF FIFTY THOUSAND POPULATION OR LESS, AND WHAT IS THE BEST TYPE OF ORGANIZATION INDICATED?

Charles I. Madison, Secretary, Community Chest, Colorado Springs

Before considering the organization of social forces it may be well first to consider what social forces there are. What little studying I have been able to do gives me the impression that, as yet, social forces have not been clearly defined, much less measured. In this discussion there is no pretense at having arrived at definite conclusions or solutions, but there is rather a striving for some light on this subject.

Presumably a social force is, or should be, capable of measurement. Measurement, it would seem, would have to be in terms of what a force does, what it accomplishes. If nothing is accomplished it probably is not a social force.

At the risk then of appearing dogmatic, but because of the desire to be definite, the following are suggested as possible social forces: first, socially minded individuals; second, groups, including the family; third, customs and conven-

tionalities; fourth, agencies, comprising commercial, social, co-operative, and governmental.

What are the chief factors in the organization of these forces? Answering this dogmatically I would say, trained people and education. By education is meant, not alone formal classroom instruction, but conversation between individuals, news items, exhibits, lectures, leaflets, bulletins, etc., each giving its bit of information. The two factors—trained people and education—are interwoven.

But how do these factors operate in the organization of social forces? First, there are one or more persons with a constructive idea as to what is needed in their community. Second, these one or more persons may themselves put the idea into action, but more likely will pass the idea or plan on to other individuals. These other individuals are "key" people in the community, who are or can be interested in any reasonable plan for greater efficiency in social work; key people in the various social service agencies or activities; and key people who are presumably informed regarding some phase of social work, or if they are not already informed, they must be people who will "take" when exposed to definite and reliable information.

For the organization of social forces in a community it is not sufficient to have a person or an organization that is interested in, or moves in only one or two phases of a community-wide problem. Only a viewpoint and a vision that surrounds a problem on all sides insures much progress in the organization of social forces. Since the social forces in a community include not only private agencies and individuals, but public agencies as well, any plan of organization of social forces must consider, if not include, the latter.

Conferences are necessary and valuable as educational features. They give opportunity for exchange of methods, ideas, and experiences. They are a democratic and presumably fair method of arriving at conclusions. But local people usually do not come and reason together entirely of their own volition. It is necessary for some one or more persons to vision the thing needed, then to interest a handful of friends in the project, and then invite, urge, and persuade the others in allied work to come and reason together.

There is need for more than conference. There is need for a definite crystallizing of an idea into action. This may be illustrated by experience from another field, but a field which in some respects is akin to the social work field. For four seasons I was engaged in chautauqua work. The communities in which chautauquas were held were for the most part under 15,000 population, but ranged from a few hundred up to 50,000 or so. From my experience in managing, I should say that a chautauqua company might put on in a community a week's program which actually cost $1,000. It might charge the community only $750. The people would be very well pleased with the program. One with his ear to the ground would hear expressions from different local people something as follows: "That's a fine program"; "That one lecture alone

was worth the cost of the whole season ticket"; "I hope we have the chautauqua again next year"; "The chautauqua is one of the most valuable things in our community."

I have heard all of these complimentary expressions and many more. But I will put this down as my honest conviction that, in nine times out of every ten, such a community will not have a chautauqua the coming year unless a representative of the chautauqua company is in that community to crystallize the people's desire into definite action, i.e., to signing the contract on the dotted line. The chautauqua representative does this by going first to the one or more persons whom he considers key people in the community, by talking with them personally, by repeating to them the merits of the chautauqua and its value to the community, and by telling them to head the list of signers to the chautauqua contract for next year. Then he goes to get the signatures of other persons who are fairly willing to follow the lead set by the two or three best-known men in their community. With a representative of the company in that community to crystallize the vague desire into action, or to organize the social forces of that community into action, the chautauqua is assured for the next year, not at the price of $750, which means a loss, but at the price of $1,250 which means a profit.

I believe that the factor which was the chief one in the organization of the chautauqua forces in the community, is similarly a chief factor in the organization of social forces in a community. This difference, however, should be mentioned: In the case of the chautauqua, after the enthusiasm of the promotion period had died down, there was still some assurance for the carrying out of the project the coming year. The chautauqua company would work out the details of the program. When the time came, the local people would care for the local arrangements, sell the tickets, or if they did not sell sufficient tickets to pay the cost, would dig down in their pockets and make up the deficit, because they had signed a contract which was legally binding. This signing of the legal contract furnished sufficient stimulus for action when interest otherwise would have lagged.

In the promotion of a social work project, however, there is not the stimulus of the legal contract to cause the desired action when six months or a year later interest has lagged. What then is to supply in social work the crystallizing element for initial action, and the needed stimulus for continued action, that the chautauqua representative and the legal contract supplied in the case of the chautauqua? One essential is a careful setting of the stage to prepare the community mind in advance of the project by preliminary presentation of the project to individuals, to groups, and to the public by whatever presentation means are available in the community. As Joseph Tumulty attempted to prepare the national or world-mind for the pronouncements of Woodrow Wilson, so social workers must also attempt to prepare the neighborhood and community mind for any social work projects, however great or small, to be launched.

But besides the setting of the stage to prepare the mind for the coming of a project, there must be provision for the furnishing of stimulus for the carrying on of the project. For this it is important to give a constant flow of information to individuals, to groups, and to the public in the months and the years following the launching of the project, when interest and activity are likely to wane. There is usually no legal contract furnishing stimulus for action, and stimulus there must be, for all of us run out of energy, interest, and enthusiasm unless constantly replenished from one source or another. This matter of creating and replenishing interest, enthusiasm, and energy in the supporters of social work is one of the chief factors in the organization of social forces.

The matter of having a clear, definite, and specific plan in any project is imperative for the best results in the organization of social forces. To illustrate this, I trust that it is pardonable again to draw upon experience. After the chautauqua experience related above, I was for four years executive secretary of a bureau called "Community Organization" in a state university extension division. My time was devoted primarily to arranging for and conducting community conferences throughout that state in towns and cities up to about 15,000 population. The conferences comprised exhibits and talks pertaining to such subjects as health, child welfare, recreation, good roads, schools, etc., with both local and out-of-town speakers. Choice of topics and of speakers was entirely in the hands of the local people.

Theoretically this method of conducting community conferences was sound, in that it let the people work out their own problems with the minimum of dictation from the outside. While neither the talks nor the exhibits prepared by the local people were as finished as might have been the case if two or three specialists had been brought in from the outside, the plan probably resulted in leaving in each community a nucleus of local people who were interested and informed because of having thus participated in the conference.

However, during the fourth and last year of my service in that bureau of the extension division, I worked on the plan not of a generalized community conference, but of a specialized community conference, with a so-called "cut and dried" program superimposed upon the community. Instead of letting the local people determine what speakers and what subjects there were to be, they had to take the prepared program or none. This conference dealt exclusively with health. It comprised a free physical examination of children, and lectures on health and the care of children, with an opportunity for parents to ask questions. A staff consisting of a child specialist, a nurse, and three social workers was brought in from the outside. The work was financed and carried on jointly by four state agencies and by the local committees.

For the purpose of this paper it is not important to compare the merits of these two programs, but rather to compare the methods of organizing the social forces in the community for putting on the projects; i.e., to compare the advance work in the two cases. Certain phases or principles of advance work, such as

presenting the project individually to key people and to groups, are the same in the two programs. But in comparing the results of the advance work in the two types of conference there are the following impressions.

In the case of the first type or "autonomous" program, a local person would ask, "What is your program?" It did not give him any clear picture, did not crystallize any idea or arouse any particular enthusiasm, to answer him by saying, "Well, you can have any kind of program you want, and the expenses vary from one hundred to several hundred dollars."

In the second type, or "cut and dried" program, in answer to such a question from a local person it was possible to say definitely just what the conference would consist of, what preparation was required for it, and what it would cost.

The remarkable difference is the response that a community makes to a definite, specific program, compared to the response which it makes to a generalized and indefinite one. I believe the reason lies in the fact that people can visualize a definite program, and that a definite idea can be crystallized into action. But a general and vague statement does not portray clear pictures to the mind of the hearer, neither does it crystallize into action.

To sell the definite and specific program to the community, and to do the other advance work in preparation for the conference, took only about one-twentieth as much time as was required to sell and to do all the advance work required for the more generalized and indefinite program. This was not a manipulation of social forces in the community, but rather a focusing upon something definite. My feeling is that the follow-up work done by the communities, and the permanent results to the communities are as great, if not greater, in the case of the "cut and dried" program as in the "autonomous" one. Under the so-called autonomous program it was not possible to have more than ten or twelve conferences per year, or less than one per month, but under the superimposed program there could be an average of more than one per week. For instance, my successor in that bureau reports that during the eleven months ending June 1, 1924, 56 conferences were held in 56 different towns.

The only excuse for devoting this time to a description of these two types of conference is that, to my mind at least, they illustrate one of the chief factors in the organization of social forces, viz., that in order to create a desire for better conditions and in order to crystallize a vague desire into action, it is necessary to have a definite, specific, and practical plan to present to those who will be the most likely to carry it out.

A very generalized and Utopian project is not easily comprehended. Rather than for an agency to say to the public, "We render service by making better citizens," let that agency describe specifically how it teaches a boy to be thrifty, or how it trains him to respect rightful authority, or how it encourages him to be considerate of others. There must be definiteness in one's own mind and in the presentation to the public. Unprecise talk and glittering generalities are of little value in organizing social forces.

Obstacles to the organization of social forces should be considered. The same factor may at one time or in one community be a help, and at another time or in another community be a hindrance. Following are some elements that have at times been obstacles to the organization of social forces: the difficulty of finding, training, and keeping competent leaders; religious factions; racial antagonisms; politics; inertia of custom and tradition; the economic interest and transient nature of the population.

Having devoted this time to what has seemed some of the essential factors in the organization of social forces, what is the best type of organization indicated? In a village of a few hundred or in the city of a few thousand there is, as yet, not much of an organization indicated. There is for the most part very little work done according to standards recognized as essential in large cities. Some will say that there is no need for social work and for social organizations in such small communities. With that I disagree. The social problems may be of a different type from those of a large city, but in some respects they are no less acute.

This lack of social organization that is characteristic of the village of only a few hundred people is essentially characteristic also of a city up to about 15,000 in population, and possibly up to 25,000 or more. In communities under 15,000 there is a virgin field as far as organization of social forces is concerned, with but few indications of any effective organization. It may be that a larger unit than one of these small cities is the only practical thing. There are some indications of the effective organization of social forces on a county-wide basis. This makes the county as a whole, rather than any of the small towns or cities within it, the unit for effective organization. Such county unit plans are being tried in some states as Iowa, North Carolina, Missouri, Kansas, and others. Their purpose is to render social service on a county-wide basis. The form of organization varies in the different states. It may have a legal basis, such as a county public welfare department, or it may be a combination of a public department and a private organization.

There are also indications of county unit efforts sponsored wholly by private organizations such as the Red Cross and others. County-wide organizations, however, are comparatively recent, and as yet so few places have been effectively organized that time and experience have not indicated which is the best type.

In cities of 15,000 or more, at least in cities of from 25,000 to 50,000, the financial federation or community chest plan is the best type of organization thus far indicated. Councils of social agencies, community councils, indorsement committees, and the like are found occasionally in cities of this size, but they are by no means as common, nor are they of themselves as important, as the community chest. Because of the rather general desire on the part of the contributing public for a centralizing and unifying of financial appeals, the community chest is in a position to serve as a motivating factor not only in

raising funds, but in studying and co-ordinating the activities of its participating agencies, and to some extent of the non-participating private and public agencies. The question is often raised as to what is the minimum size of city in which it is practical to employ a full-time community chest executive. I do not know. I happen to be a full-time secretary of a chest in a city of a little more than 30,000 population. Our budget is somewhat more than $100,000. I do know that a chest in a city of the size of the one I am in, in order to do the work there is to be done, needs a full-time trained executive.

The motive behind the origin of most community chests in small cities was primarily freedom from annoyance of the separate financial drives. The average layman perhaps thinks of the chest only as an agency for raising money. But since the establishment of the chests, other fields of equal or greater importance have loomed up; namely, the study of social problems from a community-wide standpoint to prevent not only overlapping and overlooking, but to see what we are doing and where we are going, whether we are doing preventive and constructive work, or whether we are merely perpetuating pauperism. A community chest should have the function of seeing and applying preventive measures to avoid foreseeable dangers before they arise. With the point of view then that a community chest is more than a part-time agency to raise funds for social work during one week of the year, but that it is or should be also a social research bureau, and a social service educational bureau, both at work the year round, then we see the necessity for full-time executives for chests in cities as small as 25,000 population. In cities smaller than that, say 15,000 or 20,000 population, in the present stage of development of chests, a part-time executive with social service training may be a feasible plan. Such part-time executive presumably would be the executive also for one of the social agencies.

To sum up this paper, which I fear may be what I have been deprecating in social work: viz., vague and indefinite—some social forces are: first, socially minded individuals; second, groups, including the family; third, customs and conventionalities; fourth, agencies comprising commercial, social, co-operative, and governmental. The chief factors in the organization of these forces are trained people and education.

The best type of organization indicated is in cities of 15,000 population or less—probably some county unit plan; in cities from 15,000 to 25,000 population—possibly the community chest with a part-time executive who is also executive of one of the social agencies; in cities from 25,000 to 50,000 population—the community chest with a full-time socially trained executive.

HOW MUCH USE CAN OR SHOULD BE MADE OF THE SURVEY METHOD?

FOR GENERAL EDUCATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Arch Mandel, Director, Dayton Research Association, Dayton

The problem of educating the public in the aims of social service is coming strongly to the front, because, through the spread of the federation movement, social service, formerly the hobby and assumed obligation of a few, has become the recognized responsibility of the entire community. A city like Dayton, with 40,000 families, has 36,542 persons contributing more than $500,000 annually for the support of its social agencies, where formerly it had 2,000 persons contributing $180,000 a year. A similar story may be told about every city where the support of the social agencies has become a community affair.

This evolution in the support of social service has brought social work to the point where it must be subjected to searching analysis of what it is doing and where it is going; how much of the work is necessary, and how much is merely desirable. The unprecedented sums received for its support are solicited annually during an intensive campaign, and it is a question whether communities will continue to give even the same sum each year upon the slogan of "Nobody Cares" one year, and "Somebody Cares" another year, or "Who Cares?" the third year.

Undoubtedly, a habit of giving is established, but unless the public is fully cognizant of the problems and the needs, the amounts given may be reduced, particularly when the community chests are in competition with so many other drives. Taxes cannot be evaded or escaped; community chest contributions can. An intelligent and informed citizenship is essential to progress in governmental administration. It is no less essential for progress in a social service program.

According to Shelby M. Harrison, of the Russell Sage Foundation, comprehensive city surveys have been eminently successful, not only because they serve to awaken the community to its social problems and needs, and to build up public opinion and create a public conscience, but also because they actually result in specific accomplishments.

Cleveland, since 1914, had the following major surveys made: education —$48,000; recreation—$35,000; health—$60,000; criminal justice—$50,000. On the basis of its extensive experience with surveys, the Cleveland Foundation believes that a survey is an effective means of educating the public "if it is presented to the public in the most effective manner."

The Cleveland Education Survey was begun in April, 1915, and completed in June, 1916. The twenty-five reports were presented to the public, not at one time, but during the period of the survey. Public meetings were held upon each of the reports as they appeared, with public discussion of the findings and recom-

mendations, bringing the schools of the city on the front page of the newspaper for many months. Six years after the survey, the Cleveland Foundation, in checking up results, came to the conclusion that "there has been fundamental and far-reaching change in the Cleveland school system in the past six years." In this check-up, the ten reports dealing with wage earning and education, and the one dealing with scientific tests of the work in the schools, were not considered. The achievements deal only with educational administration and equipment. Of these, 74 per cent of the recommendations are reported as completely adopted. Of the five major recommendations, 66 per cent were adopted.

The major result of the recreation survey was the creation of a recreation council, which co-ordinated all the agencies in the community catering to the leisure time of the people, and promoted a balanced recreation program. The recreation council made definite progress in eight of the nine items of its program.

The third survey was that of the agencies of criminal justice. This was also conducted by a staff of specialists eminently qualified by experience and training. The publicity program for arousing the interest of the public was carefully planned and carried out. The survey report had a wide distribution all over the United States.

It seems to us that if the general survey is as powerful and effective an agent for molding public opinion as the above appraisal would lead us to believe, the achievements of the education survey in Cleveland would have been greater; at least, all five significant recommendations should have been carried out. So far as the bearing of public opinion upon improvements is concerned, it was limited to a selection of better personnel for the school board, and if this is true, was it necessary or worth while to present to the public twenty-five volumes replete with harrowing detail?

Again, if general surveys are as effective as reported, Cleveland today should be in the midst of a near revolt on the part of its citizens in their impatient efforts to improve the criminal justice machinery. This survey is a masterpiece in its competency, frankness, and courage in disclosing intolerable conditions in the methods and personnel of the law-enforcing agencies. A more arousing and provocative statement of conditions could not have been presented, and while some improvements are noted, the attitude of Cleveland seems comparatively calm. And the failure to achieve greater results is not due to lack of publicity, because the Cleveland surveys were presented in a most effective manner.

There must be some limits, therefore, to the efficacy of general surveys. What are they? A general survey is a dramatic method of focusing public attention upon a given subject, particularly if conducted by experts from the outside, who will see all and tell all. But the attention is not focused for very long. If any results are to accrue, action must be taken immediately, and action by the public can be taken only on a limited number of things at a time. And

what is not done immediately, may be left undone, unless by chance the immediate action is fundamental and has far-reaching effects. For example, to effect the changes in the public schools, members of the board of education were elected who were sympathetic to improvement, and therefore selected a superintendent who furnished proper leadership. In the recreation survey, the big achievement was the creation of the council, an immediate result. In the crime survey, the organization of the Association for Criminal Justice was the great accomplishment, because it will continue the education of the community, leading to the eventual carrying-out of the survey recommendations.

The difficulty with the general survey is that it presents too much at one time for the public to assimilate properly. The high pitch of public enthusiasm cannot be sustained indefinitely on one subject. After the first shock is past, the reaction subsides and the public becomes reconciled to defective conditions. The voluminous reports are difficult for the public to read, so that little is gained from them as media of general education.

In the last analysis, the purpose of educating the public is to get action, and in order to do this, the amount and kind of information to be given to the public should be governed by the immediate program, bearing in mind how much the public can assimilate at a time, and how far public opinion can effect changes. For this purpose, it seems to us only a general diagnosis of the situation is necessary, and that emphasis need be laid only upon fundamental causes and basic remedies. Education of the public is a continuous process. If results are to be achieved, it cannot be in spasmodic or periodic spurts. Once the findings and recommendations of a survey are made public, its continued use as a stimulant of public opinion is largely gone. Information cannot be repeated indefinitely to arouse the same interest that new information will.

Experience with municipal government surveys corroborates the statements made regarding general social surveys. The influence of these surveys has been dissipated within a few months. Municipal research bureaus advocate instead of surveys the establishment of a permanent agency, which can carry on a continuous process of education.

As opposed to the general survey method, the policy pursued in Detroit is of interest. Since 1914, Detroit has made marked improvement in the same fields listed for Cleveland. Detroit did not use the general survey method, nor bring in any outside specialists, except for a recreation survey, which was a survey of public recreation facilities and not an intensive survey of recreation, as was made in Cleveland. What were Detroit's accomplishments? As an immediate result of the survey on recreation, a public recreation department was organized, and Detroit, instead of spending $10,000 a year on public recreation through its board of education, as it had done formerly, spent in 1914 through the recreation department $146,000, and $400,000 in 1923. In addition, $10,000,000 was spent on parks and playgrounds, the result of the gradual education of the public through the continued efforts of the recreation department. In

the field of education, through citizen efforts, Detroit has had, since July 1, 1917, a small school board with the type of personnel that a city should have. In administrative changes the methods were revolutionized 100 per cent, and in educational processes Detroit is recognized today as a leader. This was brought about through continued citizen interest, stimulated by local civic agencies. With the proper personnel, a continuous self-survey was carried on by the board of education.

In the administration of criminal justice, Detroit had the problem common to most cities and similar to that of Cleveland. In every phase of this field, from the police department through the house of correction, marked improvements have been brought about. References to the Detroit police department and criminal court, in the Cleveland survey, indicate the standard of achievement in Detroit. Changes were brought about by citizens led by organizations taking up one problem after another, arousing public interest, and putting it over.

The problem confronting community chests is to educate the public so that adequate support for the social program of the community will be forthcoming. The first purpose of a survey, to quote Mr. Shelby Harrison, namely, "to stimulate thinking in terms of the whole community," has been brought about in cities where community chests have been organized. The next step is to keep the public informed by continuous education. This should be done through continual self-surveys by the local organization, calling in specialists if necessary, primarily to direct the self-surveys. Whatever is done ought to be tied up closely to a local organization which has its roots in the community and which understands thoroughly local conditions.

Dayton is trying to meet the problem by having the Research Association, which is a civic and social research bureau independently organized and financed, make continuous studies of the social problems and of the community's facilities to meet them. The community chest, being regarded like city government as an institution in which the public has a vital interest, is causing the same kind of effort to be directed toward its improvement as is directed toward the city government. To this end, the Research Association is co-operating with the community chest and its constituent organizations in making surveys. The plan is, so far as possible, to stimulate self-surveys.

One form of survey of great possibilities, but rarely exploited, is the annual report. This, in effect, should be an appraisal of the conditions in the community in the field covered by the particular agency, together with a statement of its effectiveness and ability in meeting those conditions. The successes and failures should be reported, and from year to year the reading of a consolidated report should give a picture of the social conditions in the community, and the progress being made by the agencies toward the solution of the problems.

Education of the public is a continuous process. It must be carried on slowly and with infinite patience. It can best be done by continued research

and self-surveys on the part of local organizations. Standards of service must be worked out to be used as measuring-sticks for these self-studies. These standards are being developed in various fields, and it is up to local organizations to apply them.

FOR THE DISCOVERY OF NEEDS NOT MET

Wilfred S. Reynolds, Director, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago

In every community, welfare organization has been a growth. The average advance of a community toward welfare perfection depends upon the understanding, desires, and abilities of the people to provide for the community's needs. Seldom, if ever, has a neighborhood, city, county, or state started "from the scratch" with a perfected welfare service. The endeavors to meet the individual and collective needs usually pass gradually from isolated, spasmodic, unorganized attempts to more related, regular, continuous, organized efforts until a service is developed recognized as the social work of the community. Organized service for welfare purposes is now accepted. It appears to be a further task to bring recognized welfare work, in each designated area, to its most efficient and comprehensive state. This task involves many considerations. It has to do with experimentation, improvement in methods, modification of organization, the social effects produced by the many organized avenues of human activity, correlation, and co-operation among the separate welfare services, education of the people concerning welfare work, readjustment and reorganization of welfare services, providing for unmet needs, and maintaining an ever sensitive alertness to the changes, forward, backward, or static, in the social work current. The "survey" method as a useful device has contributed to the performance of this task.

Like any tool, the survey device must have material or environment suitable to its adaptation in which to work. Surveys can be made with useful results when the social work forces are sincerely determined to receive facts and honestly to make effective the remedies determined upon in light of the facts. Surveys, for whatever purpose made, are fruitless and even hurtful unless the community has a social consciousness and its social work agencies are properly conscious of each other, ready to receive and execute the verdict prepared by the survey, whatever it might be. Studies of conditions or subjects having social importance are possible to make at any time, but the vital questions always involved are: first, what is the purpose of the study, and second, what is to be done about the study after it is completed? From the practical point of view, the field of social work performance is concerned with surveys and studies only when there is some practical need for facts of social importance, and when there is the possibility of realizing upon the survey in better social work performance, and a higher state of community and individual welfare. The

atmosphere or environment healthful to the social survey device is that generated and kept sweet by the organization of a community's welfare forces in an understanding, sympathetic, and co-operative relationship; when such a relationship is accomplished, surveys may contribute helpfully in further steps toward a perfected social welfare program for that community.

With the organized welfare activities brought into a related grouping, as is accomplished by welfare federations and councils of social agencies, the survey device as a community welfare asset becomes more important. Selfish ambitions of independent organizations give place to a larger interest in the composite social problem. Gradually all agencies, expressing themselves through their common medium, become jointly concerned with determining all the facts of social significance, whether these facts may point toward adjusting or reorganizing agencies long engaged in a given method of work; or they may call for the amalgamation or absorption of two or more organizations; or again the assignment of new tasks to existing agencies may be the solution indicated; and in some instances the survey may reveal a serious need entirely unmet, requiring the creation of a new agency to enter the field of service.

Certain of our large cities, stimulated through the joint thinking of those concerned in social work, have realized so keenly the value of the study and survey method in relation to community welfare, that definite steps have been taken to bring about an orderly procedure in survey-making. The Chicago Council of Social Agencies has organized a joint committee on surveys and studies. The committee is made up of representatives of six agencies and institutions having a primary and continuous concern and responsibility for the making of surveys of social importance; one of these agencies is a public utility corporation, two are educational institutions, and three agencies of a social welfare character. The essential purposes of the joint committee are to provide a library depository for copies of all future studies and surveys made in and of the Chicago community, and to collect reports of studies already made; to bring gradually to the committee for advisory consideration in advance of their initiation, the plans of proposed surveys and studies, with a view to bringing to these projects all information available as results of previous studies, and to make the proposed surveys of the greatest possible value in light of needed information, as well as to consider the need for, and timeliness of, the proposed study; to develop such technique for survey-making as is possible of standardization, and to formulate a schedule of surveys desirable to be made in the future, indicating their order of importance. The proposed depository with special library facilities, including a librarian, has been provided by the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, and survey reports are now being deposited and previous reports collected and made available for reference. It is reasonable to expect, as this joint committee plan proceeds, that the various purposes for which surveys are projected will be more effectively and economically accomplished.

Those communities which have organized their social forces to include the feature of central or joint financing have made liberal use of the survey method for determining such questions as the need for the services of agencies asking for financial support from the philanthropic public, the possibility and advisability of readjusting services among agencies, the unmet social needs of the community, the opportunities for effecting economies in agency administration, etc. In some instances the survey has been complete and comprehensive embracing studies of all agencies in all fields of work, and dealing with the interrelationships of the agencies from the point of view of the community as a whole; others have been limited to a group of agencies concerned in kindred services, and still others have been concerned with subjects such as juvenile delinquency, health, or recreation.

It is an outstanding fact that when communities bring the separately organized social activities together and view them as parts of a composite whole, the survey method is applied increasingly to develop a more complete and a more nearly perfected welfare program. For example, New Bedford Council of Social Agencies, and likewise Minneapolis, as well as the Denver Welfare Federation, make comprehensive surveys of their respective social service communities. The importance of these surveys is set forth in the following words of the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies: "The Council recognizes the grave responsibility in accepting from the public as their trustees, approximately one million dollars a year to meet the needs for charity and social welfare work. . . . . To secure better information as a basis of discharging its responsibility, it proposes a complete survey of the welfare services." The New Haven Council of Social Agencies recently issued a report of its survey concerning child welfare, family welfare, and individual rehabilitation work, recommending the transfer of services from one agency to another, including the assumption of work by public agencies previously performed by voluntary agencies; the modification of methods of work to insure higher standards of performance, joint participation in certain common features of service on the part of a number of agencies; and definite needs found to be unprovided for, and for which new avenues of service are suggested. And through the Boston Council of Social Agencies we learn of the study being made of the sources and character of financial support to meet the needs of the welfare demands of that city. The major tool used by these communities to determine their social situations is the "survey method."

"How much use can or should be made of the survey method for the discovery of needs not met," the specific phase of the topic assigned to me, to some degree may have emerged from the discussion thus far attempted. Surveys are not often directed specifically and exclusively to discover social needs not provided for. But no survey, properly made, fails to determine the needs unmet. Unmet needs is an item to be included in the schedule or outline of every survey applied to subject-matter having social significance. Regardless

of the primary purpose of the survey, the opportunity to point out the neglected portions of the field under survey consideration can hardly be overlooked. In a sense, the survey method automatically discovers needs not met. And in a sense the discovery of social needs overlooked is a by-product of the survey.

Prior to the movement toward federated association of social forces, and the extensive use of the survey method, the discovery of unmet needs as well as the means of meeting them, came usually through the alertness and interest of individuals or independent agencies. This method brought an uneven development, characterized by both overlapping and overlooking. It was this kind of growth in social work that emphasized the need for community-wide vision and the application of the survey method.

To those familiar with social problems and the services to deal with them, there are obvious reasons for the use of the survey method to discover needs unmet. Suppose, for example, the need suggested is one for legislation, the need for a law or laws to remedy some social difficulty. It is safe to say that without a careful study of the facts and elements entering into the social difficulty, and an analysis of the implications of the administration of the proposed law, no accurate determination as to the difficulty and the wisdom of its suggested remedy can be made. The policy of unstudied law-making to solve social difficulties and to meet unmet needs has placed upon the statute books many laws whose administrations are wholly neglected, or so defective as to produce conditions actually worse than the ill for which the law was enacted. For instance, the abuse of privileges, or of public financial assistance to the under-privileged made possible under legislative provision, and because of poor social administration, may and does in many cases create a situation of dependency worse than the need intended to be met by the law. The survey method is merely ascertaining the facts about the need to be met, to evaluate as accurately as possible all the implications involved in the remedy and its application.

Frequently a suggested policy directed to meet an obvious lack, either in a social program or in a service already operating, may appear to the enthusiastic advocate or even to the expert responsible for the service to be extended, entirely feasible and sound. However, upon thoughtful and scientific study of all elements in the situation, modification and safeguards are found to be necessary. I have in mind a case in point. The family rehabilitation agencies of a certain community, in determining the the physical needs of dependent families, for a number of years have applied the family budgetary method, such budget being revised from time to time to meet current changes in cost of family necessities. Recently, upon the revision of this budget, it was determined to supply a lack heretofore not supplied, and which the experts considered essential to social progress, namely, an advance in the standard of living for the families to which the budget standard was to be applied. This rise in standard was fully substantiated by medical and health experts, and related to special foods for certain members of the family. It was found

that this budget for a dependent family, in all cases, was considerably greater than the average wage of a laborer in that community, such laborer being the head of a family. The economic and industrial implications of such a situation were at once apparent. The social expert must stand his ground in defense of an adequate living budget for the dependent family. But he also must endeavor to bridge the gap existing between the budget needed by a dependent family and the wages of a self-supporting family whose head is a laborer. This must be done by deductions based upon facts about the total family income as well as the wages of the heads of laborers' self-supporting families. The survey method is the adequate device to apply to this situation. A scientific survey must be made of a sufficient number of self-supporting laborers' families in that community to determine why these families are not dead, and furnish to the social service leader the accurate data from which to maintain his position in view of the economical and industrial implications involved in the situation. This instance involves the use of the survey method to meet needs unmet, in a more subtle and complicated fashion, but to me it shows how definitely and positively this device must be put to use.

As a rule it is not sound social procedure to project services to meet a lack of social importance, merely upon the decision of an interested individual, group of individuals, or even an organization; the lack itself should be analyzed and studied; the remedy should have the same treatment. The technique of the survey method is so definitely standardized as to make possible its easy and ready use. There is no excuse for not discovering the lacks in welfare programs and in specific organization services. Furthermore, there is no reason for failure to ascertain, through study and survey application, the character of these omissions, and the most useful and practical services for meeting them. It is most hopeful that with the development all over our land toward co-operative independent agency relationships, toward unified community planning and execution in welfare endeavors, the application of the survey method is increasingly apparent, and will in time, like case work methods, be one of the indispensable tools for daily use in social welfare.

FOR THE REVAMPING OF EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS

J. Howard T. Falk, Executive Secretary, Financial Federation of the Council of Social Agencies, Montreal

The title of my paper was given to me without option of changing it. I am heartily in sympathy with the lady who, replying to my question, "In a general way, do you approve of the survey method for this purpose?" said, "Yes, but I do not like the word revamping."

By way of further preface, may I thank most heartily the executive secretaries of councils of social agencies or community chests or federations, in num-

ber fifty-six out of sixty-nine written to, who answered my questionnaire on this subject. With their help my paper is inadequate, without their help it would have been valueless. The questionnaire was sent only to cities of 75,000 population or over. In preparing the questionnaire, I omitted two items, which I now realize would have added to the value of the deductions to be drawn from the answers. I should have ascertained the social training and experience of the executive answering, and I should have asked for the names and qualifications of the individuals on organizations making the surveys. Both those factors would have thrown light on the answers given.

The extent to which the survey method has been used for this purpose.—Forty-one of the fifty-six cities have had surveys directed either to a single agency, a group of agencies, or the whole field of social work. The most common type of survey has been the group survey. Several of the fifteen where no survey had been made were contemplating a survey or thought it necessary. These figures are conclusive evidence that federations and councils have created a demand for surveys, and by inference that higher standards are resulting from the existence of councils and federations.

Approval of the survey method.—Approval was unanimous with a few minor qualifications.

Objections to the survey method.—Objections in principle had in only one instance been the cause of the absence of survey experience. Objections on the score of cost had in one or two instances delayed action up to the present time.

The initiative of the survey.—In a large majority of instances, the initiative had come from the chest or federation committee or a budget committee; in some cases the council was responsible, and in not a few the agencies themselves had requested the survey.

Consent and approval of agency or group first obtained.—In almost every instance the consent of the agency or group was obtained prior to arrangements being made to commence a survey.

Results of survey.—With a few exceptions, and usually where the consent of the agency had not been obtained in advance, the results are stated to have been beneficial, though not infrequently some time had elapsed while the agencies surveyed were recovering from the shock of the diagnosis before consenting to the operation.

Expenses of survey.—Generally at the expense of the chest or federation or council, with the agencies surveyed sharing in several instances.

Publicity to survey report.—In the case of surveys directed to particular agencies it seems unusual to make public the report, in even an abridged form. In group surveys and general surveys it seems that opinion and practice is about equally divided between absolute secrecy and an abridged report.

The policy of a federation or chest in insisting on a survey in cases where federated agencies are not up to standard.—There was almost universal agreement that the federation or chest should insist on a survey under such circumstances,

though several qualified the answer by emphasizing the ending of the question, "when all other means have failed."

The use of local social workers or persons brought in from outside for surveys.—The majority favored the policy of bringing in people; in several cases the replies showed a doubt as to which is the best policy, and some expressed the opinion that the policy to be followed depended entirely on the local circumstances, or the character and magnitude of the survey to be made. The point at issue is whether a local social worker can be accepted by his own community as being completely unbiased, and whether this disadvantage offsets the prejudice against so-called high-paid experts, "who have a tendency to see only one road to a solution of a problem, irrespective of local conditions."

Preparation for a survey.—Is it not axiomatic that just as a federation or chest which is originated by the "big-giver" element in a city, and then superimposed on the social agencies, is doomed to failure, so a survey is doomed to failure, or at least comparative ineffectiveness, if it is initiated by the chest which holds the big stick and in reality forces a survey upon an agency or group of agencies, even though nominal consent is obtained. The backgrounding work referred to can and should be done by or through the influence of the divisions of a council of social agencies, which it would seem to me is an essential part of or a necessary adjunct to a federation or chest in any city in which the latter is in operation; indeed, it ought to be considered an essential forerunner of federation by at least two years.

Methods by which survey objective may be reached.—If the federation or chest directors arrange for a survey for the purpose of revamping an agency or group of agencies having consciously in mind the fact that they expect to achieve their objective by the force of public opinion created by the publication of the survey, they are on the wrong track. The only healthy method of reaching the objective is by making the agency or agencies in question do their own thinking up to the point of not only being willing but actually being anxious to bring into effect the changes suggested. In this connection the so-called self-survey of Boston in 1921 should be mentioned, and will bear further examination by cities interested in the survey problem.

The personnel of the survey staff.—Surveys must be made by or under the guidance of fully qualified people, who have not only technical knowledge but also an abundance of tact and diplomacy. In another connection I once wrote, "Training may make a social worker efficient, but no amount of training will make some social workers effective." In the same way I believe that it is a truism that highly paid experts may be brought in to make surveys, who will turn in technically efficient reports, but who through lack of knowledge of local conditions or through lack of tact and diplomacy while at work will have accomplished little or nothing by their efforts.

The greatest value will be effected where the local personnel of professional and volunteer social workers are brought in the course of the survey, by the

subtle influence and suggestion of the surveyors, to do their own thinking and inquiring. For this reason it would seem that in cities where a person of sufficient qualification and experience is not available to head up a survey, outside workers may and should be brought in to act as survey directors rather than survey makers. Such persons could and have made visits, first to outline the basis of study, then to watch progress made in the study by local people, and finally to evaluate the results and help in determining policies and changes to be recommended.

A survey shall only be insisted upon by a federation or chest for the purpose of revamping as a last resource, when all other means have failed. Even then the question arises whether it is not better to refuse to accept or keep the agency in question in federation than to insist on a superimposed survey; refusal to budget an agency in one city was entirely effective, and brought about the changes desired without subsequent ill feeling. The absence of councils of social agencies or welfare departments, properly organized into different subdivisions, in many cities where money raising chests or federations are in operation, is probably the reason why only a few executives suggested or stated that the best way to handle an agency not up to standard was to refer the problem to the proper division of the council of social agencies for discussion and report.

The wrong attitude was tersely expressed by one executive who said, "Objection has been made by agencies involved, but the committee went ahead just the same," and later in answer to the specific question as to the policy to be pursued in the case of low-standard agencies, said the budget committee, under such circumstances, should insist on a survey, and "that is just what we are doing." I was not surprised that he reported, in answer to the question, "Did actual and advantageous changes result from the survey?" "Not as yet, have not reached that point." The same official was opposed to bringing in outsiders on the score that "they were not sufficiently familiar with what we want done." This remark is, I think, clear evidence that the survey method in the eyes of this federation official, and presumably his board, was simply a gentle way of applying the big stick to make the agency do its bidding, and that the survey under such circumstances was of little real value to the community.

General deductions.—From the opinions and information supplied to me I find that there is an increasing tendency to get away from the "whole field" survey policy. A general survey has a tendency to create a panicky feeling in the community both among workers, subscribers, and the general public. The very magnitude of such an undertaking suggests cause for alarm, otherwise why so much fuss and expense?

Surveys initiated by federations or chests and directed at particular agencies or groups appear to be handicapped by the feeling that the surveyed agencies are being singled out invidiously, the agencies concerned usually feeling that there are others which need to be surveyed just as much as they do. On the other hand, surveys of individual agencies or groups in which the agency itself

takes the initiative may be entirely wholesome and very effective. If I were asked whether the survey method was a wise one for the purpose of revamping a social agency, I should at once want to know who was anxious to see the revamping accomplished. If the answer was, "the agency itself," then I would say yes, by all means use the survey method; if the answer was, "the chest or federation," then I would say no! wait until the agency itself sees the necessity for a survey of its work. If I were told that the agency in question never would see it, I would reply that sufficient pains had not been taken to enable the agency to see itself in a looking-glass.

To sum up the situation as I see it, the objective survey made on the initiative of an influence which wants to reform, and directed as if it were against a delinquent who has not felt the desire for reform, is wrong in principle and likely to be unsuccessful in fact. The survey, however, which is the spontaneous result of a continuous and conscious attempt on the part of the social agencies of a community to "check up" and test themselves against known standards, is desirable in every way. This desire to check up and test can be developed and fostered through a council of social agencies, or the welfare department of a federation. It will probably take longer to revamp an agency by this indirect method, but the educational value of it is lasting and there will be little bad feeling created, which so commonly accompanies the big stick method of the superimposed survey with the implied threat of starvation tactics if the agency refuses to be surveyed.

INTERPRETATIVE PUBLICITY AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL WORK

WHAT PART CAN THE FEDERATION TAKE IN ITS DEVELOPMENT?

Georgia M. Bowen, Executive Secretary and Publicity Director, University School, Cleveland

It is necessary for social workers to make themselves and their services understood. The contributing public may be pushed and prodded and emotionalized to the point of "giving till it hurts," but it will bear its scars, and submit to new wounds with much more fortitude if it realizes something of the necessity for the hurt.

An intensive campaign for any cause which is in the leastwise lubricated by the "milk of human kindness" will bring a high percentage of support always, when handled by people who know the psychology of appeals; but that, it seems to me, is not a sufficiently sound operating policy for the social organization established on a basis of permanency, and looking to the public not only for financial support, but for sympathetic understanding and good will.

To be continuingly and continuously successful, to operate with a view to rendering the highest possible service, any permanent social agency must keep

the public, which is becoming increasingly responsible for the upkeep of such service, informed—not during a special drive, either educational or financial—not at those times when the agency becomes a storm center because some case has found its way to public prints through a complaint in the news columns or a letter to the editor which puts the agency on the defensive. The public's information should be disseminated through as many avenues as possible, constantly, co-ordinatedly, and constructively. There is just one way to do this: through some central, properly set up distributing station.

Social service is a by-product of our industrial and economic conditions. It is not a private, distinct, and sacred thing to be snuggled jealously to the trained breasts of a little group of social workers, to be fondled in technical terms which confuse the public mind, and to encourage more and more disparagement of "uplifters" and "meddlers." It is not even the exclusive concern of a select group of patrons who give zealously and generously themselves, their time, and their money. It is the concern of the great masses of people who inhabit our cities, our rural communities—people who are responsible for, and are affected by conditions. They are the ones who must become thoughtfully intelligent on these matters if we are to move toward any betterment.

The federation's first job is to co-ordinate the work of its constituents, to bring about a better understanding among individual agencies of the work of other agencies, so that they see their service, not as a thing distinct and apart, but as a portion of a great and highly essential whole. This is an inside, or family matter, and in it, federations seem to have made great progress. But there is a larger and more difficult duty, the duty of making the general public cognizant first of the problem as a whole and of its component parts; then of the methods of solution. To this end, the federation should have at the disposal of its constituents a well-organized, properly set up publicity department or bureau. I have been asked many times by federations about to establish such a department whether it should be placed in charge of a trained social worker or a trained newspaper person, and I have invariably recommended the latter. I say it to you now, after being out of active social service publicity for many months, more emphatically than I ever said it to any of you individually before. Get a newspaper trained person, but look for social service qualifications as well. They are not so hard to find.

You need interpretation in the public press. It reaches more people than any medium you can employ, and at less cost. Your speakers' bureau, the next strongest medium, is limited in scope by the numbers of people who can be reached by the human voice. But by all means, the federation should maintain a speakers' bureau, with the aid of constitutent agencies, which is equipped to carry the message of service both in part and as a whole to every organized group in the community, not merely as a campaign issue, but as a part of a year-round program.

Radio is offering a new medium of publicity, and while it can be used only during special campaigns, or at best intermittently, since the radio is primarily,

in its popular usage, an instrument for entertainment rather than education, instruction, or preachment, and offers to its devotees the blessed privilege of tuning in or not, at will, it can be utilized readily by the man or woman with established newspaper contacts, inasmuch as the metropolitan press is finding this a profitable department to add to its daily issue. Such an avenue of approach probably will prove more accessible to the social service publicity worker than by way of commercial broadcasting stations, directly, except perhaps during a campaign when social service stories, progress of pledges, and outstanding speeches may be considered of sufficient local interest to be live radio material.

Without encroaching upon the subject assigned Mr. Hecht on this morning's program, I have endeavored to point out some of the media which a federation, acting as a central distributing station, with the proper set-up, can put at the disposal of its constituents, and I have endeavored to show how the trained newspaper man or woman of the right sort can bring to such a distributing station an equipment, experience, and technique highly essential to efficient operation.

I spoke heretofore of certain other qualifications to seek in selecting a social service public relations representative; or, if you will, a service interpreter. First of all, I should say a wide acquaintance, an established reputation, and an innate capacity for getting on with folks were assets greatly to be desired. But a good, practical, working knowledge of psychology, sociology, and economics, with a decided leaning in the direction of the first, is quite as essential as newspaper training. Your interpreter must know not only what he is to interpret, but why, if he is to be of service to you. He must have a capacity for research and study, and he must have a broad and sympathetic understanding which can rise above the natural cynicism which comes to all of us who must, betimes, regard folks and their conditions through dark spectacles. He needs emotion, and lots of it, but he needs mental stability, and a long leading-rein on his emotions.

Now the question naturally arises, given such a set-up, how far can individual agencies depend upon it to spread their messages of service through all the avenues and media of publicity? How far can they depend upon such a federation department to "sell" them to the contributing public? Theoretically, such a department should be equipped and financed to carry the entire load, or the bulk of the burden, at least. Practically, this can and does present many difficulties, many questions of policy yet to be ironed out by individual boards of trustees, and federation boards, singly and collectively. Nevertheless, I believe such an organization set-up can and should be worked out, and that it will mean a tremendous budgetary saving to individual agencies and to the parent organization, without in any way taking from the individual agency its autonomous rights, a consideration of the greatest importance in all federated practice.

Certainly the federation's publicity department should be a central clearing house, should be kept constantly informed on all matters concerning individual agencies as well as the parent organization, particularly when such matters bear upon the whole social service problem, and regardless of the fact that such matters have not progressed to such a state as to warrant public hearing. The department should be recognized as an integral part of the social service organization, not as an extraneous agency, to be summoned only when some executive or staff worker thinks he has something to give out to the public. It often requires trained publicity direction to know when and how not to talk. The federation publicity department should be used constantly as a consultant, even though the set-up is such that actual handling of detail is impracticable.

Obviously, a federation department of small staff cannot handle all of the detail, notices of meetings, planning of luncheons, and such minor tasks as would fall within the duties of the publicity department of a commercial institution. But even with a small staff, the central clearing house should handle all big events, all major services warranting public exploitation; it should aid and supervise, if not handle entirely, the mechanical work of pamphleting, because it should have better equipment, acquaintance with technique, and contacts which guarantee the best prices on such services. Of course, this presupposes the fullest co-operation on the part of the individual agency—not just a spiritual co-operation, but a definite, material assistance. The budgetary problem involved I will leave to our financial experts.

May I digress to the personal in order to illustrate? While I was publicity director of the Cleveland Welfare Federation, one of our trustees, an officer of a constituent agency, asked me to recommend someone to handle, as an outside and paid job, a publicity campaign to work up interest in a coming anniversary celebration of his institution—a pioneer in Cleveland social service work. The institution had always come in for considerable publicity because it was the sort which lent itself well. But this was a special occasion, and its officers felt it was too much of a task to ask the federation's department to carry the job. I assured the gentleman that with the proper co-operation from the institution, we could handle the affair with no expense for outside service, except for photography, printing, or other incidentals which my own budget would not permit.

We waged a ten-day publicity campaign, mostly through the newspapers, both daily and religious, with a souvenir program, and history of the work, and an incidental weekly news film, and in that time we secured 365 column inches of editorial space—an average of nearly two columns per day. The regular staff assistant of the institution assigned to aid my department canvassed the trustees and patronesses for photographs, giving us easy access to all of the society departments of the newspapers. The institution kept in touch with us by telephone, and had everything in readiness for us always when we sent photographers, motion picture men, or reporters out for special material. With our

small staff, we could never have put the job over without such splendid, willing co-operation on the part of the institution, its staff, and its trustees. The actual celebration lasted two days, and I recall that they were the most miserable, gloomiest two days a weather man ever concocted for any special celebration. Yet there was a steady flow of people through the institution during open house day, and crowds stood patiently under dripping canvas during the religious ceremonies the following day.

By way of comparison, another organization had a similar celebration during the same year. After the affair was all planned and announcement had been made in the public press, the federation was invited as a guest. It was big—even bigger than the one previously cited from the view of publicity possibilities, because it concerned a greater number of people. The luncheon meeting was a big success—the hotel dining-room was taxed to its capacity, the souvenir booklets were all that could be desired. Yet with all of the material that might have been disseminated to thousands of people through the medium of the daily press, as well as to the few hundreds who could attend the luncheon, only 152 column inches of editorial space—less than a quarter of a column per day—appeared during the month which intervened between the first announcement and the day of the celebration.

From the standpoint of the organization, and all sister social organizations, the meeting was as genuine a success as the one hereinbefore cited. But from the standpoint of the contributing public, but few of whom could or would attend the meeting and hear all about the splendid work of the agency over a quarter or half a century, here was an opportunity to inform and to win friends, almost entirely overlooked.

I think these illustrations bring out the point I am trying to make in what a federation can and should do for its constituents. I make no exceptions for campaigns, special weeks, or events demanding intensive publicity, nor do I recommend any elaborate or extravagant set-up for a federation publicity department. A small staff, properly trained, with sufficient budget to operate upon, and with a sum designated to retain such outside assistance as may be needed in times of big drives, can and ought to handle the job, by and with the fullest co-operation on the part of the individual agencies.

I know in voicing this opinion I am running amuck of many agencies which have staff workers whom they designate as publicity chairmen or secretaries, and others which retain commercial firms to represent them, particularly agencies whose very existence depends upon educational or propaganda work. Nevertheless I maintain that clearance on most publicity should be made through a central point, whether that point be within the federation, or in the office of some reliable commercial publicity agency which is retained jointly by the individual agencies or by the federation, and is known as their official public relations representative.

Moreover, I predict as a "newspaper man," for such I am and trust I will always be, that some such arrangement must be worked out, for busy editors

and department heads, bearing, like Atlas, the troubles, the scandals, and the heterogeneous affairs of a weary and wobbling world, have little time and small patience with endless streams of people dropping into the office with "pieces for the paper," with telephone calls, and bulky mail-matter carefully marked "personal attention, please." They are glad to serve, for that is their business, but they must have some central source that can be called back for verification, that can be held responsible, someone on whom they can rely, and can turn to day or night, to find out what they want to know and what their readers want to know, as well as what you think is good for them to know.

A central clearing house will iron out much of the duplication, remove many of the antagonisms, and eliminate much of the waste which still exists in social service publicity. It will raise it to a higher degree of efficiency and give the world a more understandable interpretation of social work, what it is all about, and why it is necessary. The logical place for such a clearing house, it seems to me, is with the parent organization, the federation.

THE HOUSE ORGAN

Elwood Street, Director, Community Council of St. Louis and Community Fund of St. Louis

It may be well, in order to set the matter clearly in our minds, to begin with a definition of a house organ. So far as social agencies are concerned, a house organ is a periodical publication usually in booklet or pamphlet form for the purpose of disseminating information and suggestions which will influence contributions, co-operation, or public opinion. The house organ has the advantage inherent in all matter distributed through the mails that it is specific. It reaches the person you want it to, with the message which you desire that person to receive, and at the time when you want him to receive it. Beyond doubt the house organ is one of the most important kinds of publicity which a community fund or an individual social agency may utilize. Exactly one-third, or twenty-one out of the sixty-four community funds reporting on house organs, use them; and those using them are in general the more successful funds.

The discussion of house organs will be divided into a number of logical divisions: first, to whom shall it be sent and to what purpose? Second, how frequently shall it be distributed? Third, what form and size shall it take? Fourth, what kind of name shall it have? Fifth, what shall its material include and how shall it be secured? Sixth, how shall it be made up and arranged?

The first and most important point, perhaps, in the publication of a house organ is the determination of the persons to whom it shall be sent and the impression it is desired to make on them. This consideration determines all others. Nothing is more dangerous and more wasteful of effort than to fail to have this consideration clearly in mind and to send out a house organ to a

miscellaneous group of people meeting the specific needs of none and of only partial interest to all.

If a house organ is planned for board members and social workers it would be entirely different in tone and content from a house organ for contributors. It would tell a great deal about the technical aspect of social work and about the inside operations of social agencies and might contain a great deal of material of personal activities of board members and social workers. Such a bulletin would be of no particular interest to contributors.

Then again, a house organ may be planned for campaign workers only, telling them of the results of the last campaign, showing progress in organization for the next campaign, or, if published during the campaign, utilized for keeping up the spirits of the workers and advising them on matters which need their special attention. Obviously such a house organ would be entirely different from either of the two previous ones.

Further, it is possible that a house organ might be planned to reach the general public in a purely informational way. It would probably contain material different from that sent to other groups mentioned, probably closest akin to that sent to contributors.

Finally, some special agencies may wish to publish house organs of advice to their clients; such, for example, as the house organs of health agencies telling people how to keep well.

The question of how frequently a house organ should be published is important. Some community funds have tried the plan of publishing weekly house organs, usually through the device of getting second-class postal rates of four cents a pound through having subscribers state on their subscription card that a certain small amount of their contribution to the community fund is to be used for subscription to the community fund house organ. None of these house organs have continued for any great length of time, and the conclusion must be that the strain of preparing a weekly publication on a subject which is really outside the center of interest of most people, as is charity, was too great.

A considerable number of community funds and other organizations publish monthly house organs, sometimes omitting publication in the summer months. This would seem a reasonably good period of publication, although sometimes it is thought that contributors do not care for so frequent a publication on charitable and philanthropic subjects. This, of course, depends upon the tone of the house organ and on the attitude of the contributor.

Many house organs are published on a quarterly basis. This would at least seem to be as infrequent a publication as might be desirable. An annual report is hardly a house organ at all. It has been suggested, and sometimes tried with considerable success, that instead of publishing an annual report, a community fund or social agency divide its annual report into quarterly parts reaching contributors four times a year with one-fourth as much material each time as would be included in the annual report.

The third item of consideration in the publishing of a house organ is the form and size to be given it. In this connection one should remember the principle of successful advertising: that printed matter to get favorable attention and to arouse interest must be as unusual as possible in size, form, shape, and other attributes. House organs may take the form of booklets small enough to fit in envelopes of ordinary letter size, of newspapers, capable of making a large display, of magazines of the ordinary magazine size, of blotters which may carry their messages briefly along with the monthly statement, or of brief-envelope inclosures which may be inclosed with statements. Each form has its advocates, and each form may be effectively used.

Certain principles in this connection are important: The house organ should be sufficiently small in size so that it will not be crushed in the mail, and may readily be put into apartment house mail boxes, which in general means that it should be folded at least to a size not to exceed 4 by 9 inches. In general, it should be brief so that it may be read readily and should not be so elaborate as to make the person receiving it think that the charitable organization sending it is spending too much money on printed matter. In this connection it may be suggested that it is not at all necessary to print a house organ. Very attractive and readable house organs may be prepared on the mimeograph, the ditto machine, or the multigraph, and may be illustrated by a clever penman, in the case of the ditto machine or the mimeograph, by work directly upon the stencil or the sheet of paper from which reproduction is made, and on the multigraph by a cut made from a pen drawing at low cost. If carefully done with unusual working and with unusual color of paper and ink, these house organs may be just as effective as more expensive printed matter.

House organs, if not planned especially for inserting with other mail matter (such as for inclosure with bills sent to subscribers), are usually mailed by social agencies, with the address printed on some part of their own body, and at third-class postage rate, of one cent for each two ounces or fraction thereof. Social agencies in general seem to think that there is no necessity of going to the extra expense of envelopes or of mailing house organs under first-class postage. Certainly if a house organ is sufficiently attractive, both of these items of expense may be saved.

The question of name is important. The name should, so far as possible, indicate the agency which is sending the bulletin, or the type of service which the agency renders. That house organ which has an apt and fitting name is fortunate indeed, and has a most valuable asset. Among the names which may be mentioned as seeming especially good are *Community Service*, published by the Dayton Bureau of Community Service; *Community Chest Dividends*, published by the Denver Community Chest; *Community Fund News*, used by several community chests; *Welfare News*, used by the Community Fund of Memphis, Tennessee; *The Community Heart*, published by the Duluth Community Fund; *The Welfare Bulletin*, published by the Harrisburg Welfare Federation; *Home*,

School, and Community, published by the Georgia Council of Social Agencies; *Everybody's Business*, published by the Illinois Social Hygiene League; *Health News*, published by the New York state department of health; *Thumbs Up*, published by the Institution for Crippled and Disabled Men, New York City.

The material which is to appear in the house organ of course is vital. The alert house organ editor will keep a file for different kinds of ideas and for the collection of clippings pertinent to his subject; and will probably send out to individuals from whom he expects information that may be secured (such, for example, as the representatives of the member organizations in the community fund), information blanks to be returned periodically with information on the various subjects which the house organ hopes to include. The house organ will aim of course to meet the interests of the people to whom it is to be mailed. Among the kinds of material which might be included are news stories, special illustrated features, of the activities to be described; personal items of all people connected with these activities; photographs, particularly those of human interest value; drawings or cartoons; charts and graphs; percentage standings, such, for example, as those showing how organizations stand in relation to their budgets, or how teams stand in percentage of results in solicitation; articles on the development of social work in other communities, and on the general principles of social work which it is thought that people receiving the bulletin should know; reviews of important books; and editorials serving to direct the thoughts of readers in the direction in which the publishers of the house organ wish them to proceed.

Special attention should be given to the make-up of the house organ. The color should be carefully planned for its effect on the contributor, and should be changed frequently so that the recipient will not feel that the same old material is reaching him. In general, white or warm colors, such as yellows, creams, and pinks, with ink of effectively contrasting colors should be used. The typography should be carefully planned; in general, type of not less than 10 point should be used for people who are not especially interested in the subject described. The type face should be simple, plenty of margin should be left, and the type should be comfortably spaced out to make reading easy. The front page should be as attractive as possible to secure the utmost attention, and the back page as well should have unusually interesting features, because these are the parts of the house organ which receive the most attention. If these seem attractive, the inside is much more likely to be read. The paper on which the house organ is to be printed should be sufficiently heavy to go through the mails well; of sufficiently good quality to show photographs well, and yet not so expensive either in quality or weight as to attract adverse attention.

It is not generally thought desirable to include advertising matter in house organs even though it pays part of the cost. This is especially true of house organs of community funds. Contributors solicited for advertising for house

organs are likely to think that they are being asked for extra contributions to the community fund, and either buy advertising space unwillingly or cut down their contributions to the community fund when the time of solicitation comes.

One of the writers on house organs has given ten commandments which may be worth reproduction here: Have something to say—and say it; don't start until you can continue; don't get it out now and then—have a definite period of publication; give the reader a service; have an editorial policy and stick to it; don't preach; don't expect to please everyone with everything in each issue; shun scissors and paste pots; one picture is worth a million words; give the house organ a personality.

In conclusion, a house organ conducted along the general lines described is sure to arouse interest in those to whom it is addressed; to create understanding; to promote co-operation with the types of service described; if sent to contributors, to secure renewed gifts, larger gifts, and prompt payments; and, if sent to prospective givers, to secure more gifts than would be possible without the aid of this important kind of publicity. The cost will be found to be low in proportion to results, if the house organ is carefully prepared in accordance with principles of effective advertising. The social agency or community fund which uses the house organ will find it one of the most valuable forms of advertising.

WHAT MEDIA OF PUBLICITY ARE MOST PRACTICAL FOR THE CO-ORDINATED GROUP AND HOW SHOULD THEY BE USED?

George J. Hecht, Editor of "Better Times," New York

It is now generally recognized that the success of the efforts of the co-ordinated group, that is, the community chest or central council of social agencies, depends to a very considerable extent upon its ability to interpret social work to its community. It will not be necessary, I am sure, for me to tell why publicity, the method through which social work is interpreted, is so essential, year in and year out, to form a background for appeals for financial support, and to form an enlightened public opinion which in so many ways is helpful to social work.

In the twenty minutes that have been allotted to me, it is not possible to enumerate all the different practical media of publicity and to tell how each of them should be used by the co-ordinated group. Therefore it seemed best to group the various media of publicity into five large divisions and then to take one fundamental publicity principle and show how it may be applied in each instance.

A colored parson was once asked how he wrote his sermons, and he said: "Ah divides mah discourses under three heads—first, ah tells 'em what ah's gwine to tell 'em; second, ah tells 'em; and third, ah tells 'em what ah done

told 'em!" Well, the fundamental publicity principle that I want to impress upon you, and that I am going to apply to various media of publicity is this—to succeed in publicity work one must try to put one's self in the other fellow's boots!

First, there is newspaper publicity, universally considered the most important. With newspaper publicity I have grouped publicity in periodicals and trade papers. To succeed in getting this kind of publicity one must try to put one's self in the boots of the newspaper editor. The success of newspapers and other publications depends very largely upon the number of their readers. Readers are attracted and held by interesting news. Consequently newspapers publish material in which they think their readers will be interested, and not what social agencies think the public ought to read. An extremely important event to the workers and directors of a community chest may have little or no interest to the general public. Remember that the newspaper editor gets much more news than he can possibly publish. Send him only, therefore, material that you feel pretty sure he can use. Don't let him get in the habit of throwing your stuff into the waste paper basket. Remember that the newspaper editor is a busy man. Send him therefore copy prepared in the manner most convenient for him. If possible, get personally acquainted with the editors of your local papers. Get them to tell you the kind of material they can use, and in what form and when they want you to submit it.

Study the papers and periodicals to which you send articles to see what kind of material they use. *Better Times*, for example, seldom uses articles longer than 1,000 words, and yet we are flooded with articles from social agencies which are 5,000 words in length. To interpret social work, one must say the same things over and over again. Repetition is essential. Frequency should be aimed at rather than completeness. When you have an annual report or the results of a survey to release, feed it out to the papers one or two facts at a time, rather than give out all the material at once, which, even if it gets printed, would not be assimilated by the public.

No matter how effectively the co-ordinated group obtains newspaper publicity, this kind of publicity should not be relied upon exclusively. Although nearly everyone reads some newspaper, the average person spends only about fifteen minutes a day at newspaper reading. And naturally he devotes this limited time largely to reading about things in which he is already interested. Effective as newspaper publicity is, other medium of publicity must also be used. Each will supplement the other. If a message is spread in a number of different ways, rather than through one medium of publicity only, it will not only reach more people, but will also make a greater impression upon those who are reached through several channels. Every known medium of publicity should, whenever possible, be used to interpret social work to the public.

The second group in the classification that I have made, is printed publicity; including house organs, letters, leaflets, annual reports, etc. To succeed in

this kind of publicity one must learn to put one's self in the boots of the person receiving the printed matter. Some time ago we published in *Better Times* a series of interviews with rich men under the heading, "Appeals that Get a Check Out of Me." They told how busy they are when at their desks, how much printed matter they receive, and how much goes into the wastebasket. They explained that it is only the distinctly personal appeal or the extremely attractive or unusual piece of printed matter that gets their attention.

If you try to put yourself in the boots of the recipient of the printed matter you send out, you will realize that the shorter the text the more chance it has of getting read. How many people do you think read conventional, bulky, annual reports? Remember always that the usefulness of a piece of printed matter depends not on the number of copies that are printed and distributed, but on the number of copies that actually get read, and on the impression they make on the minds of the recipients. Before you use a piece of printed matter, make up a dummy of it, and mail it to yourself at home. The next day, when it arrives when you are away from the office, together with other letters, you will get some idea of the impression it will make on other people.

Many opportunities for distributing printed matter are lost. In the mail of each community organization, and especially in all the bills that it sends to its contributors, there should be included some small bit of interpretative printed matter. The Chattanooga, Tennessee, Social Service Bureau, for example, gets out periodically a little leaflet entitled, "Do You Know," containing about a dozen interesting facts about its affiliated social agencies. It not only incloses these with all its bills and other mail, but also gets local stores to inclose the leaflet with their monthly statements.

I am not going to discuss house organs, because Mr. Street has so effectively dealt with that subject. But I do not wish to leave the subject of printed matter without at least mentioning industrial posters, which are now being used so effectively by a number of community chests. There is no better way to reach constantly large numbers of men and women who work in factories and large stores.

Third, there is vocal publicity, including word-of-mouth publicity, speeches, and radio. Is there any more effective publicity than one person telling another? The way to get the right kind of word-of-mouth publicity, is to do good, useful work, and so to enthuse your directors, workers, and others associated with your organization that they will tell their friends about it.

Every community organization should maintain a speakers' bureau all the year round. Of course those who come to meetings and dinners devoted to social work are very largely those already interested. Therefore the speakers' bureau should concentrate on getting so-called "ready-made audiences," such as those at church, club, and lodge meetings, in order to reach people not already interested.

To make a speech effective, one must try to put one's self in the listener's boots. When you plan a speech, remember that your audience is relatively unfamiliar with what you are going to say. Talk in the language that your audience will understand. Make only a few points and drive them home forcefully.

Fourth, there is visual publicity, including exhibits, "Come and See" trips, and motion pictures. The most important part of such publicity work is to get people to come. Of what good is an exhibit if only the people already interested attend it? If you will try to put yourself in the other fellow's boots you will realize that the best way to get a person to come to an exhibit is to have one of his personal friends ask him. Too many organizations which arrange exhibits, or, in fact, meetings of any kind, spend far too little energy and ingenuity in getting people to attend.

When you plan an exhibit consider the impression that it will make on the visitor. Will it leave him confused, or with a few clear vivid impressions? It is much better to put over a few ideas effectively than it is to exhibit so many different things that a muddled impression results. Several years ago a federation of societies held an exhibit of the work of its ninety-one affiliated societies. Among the ninety-one different exhibits there were, for example, ten different hospital exhibits. How much better it would have been to have one big hospital exhibit showing what all the federation hospitals were doing, and similarly one big settlement exhibit rather than fifteen exhibits of individual settlements, none of which left any distinct impression! And then the publicity man must consider the ability of the visitor at an exhibit to see and to understand. Remember that exhibit visitors are not going to stop to read pages of printed matter tacked up on panels. And yet, strange as it may seem, mistakes of this kind are often made.

Many social agencies miss excellent opportunities to have people visit their buildings and see their activities with their own eyes. Some community organizations make it a practice to have their meetings at their different member institutions. Some settlement houses have teas and receptions for prominent guests, and so bring many guests to see their work. By having exhibitions, plays, dances, graduation exercises, and festivals and sociables of all kinds at various agencies, and by getting those already interested to invite friends, a community organization can most effectively widen the interest and increase the public's knowledge of social work. It is decidedly worth while to try to get schools to arrange excursions for their children to visit some of the social welfare institutions of the community. This is doubly helpful because it not only makes a lasting impression on the future citizens, but also because the youngsters tell their parents about what they have seen.

Fifth, there is paid advertising. Although I am strongly in favor of using all the other media of publicity that I have mentioned throughout the year, I believe in paid advertising only just preceding or during a financial campaign,

and even then I am not sure that its advantages outweigh its disadvantages. While advertising enables the community chest to say whatever it wishes in display form, it frequently subjects the organization to serious criticism. Whether by printing at the bottom of the advertisement a statement to the effect that the space is paid for by a special gift really overcomes the suggestion of extravagance is questionable in my mind, because most people know that the funds used to pay for the advertising would otherwise have been donated to the cause. Appeal advertisements seldom, if ever, justify themselves in immediate returns. Their effectiveness as a publicity medium depends upon the cause, the nature of the advertising copy, the paper in which it appears, and very largely upon public sentiment in the community.

Time does not permit me to go into further detail about the groups of publicity media which I have mentioned, nor to enumerate the various other kinds of publicity that the co-ordinated group can use effectively. But I just want to mention the use of slogans, not because of their relative importance, but because it will enable me to give several good illustrations of the publicity principle that I want to leave with you, which is, as you know, that to succeed in publicity work one must try to put one's self in the other fellow's boots.

"Save the Seventh Child" was once used as a slogan for a child health campaign. Now, even to an audience of social workers, I do not believe that that slogan means anything. What the organization had in mind when it adopted that slogan was that statistics showed that one child out of every seven died during the first year. But to the general public, "Save the Seventh Child" meant absolutely nothing. "Safety First" was once a popular slogan, but now the publicity men in charge of safety campaigns have learned to put themselves in the other fellow's boots and so have adopted "Don't get Hurt" as their official slogan.

If publicity workers will try to put themselves in the other fellow's boots they will use language that the general public will understand. I cannot emphasize too strongly that the public does not understand social work terminology. If someone questioned men and women at random on the street it would be amazing how many would not know the difference between a social worker and a social secretary. The editor of the *Toronto Evening Telegram*, several days ago, in an article about the National Conference of Social Work, felt it necessary to explain to his readers that this was an "Uplift Parliament." My experience in sending out articles to New York City newspapers is that I get better results when I refer to "charity" rather than to "social work," and when I use the phrase "social welfare organizations" rather than "social agencies." What do phrases like "social diagnosis," "case work," and the "preschool child" mean to the general public? Technical terms of this kind are all right for use among the social workers, but not in our publicity efforts. We must try to put ourselves in the other fellow's boots, and then use language that he will understand.

Interpretative publicity for social work means, to many executives, making known the aims and the activities of social agencies. In my opinion the coordinated group should do more than just to get publicity for its activities and aims and those of its member agencies. It should also try to stimulate such human impulses as unselfishness, fellow-feeling, kindliness, and, in short, should foster the charitable instinct. By such additional efforts a community chest can widen and intensify public interest in social work much more rapidly and effectively than by merely telling what such and such agencies are doing.

Practical psychology of a similar nature is applied extensively in the field of business. The Victor Talking Machine Company, for example, tries in its advertisements to stimulate the love of music, as well as to tell of the advantages of its Victrolas. When automobiles were first put on the market, and to some extent still today, manufacturers in their advertisements urged the love of the great outdoors, as well as setting forth the points of superiority of their particular make of cars. The United States Shipping Board is trying to stimulate a desire to travel, as well as to explain the services of its steamers. Similarly, community chests, in addition to seeking publicity for the work of their member agencies, should try to stimulate unselfishness, including, of course, a desire to help and to give. Several of the community chests are definitely attempting to do this very thing. The Detroit Community Fund, for example, put on last year, at one of the city's principal theaters, a play that was seen by more than 75,000 people. The play, entitled "The Man 'Round the Corner," had, I am told, nothing whatever to do with organized social work, but was just intended to stimulate the spirit of charity. The publicity man of the same community fund writes for one of the leading local papers a weekly department called "The World is Growing Better." The community fund is seldom, if ever, mentioned, nor are any of its agencies. Nobody knows who writes the articles as they are signed with a fictitious name. The articles deal with the finer things of life, and are brimful with inspiration. They consist frequently of stories of unusual unselfishness and brotherly love.

In conclusion I would say that effectively to interpret social work requires constant, persistent effort. Don't rely on any one medium of publicity. There is no royal road. Use as many different channels as possible. Always try to put yourself in the other fellow's boots. Use language that the public will understand. And keep everlastingly at it.

THE EFFECT OF THE FEDERATION MOVEMENT UPON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE WELFARE AGENCIES

WHAT THE RELATIONSHIP SHOULD BE

M. C. Maclean, Secretary, Federation for Community Service, Toronto

As social workers have come to realize more fully the magnitude and importance of the work to which they are committed, they have also come to feel that the financial and other support necessary to the performance of the task are most important factors. The question then of public or private support of welfare work becomes one of very practical importance.

It is known that there has been a regrettable tendency on the part of public and private welfare workers to criticize, and indeed, at times, to distrust each other. It is gratifying also to know that some are heroically resisting these temptations and in a spirit of generous appreciation are endeavoring properly to evaluate each other's difficulties and aspirations. There is, we believe, a growing co-operation between these groups of workers, and this promises much for the future.

I have also found that this is a subject on which there is marked diversity of opinion among social workers and students. Some contend strenuously (and somewhat logically) that all welfare work should be done by a department of government. Others, on the contrary, claim that governments are seriously handicapped in their efforts in this direction, since patronage, party favoritism and rewards, operate here even more disastrously than in other departments of government, and so prevent the highest type of work because continuity is broken and there are frequent changes of policies and officials. A third group claims that the better method is to recognize the government's responsibility for these services, but to recognize also that at the present public agencies cannot discharge their full obligation in this direction, and that the public and private welfare agencies should co-operate so far and as harmoniously as possible.

In support of the view that welfare work should be a department of government, it is contended, first, that it is the function of government to promote the welfare of its subjects—to protect, develop, and enrich the life of all the people. This includes maintenance, education, health, employment, recreation, and a host of other services. While in a democracy it is assumed that every citizen will secure these services for himself and for those properly dependent upon him (that is, be independent and self-supporting), if, for any reason, he falls below this standard into a state of dependency, the burden of his care must be borne by someone else—by friends or relations, by some compassionate individual or organization, or more properly by all the people, through the instrument of government. Since, in the interests of self-protection and development, as well as for humanitarian reasons, the government should protect

its subjects, it is obligated to care for these dependents, prevent their misery, and restore them, if possible, to effective citizenship. Government is the only agency which possesses in an adequate degree the means and authority equal to so great a task, and so it should assume at once (or as soon as possible) the entire burden for a complete social welfare program. The fact that this responsibility of government has not always either been recognized by the government itself, or insisted upon by the citizens, does not invalidate the argument. It is gratifying that in response to public demands the government agencies are increasingly recognizing and assuming their responsibilities in this direction.

Second, in support of this view, it is pointed out that dependency in whole or in part is often caused by conditions over which the individual has but little control, and if he shares responsibility for these conditions it is as a member of society as a whole. What defense, it is asked, has a single individual against, or what responsibility has he for, general unemployment, epidemics, disasters, which may precipitate him into a state of temporary or prolonged dependency? What defense has the individual against unscrupulous purveyors of adulterated foods, extortioners, selfish profiteers, and the like? When, unfortunately, these and other causes operate to produce dependency, the collective people (that is, the government) should seek, and, if possible, find an effective and adequate remedy. The conclusion seems logical that society as a whole should accept responsibility for preventing and remedying these ills and bear the cost of supporting those who cannot support themselves.

Third, in favor of the theory of government responsibility it may be further pointed out that on the present arrangement a grave injustice exists in that the burden of social welfare is being borne in most communities by a relatively small proportion of the citizens, when the entire burden should be distributed equitably to be borne by all the people. It is asked, "Why should a group of charitably disposed people bear the financial and service obligations involved in doing the welfare work of the community, while many others of equal responsibility and ability go free?" And moreover it is said that this accounts for the inadequacy of much social service endeavor. Not until the resources of the entire community are available to meet social welfare requirements will the needs of the entire community in these directions be met. This can only be done through public taxation, and in order to provide a proper type of service to meet the growing needs of the entire field, and also to insure that the responsibilities shall be equitably shared by all the citizens, government should adopt this means of securing the funds, and should assume responsibility for a complete program of social welfare. Private welfare organizations have done valiant service in the past, but they suffer from very manifest limitations from which at the earliest possible moment they should be relieved.

Fourth, it is pointed out to the praise of some public agencies, that in many instances excellent work is now being done by these agencies, and that the sphere of their activity is constantly being enlarged and extended. The day is

gone when the public agency simply falls heir to the services initiated by private agencies, and continues in a treadmill fashion to follow the stereotyped methods of the past. There is evidence of new interest in this quarter—questions are being asked—conferences are being held—money is being spent for research purposes. We already have good public education, good public health work, good public police and probation, good child placing, and many other excellent services, and this argues the competence of government to do welfare work successfully. If there be instances of failure on the part of public agencies, are there not also quite as many such among private agencies? It is true that much of the work undertaken by the public agency lacks the element of hopefulness, for is it not recognized that the difficult and less promising cases are quite properly the task, not of the private, but of the public agency?

On the other hand, it is said that while this argument is correct in theory, its force is modified by the fact that in practice social welfare usually suffers by close contact with governments, and should as far as possible be separated from this control with its accompaniments of patronage, false ideas of economy, and its dependence for support on classes who expect that these very services shall be used for their advantage or that of their friends—political or otherwise. It is vigorously pointed out that public welfare work is not, except in very rare instances, well supported by governments, and that governments, municipal or otherwise, find great difficulty in their expenditures, and also in the type of service rendered, in going beyond the standards which are acceptable to the less generous and least socially minded portion of the tax-payers. Hence, the work is usually done on the most meager and niggardly scale.

Again, there is the objection that a public department cannot without criticism enter the newer fields of service and conduct social experiments, while voluntary organizations, composed of a limited number of socially minded people, find it possible to put to test new methods of work with no one to protest about "experimenting with the tax-payers' money."

And again, it is claimed that the private organization can safely go much farther in specialization and can undertake some of the finer services impossible for the public agency. The expenditure of the tax-payers' money must be in harmony with the wishes of the less socially minded people of the community, and as yet these constitute a majority in most municipalities.

And there is further the very real objection that a public fund is more liable to be exploited by unscrupulous people for personal or for friendly reasons. What social worker is not aware of the difficulty of dealing with clients who know or suspect the existence of a fund from which they claim they have "a right to receive," and what community has not in its government some officials who believe that the public fund may be employed to reward political favorites, or to be a recompense for services rendered?

And, above all, it is claimed that there is a growing class of broad-minded, generous-hearted citizens who will cheerfully give time, influence, and money

to place these services on a satisfactory basis, that the number of these is constantly increasing, and that with proper attention to the education of the public mind the required funds can be secured from these voluntary contributors.

Now what of these arguments and objections? The argument is valid, both because the unfortunate individual has a natural right to receive care and because in the interests of self-protection and of a better social order these services must be rendered effectively. The fact that it has not been so far assumed does not exonerate the state or municipality, nor should social workers too readily admit that responsibility for the initiation of service rests on the private agency alone. There are tasks, at least in Canada, which are too staggering for any private agency, and which should heroically and immediately be undertaken by the government. It is historically true that the private agencies have initiated and improved welfare services, but it is also true that a growing public opinion is demanding initial action on the part of governments as well.

The objections have at the present a great deal of force, but social conditions are not static, nor must we allow the assumptions and practices of the past to hold us in bondage and to hinder our progress. The fact is that government has the resources of money, influence, and authority, but apparently fails in attaining the best standards. Private agencies contend for standards but lack the resources, and it would appear that for the present at least, and probably for some considerable time to come, there must be partnership between public and private welfare agencies. Given conditions of public sympathy and understanding, a citizenry appreciative of the finer issues in social welfare progress, honest and capable public officials, and the work can best be done by the public bodies. But until these conditions are more fully realized, public and private welfare organizations must continue to work (and let us hope, to improve) side by side, accepting such responsibilities as are possible or necessary because of the advanced or retarded attitude of the public mind on these questions in the separate communities.

A correspondent states—almost complains—that there is no uniformity of thought or practice as between country and country, state and state, province and province, city and city, on these questions. What is this but stating that there is not equal development in understanding, and equal courage in dealing with these issues, and that probably the practice in each community is made necessary or possible by public opinion on these matters, and so there cannot be uniformity of practice in the different communities. It should be recognized that a service must be provided for all those who cannot serve themselves—the dependent—the delinquent—and the deficient classes; and the fundamental duty of the state to provide this care to all its needy people should be kept in mind; but the extent to which the state or municipality can safely assume its just obligations at a given time depends upon the progress of the people toward the ideals of intelligent and complete democracy, and the education of the people to appreciate the higher and finer issues of social service.

There are apparently, then, limits beyond which public agencies cannot wisely go at any given time in assuming responsibility for social welfare programs. Education is proceeding, however; the average intelligence on social welfare is being raised, and now approval is given to ventures in public administration which a couple of decades ago would have been regarded as most dangerous and revolutionary. The achievements of today become the anachronisms of tomorrow, and our present attainment should be looked upon not as final, but only as a stage in a journey toward a much more advanced goal. In the meantime, it will be necessary for both private and public organizations to work harmoniously together, and to educate our public to the place where it may be safe and best to have the government actually undertake the responsibilities which fundamentally belong to it. Future progress in social welfare work will depend very largely upon interpretative publicity.

Now can any reasonable division of responsibility be agreed upon or must we proceed in a haphazard way? Can the domain of public and private responsibility be at all delimited? From what has been already said, it is possible to state some guiding principles which may serve us for the present at least.

First, a complete service should be given. Every dependent individual or class in the community is entitled to adequate care and assistance. If such care does not come through friends, relations, or some compassionate individual or group, responsibility must be assumed by the whole people through government agencies.

Second, governments should insist on proper standards of service on the part of both public and private agencies. If government admits of the existence and operation of public and private welfare work side by side, and of co-operation in some undertakings, it should also provide for the inspection of all these agencies. Government is as much responsible for removing a slum organization or institution as for removing a slum area in a city or country, and in this enlightened day, responsible for preventing both. This, of course, presupposes proper standards and efficient officials on the part of and in the service of the government.

Third, services, the need of which for prudential and protective reasons is generally admitted, and the proper support of which requires large expenditure of funds for an indeterminable period, are properly the responsibility of public agencies. Private philanthropy alone is inadequate to deal on a large scale with such problems as feeblemindedness, delinquency, venereal disease, neglected children, widowed mothers' allowances, etc. These represent a class of service for which, like education, government must become responsible, although there may and will be voluntary contributions of funds and service for the support and enrichment of the work. The effectiveness of the service, however, should be guaranteed by the government and should not be made to depend upon voluntary contributions.

Fourth, for cases that call for the exercise of police power for restraint, incarceration, deportation, or return, the public agency should accept responsibility. Private agencies will usually find themselves embarrassed, not only by severe criticism, but also by other grave difficulties if they attempt this class of cases.

Fifth, cases of long-standing delinquency, involving long-continued expense, in which there is but meager hope of development to a basis of self-support, or restoration to normal standards of living should be the care of the public organization.

Sixth, subject to statutory provisions, services the value and necessity of which have been sufficiently demonstrated to the public by voluntary organizations should be taken over by the public agencies. The assumption is that public opinion is sufficiently educated to make it advisable for the public agency to undertake these services.

At present the private social agencies should, first, undertake such services as do not fall within the statutory powers of the public agencies, with a view to demonstrating to the public the advisability, at the earliest possible date, of enlarging by legal enactment the field of public responsibility; second, demonstrate by experiment the value of specialization in welfare work and strive for the acceptance of the best standards on the part of all agencies engaged in the work; third, closely related to this, is the emphasis to be placed upon employing trained social workers who should be reasonably free to prosecute their work without interference from political or other retarding influences; fourth, educate and stimulate public opinion so that the needs of the community may be appreciated and proper standards of service may be accepted, and as a result, adequate financial and moral support may be forthcoming to make a satisfactory service program possible. This implies study, research, survey, and wise interpretative publicity. To develop a socialized public opinion is at present one of the most urgent social problems; fifth, cultivate the spirit of co-operation and harmony with all agencies doing a necessary welfare work on approved lines.

WHAT THE FEDERATIONS ARE DOING TO ACCOMPLISH THAT END

Raymond Clapp, Associate Director, Welfare Federation, Cleveland

Private agencies do not get very far by coercing public agencies into assuming added responsibility for social programs. Where such responsibilities are permanently shifted from private to public support, there must first exist an undertaking by each of the other's needs and programs, and a spirit of friendly co-operation in the early stages of which the private agency has taken the initiative and the bulk of the responsibility.

This team work between public and private agencies is developed first by friendly acquaintance between the individuals concerned; then by conference on common problems, informal and formal; by giving public officials a voice on the governing boards of private agencies; and by co-operation in specific projects in which the two have a common interest.

Methods of such co-operation which have developed under federations include: first, joint surveys in such fields as health, recreation, and child care; second, moral support by the federation of projects and budgets of public officials; third, financing by federation of demonstrations and services extending or improving the operation of public departments; fourth, lending or transferring of personnel from private agencies to public departments; fifth, provision through a social service exchange, case conference, and special committee, of machinery to make improved co-operation easy and natural. All these are examples of the methods in which federations have promoted sympathetic understanding on the part of public officials of their aims and methods, and developed a willingness on the part of the public agency to co-operate and accept increased responsibility.

What is said here presupposes that the federation and its agencies, before attempting the transfer of any project, will have done the fundamental pioneer work which should precede the turning over to tax support of any given responsibility; that is, the demonstration of the need, the development of a technique for meeting that need, and the creation of public understanding, interest, and approval for the program proposed.

Many instances are at hand in the experiences of federation cities, which seem to bear evidence supporting the statements that have just been made. Only a few of these will be mentioned in the hope that many more will be brought out in the discussion for which we are anxious to allow ample time.

Provision is made in the great majority of federations for the representation of public officials on joint committees, and it is quite generally the policy to have public officials as ex officio members of the governing body of the federation. The wisdom of this policy is indicated by the fact that in letters received from twenty-four federation executives, commenting on the subject of this discussion, nearly all spoke of the advantage and the necessity of this practice.

As soon as a federation gets on its feet financially it seems to go into the survey stage in development. A good example of a survey which resulted in increased public support to meet a social need is the Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey which recommended the building of 1,500 more hospital beds. This recommendation, backed by the federation in a strenuous publicity campaign, resulted in a bond issue for $3,500,000 for an addition to city hospital of 750 beds. These beds have recently become available and are an important factor in reducing the burden on other hospitals. They have also simplified our capital account problem by greatly reducing the urgency for the building of additional beds by private hospitals.

A number of instances are available where federation support of needed social projects initiated by public officials has resulted not only in a better spirit of co-operation between the two but in the extension of public support. For instance, the Memphis Council of Social Agencies has supported successfully the juvenile court budget before city officials, resulting in the extension of probation work under that court. Guy Justis of Denver says:

> The budget committee of the community chest feels nearly as much concern with the budget of our city department of health and charity as with the budgets of our affiliated organizations, and last fall when the council was considering budgets for these departments and threatening to cut them materially, representatives for our budget committee appeared before them and persuaded them not to cut such budgets as they had contemplated, but were able to persuade them to increase them considerably above what they had allowed previously. Our experience has been, this past year, that the city authorities are very ready to listen to any request coming from the chest officials, and I do not believe any request that we have made has failed to be approved.

Whit Pfeiffer of St. Paul reports the following experience:

> The only committee on our welfare council which has developed any appreciable amount of activity has been the committee on children's work. The chairman of this committee is the executive of the Ramsey County Child Welfare Board, and due to her splendid efforts there is a good deal being done by the committee.
>
> Their report deals with children's protective work. At the present time we have no one agency either public or private which deals either exclusively or largely with children's protective work. The humane society did some of this, the family welfare societies did some, and the Ramsey County Child Welfare Board did some. This committee has recommended that the protective work should be centered in the Ramsey County Child Welfare Board, and that a special department should be created for that work. The committee has drawn up a budget which will be presented to the board of county commissioners asking for an appropriation to establish this department of the Child Welfare Board. It provides for a supervisor and two workers, additional office space, and other necessary expenses appertaining thereto. The amount will be about $7,500.

One of the most effective ways of insuring that work transferred from private to public agencies will be operated in accordance with accepted principles is to lend or transfer people trained in the private agencies to administer the public project. In Detroit, for instance, the former associate director of the community fund is now head of the probation department of the juvenile court.

"In Wichita this year," Pierce Atwater states, "considerable assistance has been rendered the county physician with regard to hospitalization of county cases. We have placed at his disposal a trained hospital social service worker who has made recommendations, given advice and generally assisted the county physician in different phases of his work."

In many cases the federation, by subsidizing the public department, is able to influence the personnel and policies of that department. Through the tuberculosis society in Kansas City a tuberculosis clinic was established at the general hospital, and while that society still pays a fee to the doctors who have charge of it, the balance of the cost is tax-supported.

Mr. Wachs of Memphis says:

> Through the parent-teachers' association we have appointed a teacher to supervise the child who can attend school only part time. A teacher for deaf children was secured. We are paying the full salary of the latter, and part of the salary of the former. These two pieces of work will be taken over by the school board in a very short time.

Mr. Justis of Denver states:

> Our child welfare department came into touch with many infants which had been deserted or neglected and who were in need of special medical attention. None of our hospitals was able to furnish the needed service free. Conference was held with the superintendent of the county hospital, and special rooms were fitted up and a special children's nurse employed to take care of this problem, and our bureau was able to send all such cases there without cost.

"In Kansas City, Missouri," Mr. Halbert says, "the Woman's City Club, which is a member of the council, was directly responsible for establishing the out-patient department at the general hospital. It paid the salary of the original worker for some time."

Probably the most helpful form of conference to promote team work between the public and private agency is the case conference, which is usually a function of the social service clearing house, and where representatives of interested public and private agencies discuss individual family problems. The case conference brings out dramatically the folly of independent and unrelated action. It results in the division and definition of responsibility. It shows where each agency can supplement the other effectively, and it promotes that mutual understanding and willingness to consider the other person's point of view which is essential to all co-operation.

In Bridgeport, for example, representatives from the Department of Public Charities sit in the monthly meetings of the case conference committee of the council. Misunderstanding and mutual criticism had resulted from a lack of team play in handling non-resident cases. A subcommittee of non-residents with the superintendent of public charities as one member is solving this situation.

In a number of cities private agencies are much strengthened by some method of co-operation with public agencies which gives a measure of police

power or backing to private agencies. For instance Denver, through its children's bureau, discovered that private boarding-homes for children were being run under very insanitary and overcrowded conditions. An ordinance was passed requiring all such homes to be licensed, placing the administration of the ordinance under the city department of health. This department in turn appointed the superintendent of the Children's Welfare Bureau as the official investigator of all such homes. Through this co-operation this entire problem is placed under the control of the Children's Welfare Bureau.

In Cleveland the city council passed an ordinance regulating day nurseries, which ordinance was drawn by the Day Nursery Association and administered by that association as an agent of the court.

But the most vexing problem of all is probably that of outdoor relief. Enough could be said about that problem alone to occupy a full session. Relief of the indigent is clearly a public obligation, but the advertising of the average community fund campaign so strongly emphasizes the relief feature of the service of fund agencies that the public becomes less conscious of the governmental obligation in this field. Public officials in growing cities faced with demands for tax funds in excess of public willingness to be taxed, are more than likely to refuse to take over added obligations, and what is more, there is a growing tendency for them to get out from under obligations that are now carried. Rochester says:

> While we are getting better co-operation from the public agencies in the field of service, we are far from the solution of division of financial responsibility. The current of obligation seems to be flowing away from the tax-supported agencies rather than toward them. Just now, a number of different groups are working to get the public agencies to assume greater financial responsibility.

It is not an easy thing to explain why a community fund whose campaign for a million or two has just been oversubscribed for the care of the sick and the poor, should require an individual in need to go for help to the city hospital, or the poorhouse, or the outdoor relief department.

The Cleveland experience gives another side of this problem. The Director of Public Welfare of Cleveland said to the community fund:

> We have just completed an addition to the city hospital which will require several hundred thousand dollars more a year of city funds to operate. You can take over the work of the Outdoor Relief Department and do it better for half the money we are now spending, enabling us to transfer that saving to city hospital where it will relieve community fund hospitals of the expense of caring for the indigent sick.

Officials of the community fund found no arguments sufficiently convincing to warrant fighting the abolition of the Outdoor Relief Department on the eve of the annual campaign.

But while there have been some steps backward, I believe that on the whole the federation plan makes for the improvement of the relationship between public and private agencies. Even the action taking over the Cleveland

outdoor relief has already had a beneficial result, in that the old grocery counter method of distributing relief has been discontinued. Most of the families chronically receiving relief from that department are on their own feet now, and city officials have agreed that when the outdoor relief department is re-established it should be on a sound basis.

Duluth, which has just completed an extensive study of this problem, has worked out a comprehensive statement of principles covering the relationship between the poor commission and the private agency, with a description of the types of case to be referred to each agency.

The Columbus community fund is likewise engaged in a careful study of this problem and is working out with the city and the associated charities a basis for co-operation.

The effort in each of these cities is to develop some fair basis of co-operation and division of responsibility which will result in having the public agency assume an increasing share of this burden under an arrangement which will give the beneficiary the benefit of modern case work treatment.

The widespread organization of cities under the federation plan is leading to joint state-wide action which should have good results.

In Ohio the community funds are co-operating in state matters through the agency of the Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency, and a state council on mental hygiene is now in action which, we believe, will result in a material increase in state provision for care of the feebleminded. The following statement by Howard Knight of the Ohio Institute will be of interest in this connection:

> I find that the state departments that would naturally be expected to be most closely related to local social agencies, both public and private, speak appreciatively of the co-operation received by them from the welfare federation, council of social agencies, community chests, and similar organizations. The consensus of opinion is that the federation movement has furnished a better means of contact between state-wide public agencies and local private agencies than existed before.
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> Specifically, the state department of health mentions its use of the federations, and co-operations by the federation in organizing and holding clinics for crippled children and for tubercular children.
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> The division of charities mentions specifically its use of certain local agencies in inspecting boarding-homes for dependent children, and following up such children after placement in those homes. The division looks to the federation for the maintenance of good standards and for assistance in straightening out any misunderstandings or tangles that may arise. The federations have also been helpful in assisting the state department in the maintenance of standards and in the explanation to local agencies or local constituencies of the importance of standards.

To sum up, the federation plan tends toward better understanding and closer co-operation between public and private agencies; toward higher standards; and toward the development of comprehensive programs covering both private and public organizations in the social field. It unites the agencies and the contributors by a common interest into an organization that has great possibilities in the development of public opinion; and it makes it the special

responsibility of the administrative officers of the federation, its executive board, and committees to develop the spirit and habit of co-operation which alone make possible the determination of a fair division of responsibility and the willingness of those concerned to carry their share of the load.

FINANCING SOCIAL WORK

AN EXAMINATION OF THE METHODS WHEREBY FUNDS FOR BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT HAVE BEEN SECURED AND HOW METHODS MAY BE IMPROVED IN THE FUTURE

William J. Norton, Secretary, Community Fund, Detroit

Probably the original method whereby social service institutions secured buildings and endowment funds in this country, was the gift of solitary individuals moved largely to their acts by some emotional fancy of their own. Harvard University, Bowdoin College, the University of Chicago, Henry Ford Hospital, and the recent Hershey Foundation, came into existence in this way. People possessed of wealth and stirred by an impulse to be useful have been attracted to some particular kind of endeavor, usually through their own personal experiences. The story of a rich man whose office I once visited in an endeavor to interest him in a charitable enterprise illustrates the point. We had hardly begun the conversation when he pulled from a drawer of his desk a number of accumulated checks that had been meant for payments upon a pledge he had made to a certain movement, but which he had not sent. A ragged thumb-worn clipping from a daily newspaper was attached to the checks which painted a sob story of a boy suffering with tuberculosis. The gentleman said in emphatic terms that his interest had been captured by this story, and that he now planned to take the money he had previously pledged to the first organization, and adding more to it to establish an institution for the treatment of tuberculous children. Our further conversation led him to see his moral obligations in regard to his pledge, and extract a promise on my part to investigate the need for the institution which interested him. The investigation was made, and further conferences later were held in which he was convinced that the institutions already existing could adequately care for the tuberculous cases, and his money was turned into other channels.

The point I am anxious to make is that this impulsive method of creating buildings is still playing an important part in the expansion of the social service field, and that it needs constant watching on the part of community leaders in order that useful things will be created rather than those of doubtful value. Clean-cut plans of immediate future needs must be enunciated, and men and women of wealth must be knit more and more into the scheme of community organization, and into the consciousness of these plans.

Along with this original method which we have been dwelling upon, went state grants of money or of land. We have many institutions, particularly in the educational field, where the commonwealth aided and abetted their establishment by a gift from the public domain. The domain, however, has shrunk, and this method is practically out of use.

The third method is one which, for want of a better term, we will call ecclesiastical. Movements connected with the church, or fraternal societies, made up of large but exclusive numbers of people, have by processes of church collections and membership assessments created literally hundreds of organizations and institutions on this continent. That process grows and seems to have a new lease of life as the ecclesiastical machinery tunes into the great field of social service development which has been so popular in these later years. I see no reason why it should not be encouraged, but I see every reason why, like the first method I have mentioned, community organizations should penetrate the self-elected spirit prevailing in these groups, and guide them into real community membership. The field of social development is no longer a wide-open one where everyone may feel free to establish an institution irrespective of what exists, or of the plans of other people.

The next method is what we will call the solicitation of a small independent group by one man or woman or by a handful of men and women. The story of the establishment of the Anna Louise Inn in Cincinnati throws light upon this. Mr. J. O. White, superintendent of the Union Bethel, and a number of allied enterprises, undertook to increase materially the capacity of a young women's hotel which was conducted in conjunction with the Bethel, He needed for this purpose several hundred thousand dollars. Instead of conducting the usual popular campaign, he selected a very limited number of prospective givers of large means, and permitted no one to participate in the enterprise who would give less than $5,000. He saw personally each one of these givers, and by very careful planning managed to secure large gifts from each one, thereby completing his fund from an exclusive and small group.

Very recently we advised an organization of young women in Detroit, who had the necessary social connections, to employ the same method in securing $175,000 for the creation of a convalescent home in conjunction with an orthopedic clinic. Again the plan was successful. Where comparatively small sums of money are needed this method can be employed most satisfactorily. It takes, however, an individual, or group of individuals, whose standing in the community of wealth is such that the project is sold largely on personal equations.

Another method, the effectiveness of which we are inclined to ignore, is the so-called entertainment method. Women in particular have used it. A very large number of small churches whose memberships have small means only at their disposal have been erected very largely through it. I refer to bridge parties, ice cream parties, church fairs, bazaars, suppers, and enterprises of that sort.

Some years ago a group of women belonging to the King's Daughters came to us asking, if they were to create an old people's home, would we finance the current budget. We told them we would. They staged innumerable small affairs in the circle of their own friends, and within a suprisingly short time gathered enough money to buy their building; and in the next three years they doubled the capacity of their institution and paid off all their debt.

Many of us have been inclined to be scornful of this humble method, and yet I know of no reason why we should be. It is about the only recourse which groups of devoted people without means and without social standing may resort to if the impulse comes to them to add their strength to the promotion of social enterprises, at the same time keeping the control of their creations within their own hands. May I suggest also that here is a form of self-expression on the part of many who aspire to do good which is in itself a useful and advantageous contribution to the well-being of a community. Tendencies on our part to discourage the growth of self-expression of obscure people through benevolence is not wholesome for the republic. They need guidance, not discouragement.

The final method which we have time to discuss for the securing of buildings and endowments for private organizations is the now well-known campaign for funds. You all recall that it was first started by a gentleman named Ward who was the secretary of a small Y.M.C.A. His first campaigns were crude affairs compared to the refinements which he worked into the plan later when he directed dozens of such campaigns for the Y.M.C.A. all over the country. This method today is the most popular way of securing large building funds for private social work, and has been extremely effective in getting endowments for educational organizations. We are all familiar with it, and know how it is operated.

However, the ease with which a campaign may be organized, the widespread power of its solicitation, and the numbers of institutions which are inclined to use it, make it necessary for us to find some way of controlling the number and the time of campaigns in our respective communities. Many of us are at work upon this problem. Here are some of the suggestions emanating from the Cincinnati community fund, which have been made for the control of building fund campaigns:

1. The creation by the community chest and council of social agencies of a building fund committee—this building fund committee to budget the needs of the local social service organizations for a period of years, in so far as those needs can be determined by careful surveys. When the surveys are completed the building fund committee should publish for the information of the citizens the building needs of the organizations.

2. The building fund committee should request all building plans to be submitted to it for approval, and should satisfy itself that these plans conform to the long-time building program.

3. The building fund committee, in co-operation with trust companies, should establish, or encourage the establishment of a community trust fund or funds for building purposes, the moneys to be handled by the local trust companies.

4. The building fund committee, through educational means and otherwise should put forth efforts to secure bequests for building needs, and should educate the citizens on methods of leaving bequests, so that a percentage of the money so left be used for building purposes.

5. The building fund committee, before giving its final indorsement, should require the agency or institution desiring to raise funds for building purposes to secure substantial financial backing from its own board of directors, and a very limited group of its interested friends. (Not less than one-third of the amount needed should be secured in this way.)

6. In case an agency is unable to secure the backing above listed, because of financial weakness of the group requesting it, the securing of this preliminary backing, if the plans are approved by the building committee, shall be assumed by the committee or some duly appointed agents of the committee.

7. The building fund committee having approved of the building plans shall require the agency or institution to secure at least fifty per cent more of the funds needed from a selected list of prospects and by means of a quiet canvass.

8. If the agency or institution desiring building improvements is a sectarian or denominational one, the building fund committee shall require the balance of the fund needed, to be raised within the sectarian or denominational group requesting the building funds, by means of an approved campaign.

9. If the agency is a community one, the building fund committee shall permit a general campaign for the securing of the balance of the fund needed.

Propositions 5, 6, and 7 are of special importance and need special attention.

As we examine building projects we find properly and justly that they have been provided in the main by the surplus wealth of the country. The average man should not be expected to make much of a contribution to the creation of capital accounts for social service. His business is to support himself and his family, to take care of his and their emergencies, to provide for his old age, to help as he is able with the current obligations of the government, educational, religious, and philanthropic enterprises, and if he has anything left, to create a small estate to give his family an adequate start in the world. This is not my theory but the unspoken philosophy of the average man. We see it clearly at work when we realize that most of our building funds, even with the most extensive campaign machinery, are supplied by only a few thousand people, while funds for current obligations are today supplied by tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of individuals. A campaign for building funds which I recently observed producing better than a million and a quarter dollars, was contributed to by something like four thousand individuals. The community fund campaign held in the same city for current obligations was contributed to by 190,000 individuals.

TRUST FUNDS FOR SOCIAL SERVICE—LEGAL AND ETHICAL LIMITATIONS UPON THEIR USE

Frank D. Loomis, Secretary, The Community Trust, Chicago

The subject assigned me seems to take for granted that the fund or funds are already established and valid—the only question is as to their use. But since the use of such funds will be largely or wholly determined by the fact and purpose of their establishment, some comment upon their origin is pertinent.

Charitable funds depend, for their validity, upon the legal definition of charity as expressed in the law of the land or implied in the practices of governmental agencies and sustained by the courts. The definition generally accepted in the United States is the ancient English definition that "charity is a gift, to be applied, consistently with existing laws, for the benefits of an indefinite number of persons, either by bringing their minds and hearts under the influence of education or religion; by relieving their bodies from disease, suffering or constraint; by assisting them to establish themselves in life; or by creating or maintaining public buildings or by otherwise lessening the burdens of government," a very broad definition which may include practically every kind of educational, cultural, religious, or social service institution operated and maintained for the general public good, not for profit.

Under the laws of most of the states and of the federal government, charitable institutions within this broad definition, and funds given, directly or in trust, for their exclusive benefit, are exempt from taxation. Trust funds for charitable purposes enjoy, in addition, another advantage not allowed in trusts for private purposes, in that they may be established in perpetuity. Since these exemptions and privileges in any jurisdiction rest upon the definition of charity accepted in that jurisdiction, the definition is important. The rapid development in recent years of new forms of taxation and the resulting necessity of many bureaucratic regulations interpreting the law, particularly the income tax law, have given rise to serious difficulties. These regulations have been more limited than the general definition, heretofore so generally accepted, and have caused a good deal of trouble for some of the newer forms of social service institutions.

Perhaps the activities of some of these newer institutions have not been very clearly defined. And it should be observed that there are special problems involved in the administration of the income tax law, for the law holds out a new kind of exemption in relation to charitable gifts—not only is the substance of the gift itself, and its future income exempted, but the giver is allowed a special and additional reward in reduction of his income tax. Some payers of income taxes are not averse to reductions, and if reductions may be obtained by listing contributions to institutions which seem to be charitable (as a political club), some tax-payers may appear suddenly to have become generous.

The difficulties are apparent, but it should be emphasized that these difficulties are probably inherent only in the newness of the law, and it is to be hoped they will be satisfactorily adjusted soon. For they are very far-reaching in their effects. Not only are the direct contributions to non-exempted institutions concerned, but a community fund or a trust fund may not contribute to such institutions without imperiling all gifts to the fund, and the very existence of the trust itself. The most fundamental necessity of charitable trust funds is that they shall be devoted strictly to charitable purposes. That is the most primary and elemental legal limitation upon their use.

From the standpoint of law, all trusts are essentially ethical creations. They are established not by statutory law but by trust agreement, between the trustor and the trustee, and this agreement is enforcible by chancery courts, which look not to the letter of the law but to principles of elemental justice and equity. Subject to any statutory limitations which may exist, and to the rules and precedents of chancery courts, the courts will demand that the terms of the agreement be lived up to. This is a further limitation, legal or ethical, as you choose, upon the use of trust funds.

If the agreement states that the fund or its income shall be used for certain prescribed purposes, not inconsistent either with the statutory, or the common law, then the fund must be so used. If in time it develops that the prescribed purposes are impracticable or impossible of performance, an embarrassing situation may arise. Loss or obsolescence of the fund may result, and it is an important function of the modern community trust to correct such evils. The community trust agreement, accepted both by the trustor and the trustee, provides for the establishment of an impartial board or committee, to be appointed in a certain prescribed way, which board in such contingencies shall determine the further use of the fund. The board is of course under obligation, which is enforcible by chancery courts, to act in good faith and in harmony with the trust agreement; but the agreement itself usually delegates to the board very broad powers of discretion. This places upon the board a very significant ethical responsibility, or limitation, to act not only in harmony with the general wishes of the trustor and in fairness to the institutions or purposes he has named, but in harmony also with the broadest considerations of public welfare. That is the intent of the agreement.

The potential possibilities for service in this feature of the community trust plan are very great. If the trustor in his agreement, executed by trust deed in his lifetime or by bequest in his will, has named a particular institution to receive the income from his fund as long as the institution is needed and continues to operate in a successful and creditable manner, then the board of the community trust is under a moral obligation not merely to permit the income to be paid year after year, or suddenly to withhold it if the institution goes on the rocks; but it should exercise continuous watchfulness—should aid the institution, if needed, to continue to operate in a successful and creditable

manner. If the institution becomes backward in its methods, if directors lose interest or the board seems to be degenerating into inefficiency, then the community trust should point out these defects to the directors, or may well call upon the council of social agencies or other representative body of specialists to assist in rejuvenating or reorganizing it. If the institution suffers some catastrophe or is faced with some unusual financial emergency, the community trust may come to its aid by using capital funds, as permitted in the agreement, or by using undesignated funds for the time being for that purpose.

This feature of the community trust plan, this obligation or limitation as to the use of its designated funds, need only be mentioned. You will perceive its broad possibilities.

It follows that the distributing board or committee which has the responsibility of determining such matters, so important often to the life of a particular institution and to the social service program of the community as a whole, should be a board well qualified for such judicial service. The board should consist of men and women eminently qualified for the duties they are expected to fulfil—citizens of high character and intelligence, well known and respected in the community, and of broad knowledge and experience in charitable affairs. That is a requirement usually placed in the trust agreement or charter of community trusts, but it cannot be too strongly emphasized. The executive secretary employed by this board should likewise be a person well qualified by training and experience for judicial work of this character. The policies of the board with regard to the use of funds should be both conservative and constructive, such as will command the respect of people in the community who have knowledge and good judgment in such matters.

The general community trust agreement—a formal proposal offered in advance by a corporation qualified to act as a trustee, usually a trust company —may be accepted by the trustor without any alteration or limitation whatsoever. No particular institution or purpose is then designated, but only the general purposes of the trust. Entire discretion as to the particular charitable use of such funds is lodged with the community trust board. The limitations of the general agreement are usually somewhat narrower than the legal definition of charity, in that these funds must be applied without regard to sex, race, or creed, and that they must be used primarily for the benefit of the local community. Regret or objection is sometimes expressed with regard to the latter limitation, but its limiting effect must not be overemphasized. Many institutions may be of distinct benefit to the local community although they are not located in that community or anywhere near it. And institutions located in the community give local benefits although the primary objects of their benefits may be far removed. Any donor of a community trust fund may, of course, alter or abolish these limitations by noting in his agreement such exceptions as he chooses.

The question may well be raised at this point whether the tendency of community trust gifts is toward less restriction than under the old plan. The

very fact that a gift is given for a particular institution through the community trust, is in itself the removal of a limitation that the funds may be used only for this institution regardless of its future character. But the experience in community trusts thus far indicates that the great bulk of community trust funds will be given without limitation other than the limitations of the general trust agreement itself. Our experience would indicate that while there is a tendency on the part of the relatively small giver to give designated gifts, the man who gives millions is likely to give for the most part without limitation.

It is in the use of undesignated funds that the charitable trust has its greatest responsibility and opportunity. Here the trustees must not only guard the effective use of the fund, but they must initiate its use—they must exercise the function of choice. This use of the trust is a modern invention. It has developed from an experience in the administration of trust funds which has demonstrated that it is quite impossible for any individual to foresee very far in advance the detailed social needs of the future. We need not review here the reasons in favor of such undesignated trust funds for charitable purposes. It is pertinent only to remark that if the funds have been established as undesignated funds there is a very definite moral obligation upon the trustees to keep them so. They may not presume to exercise a function of future choice which the original founder has wisely refrained from exercising. All such funds should, in the very nature of the trust, remain liquid. Any obligations which may be assumed in their use should be temporary in character. The very proper limitation upon the use of such funds in this connection is that they shall not be limited.

In the use of undesignated funds the community trust may aid existing institutions; it may assist in the establishment of new institutions; or it may institute and maintain enterprises of its own. In most communities the existing institutions will doubtless come in for a large share of community trust benefits. These benefits should be distributed in such a way as will prove of real benefit to the institutions concerned. Gifts should be used to encourage productive and intelligent effort on the part of boards of directors; good business methods and progressive management; increased interest and financial support upon the part of the public generally. Certainly an institution may be definitely and permanently injured if it is permitted to depend upon gifts from trust funds when it ought to be and could be enlisting and educating new individual contributors. Community trust benefits likewise must be applied in the interests of the community as a whole. They should encourage and strengthen institutions in fields of social service which are weak; they should discourage development of new institutions in fields already overcrowded; they may in some cases encourage consolidations; they should certainly encourage measures for the prevention of duplication, and for harmonious and intelligent co-operation among particular kinds of institutions and among all the social institutions of the community generally.

These obligations or limitations upon the use of community trust funds necessitate upon the part of the community trust board not only a continuous, intimate, up-to-date, friendly, but critical knowledge of each institution applying for aid; but of all the accredited institutions in the community, of their relative merits, of the relationships which exist between them, of the standards which should apply in the various fields of service, a broad and at the same time an intensive knowledge of the needs of the community, and the relative importance of various kinds of service. Such responsibilities upon the community trust board are similar to those which are assumed by directors of community chests; but in one respect at least radically different—the community trust does not presume to be the final or sole judge as to the needs or merits of any institution; it does not assume responsibility for the community's entire needs nor for any fixed proportion of those needs; it does not seek to limit contributions from other sources—may often definitely seek to encourage them, even in cases where it withholds its own; it supplements contributions from other sources—is not a substitute for them. This distinction is drawn not for any invidious reasons nor in any derogatory sense, but simply to make clear a very important and, we feel, a very wise limitation upon the proper use of community trust funds.

Such knowledge of the needs of the community and of the capacity of social institutions involves the necessity of a great deal of social study and scientific research. Trust funds may wisely and properly be used for such purposes, not only because of the assistance to be had from such studies in determining the wise use of any trust fund itself, but also because of the general community benefits which flow from them. It is sometimes said that charitable trust funds should be used for experimental purposes. That is probably true, to some extent, if expenditures are limited to experiments which appear to be necessary or for some useful purpose.

We have spoken of the limitations upon the use of trust funds for social service—of the walls of law, custom, and public opinion built round them to restrain and direct them. It is highly proper to observe, however, that there are many open doors—doors of opportunity for constructive service, which challenge the imagination and demand the support of all men and women who love their communities and are concerned for the public welfare.

IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

CASE WORK IN PUBLIC WELFARE DEPARTMENTS

PUBLIC RELIEF OFFICIALS

Mrs. Ada Eliot Sheffield, Director, Research Bureau on Social Case Work, Boston

The question whether or not public relief officials can be expected to do case work is one that brings opposing answers. Public officials themselves often say they cannot; workers in private agencies sometimes take this same attitude and sometimes maintain that of course the public should and could do the same grade of case work as do privately endowed societies.

The answer to the question depends primarily upon what one means by social case work. Social workers using this term commonly have in mind that it includes attention to the needs of an individual family or client as to income, employment, health, education, recreation, and that these needs should be met first by making use of resources within the family and then by turning to resources in the community. When confusion arises as to who is and who is not doing case work, it is because standards of social case work vary widely in the degree of attention paid to these various needs. At one extreme of what we call case work is an intensive oversight, at the other a mere surface view of a client's difficulties. Which of these standards should we think of in connection with the work of public officials?

The most intensive care for a client's needs carries a concern with the details of his daily living, to the point where a worker becomes an intimate friend of family or client, takes a woman or child to the dispensary, plans outings, makes shopping trips with him or her, talks over each important step in life. Such requirements for intensiveness in treatment are rather increasing than otherwise. The growing interest in behavior problems and in family inter-relations as they are affected by behavior difficulties means more and more time spent over a single client. This grade of work is obviously possible only to well-equipped agencies which can limit their intake and select their clients—the best child-placing agencies aiming to give each of their visitors not more than forty children to supervise, and family agencies aiming at forty families per visitor. Even among agencies who thus limit intake, probably few carry their limiting so far as to do for all their clients all they would like. Most of them select certain clients on whom to put more careful supervision than on others, choosing for special care those whose need seems greatest or for whom they think they can accomplish most. For their other cases they do the most necessary

things, giving important, although perhaps not always thoroughgoing, assistance. This lesser standard is often what is really meant by the expression "case work." It is something between the intensive and the superficial extremes. While it may mean considerably less oversight than the most exacting standard, it does imply some attention to a client's requirements in the various directions of income, employment, health, education, recreation.

If private agencies which can limit their intake of cases do not always maintain their highest standard, we can hardly ask public officials, who in the last issue must assist anyone who needs and can never drop unpromising or unco-operative clients, to do the most intensive case work. In a recent survey of relief in one city comparison was made between a high quality of case work done by a private family agency for certain clients and that done by the public department, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. While the statement of facts was doubtless accurate, the report of the survey made slight allowance for the public department's having three times as many families to the visitor as did the private agency. The danger is that such a report, though inspired by motives of public service, may impress overburdened officials as a mere council of perfection. It is the middle standard of case work, then, which should be the goal set for relief officials, since this may, with effort it is true, be brought within the field of practical possibilities. Yet even this modest goal is not attained by relief officers who still see clients only at office hours, never visiting them in their homes. It behooves us, then, to be extremely practical in thinking out the next steps toward getting "case work" done by public departments. Four ways may be suggested by which public departments may approach this middle standard of case work:

First, the most obvious step toward this end is to increase the number of visitors in any given relief department. This can go as far as the public's attitude toward the relief budget and taxes permits. It calls for money. Probably it is to be expected that such additions to the public staff will come rather slowly.

Second, another step which many experienced persons urge is to require that relief officers be men and women with special training in case work methods. It is believed that such trained visitors would not only recognize and attend to the needs of clients with more efficiency, but that by their skilled work they would restore more clients to self-support than is done at present. This means that trained workers should be encouraged to take the civil service examinations, and that persons planning to take the civil service examinations should be encouraged to take training.

A third suggestion is that the public employ more women visitors. Women are interested in the details of personal and home life to a degree that seldom characterizes men. For this reason they are more likely to have the patience and the life-experience to do hand to hand work for clients who are only partially self-directing. They are willing to fuss over what often seem to men the small

things of life, because they realize that these small things make all the difference between comfort and discomfort, happiness and unhappiness.

Fourth, even with somewhat more public relief officers, with trained visitors, and with more women visitors, the indications are that the social worker in a public relief department will still have too heavy a load of cases to do work of the desired grade for each client. It seems important therefore that we should consider whether ways may not be found of helping with reasonable adequacy large numbers of cases. A well-trained worker, a college woman, the head of a public department doing admirable service for unmarried mothers, says that she and her staff handle their large number of cases by learning to shorten the process of investigation. She believes they become keen at sensing which sources of information given by a client or got through the confidential exchange are likely to prove most enlightening. They then consult these sources and omit the others. She admits that probably they often miss facts which would make their treatment more effective; she also grants that if they could spend more time talking with each unmarried mother they would get a better notion of the woman's character difficulties, and could doubtless help her to better purpose. But the choice lies between spending much time over one woman and turning nine others away unassisted, or doing something—the best they can—for each of the ten. In a public department the choice is predetermined—she must keep the whole ten. Besides this short-cut in investigation, she makes another in her after-care supervision. The unmarried mothers, many of them, come to see her at her office instead of her going to see them. While she would be glad to follow the mothers in their homes, she frequently finds this office contact all that is possible with few workers and many cases, and it seems to work very well. Again, she says that her department is able to do almost nothing to supply recreation for these women. This she regrets. Recreation is something which, compared with needs of food, shelter, medical care, and respectable surroundings, can be omitted at a pinch.

A short-cut of a different sort is a budget system which will make it possible for a public official to individualize budgets quickly. Such a system has been worked out by the state visitors of the Massachusetts Public Welfare Commission. It enables an official to adapt a family budget to costs of food in his own town as well as to the age and sex make-up of the family. While this system leaves the dietary needs of sickness to be considered separately, it is an important move in the direction of individualizing relief with a minimum of time and labor.

Thus far we have considered two short-cuts that are being used in getting case work in the sense of individualized care. Case work in the sense of laboratory work where intensive observation and treatment develops advances in the theory and technique of social adjustments is the highest rôle, and justification of private social agencies. This we have already set aside as not being the rôle of public agencies. In the case of material advances for human well-being

we recognize that there are two steps—the step of discovery, and the step of enabling the discovery to become of social use—the step of social appropriation. For example, indigo dye had first to be discovered as a coal tar by-product; it had then to be made available on a commercial scale, to be produced cheaply and in quantity. So also will there be these two steps in any advance of method in social adjustment. The private agency which can limit intake can try out and demonstrate the value of a new method. There will remain the problem of making it applicable on a large scale. At this point the public agency has a great social rôle in devising large-scale applications.

For instance, private case work has shown what can be done in the successful handling of individual instances of desertion and non-support. The public official, however, has the problem of applying these thorough methods on a large scale, to great numbers of offenders. The difficulty of his problem lies in the fact that the task of locating and prosecuting deserters is exceedingly time-consuming. Yet if he can bring it about that a special officer is put in charge of this one problem, he will further effective and economical large-scale application. Again, where the public has established boards of health and education, it would seem as if these authorities should have the responsibility for taking full charge of diagnosis and advice in their respective fields. The procuring of this service for individuals, taken one by one as relief officials would have to if it is done as a part of case work, is again time-consuming. If the medical and educational authorities took this responsibility, relief officers might still have to make sure that the advice given was followed, especially by their less intelligent clients. Where health and education have not yet been fully taken over as a public responsibility, and attention to medical and educational needs of clients means a running about for each case on the part of a relief officer, one hardly sees how the needs of any large number of persons are to be adequately met. Under such circumstances it would seem as if the only thing a relief officer could do would be to follow the example of private agencies and to select here and there for more thorough case work treatment a client whose need was especially urgent. Such careful work on a few cases would have the incidental effect of making the relief officer more alert to the various needs in all his clients, and would thus put him in a position to educate public opinion as to social needs.

A second way of getting treatment for numbers of cases (what might be called quantity production) is the framing of broad treatment policies. By policies are not meant rigid, unchanging rules, but rather general principles to be modified according to circumstances. It has seemed to the writer that it might be possible to draw up a set of treatment policies for public relief officers to follow, with the understanding that there would be frequent exceptions to each policy, and that from time to time, even as often as once a year, these policies should be carefully revised in the light of actual experience with a fair number of cases. For instance, one might take as a general policy that an

unmarried mother should keep her child with her for at least six months. Obviously the woman's age, health, the child's health, the industrial situation, and other factors might constitute any case an exception. At the same time here is a policy already accepted by many case workers as indicating the presumptive line of treatment for an unmarried mother during the early months of her child's life.

Another policy might be that where relief was likely to be long continued, the children of a woman with an insane husband should have a psychiatric examination, or that the children and wife of a man who had died of tuberculosis should be examined with this in mind. There might conceivably be exceptions to either of these policies.

A third policy so generally accepted that we hardly think of it as a policy at all, is that a respectable widow with minor children should be maintained in her own home. Exceptions have to be made even to this line of treatment.

Many more might be added, always having in mind that they indicate merely presumptions as to treatment. At the end of each year, say, the exceptions made to these policies might be reviewed, and the policies confirmed or modified accordingly. The important thing is that they should be constantly revised as experience moves. They would represent roughly situations which the experience of social workers has shown to be typical, recurring, and to call for a certain kind of treatment. The risk run in thus defining methods of treatment is, of course, that policies will come to be rigid, stagnant, and that clients will be dealt with inflexibly. Where public officials or case workers have only a few policies this danger is serious. The cure, however, for following hard and fast grooves of treatment is not to do without policies, but to have more of them. A public official who has only three methods of treatment for clients, for instance, $3 a week groceries in winter, $2 in summer, a quarter-ton of coal a month, or the almshouse, is certainly moving in fixed grooves. But if he has a budget system like that described, a policy of consulting medical and educational authorities for advice, a policy of pressing his clients to carry out this advice, a policy of referring non-supporting and deserting fathers to a special officer to locate and prosecute, a policy of keeping children with healthy, respectable mothers, and so on—not three but ten, twenty, times three policies —then he must choose between them, he must combine them, he must become more flexible, he must do in fact what the trained social worker does. For the trained worker does not make plans for clients regardless of the experience of other workers; he too follows policies, habits of thought and action, which however he has not formulated. And the trained worker often has an idea that his skill springs from this very lack of formulation or defining of treatment methods —that individualizing in case work is dependent upon what amounts to anarchy; whereas the refinement of process, the intensive care for clients which characterizes the successful trained worker in private agencies, arises not from this worker's being unbound by any policies, but rather from his having a larger

number of policies than has the public official, among which he chooses and combines to suit the needs of the individual client.

What with formulated policies which would help the public relief officer make intelligent, appropriate decisions rapidly, with certain medical and legal responsibilities taken over by the public, and with short-cuts, it would seem as if we might apply quantity production, "Fordizing," where there is an overburden of case work, as in public departments. To hold before public relief officers an ideal which under the circumstances is a mere Rolls-Royce dream is not what will help most. A practical thing would be to think out the next forward step for the public official who today has time for few if any home visits on clients; for the one who is ignoring deserting fathers; or the one who does not or cannot heed the health of his clients. And that next step may well be the systematizing of treatment methods so that reasonably good care may be available for large numbers of clients with an economy of the time of burdened relief officers.

CRIME AND CORRECTION

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I fear that I shall not approach this subject from the point of view that you expect. Indeed, I lack the qualifications to present it from the same viewpoint as Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, who was originally assigned this topic before she went abroad. Therefore I deem it only fair to you to warn you at the outset that I am a lawyer, and that you will hear the subject treated by what many of you are pleased to call the "legalistic mind," although one which I feel is completely socialized.

Two weeks from today I shall be present at another great conference—that of the American Bar Association, and this causes me to reflect on how widely separated are the ideas entertained in legal circles, and yours as social workers, on the subject of crime and correction—and yet how essential is team work between these two great groups if we are to make progress in the solution of problems connected with crime and correction. My intimate association with social workers leads me to believe that many of you share the idea cherished by the average layman, that the criminal law looms large in a lawyer's career, and that his supreme ambition is to represent the defendant in some celebrated murder case. To the lawyer, on the other hand, the criminal law is considered a more or less insignificant part of the whole field of law, and the average lawyer shrinks from choosing voluntarily a career in that particular specialty. The average lawyer is therefore not interested, in fact is indifferent to the problems of the criminal law. In the more than forty years of its existence, a section devoted to the discussion of the criminal law was not established in the American Bar Association until 1919.

I am told that at present there is no law school in the United States employing the full-time service for that subject of instructors in criminal law. I doubt if courses in criminology or penology appear on their curricula. If lawyers as a whole, therefore, have so little special interest in a subject falling within the purview of their profession, how much can we expect of them and of the judges and prosecutors who are chosen from them, of a sympathetic understanding of the facts and theories with reference to the relation of present-day psychology, sociology, and medical science to crime? The subject allotted to me is so intimately related to the administration of criminal justice that I feel I must briefly touch upon its more important phases.

There is now a growing realization, among the leaders of the bar, of the inadequacy of the present administration of criminal justice, and studies are being made by crime commissions and by special committees of bar associations, notably the special committee on law enforcement of the American Bar Association, headed by ex-Governor Whitman of New York, which committee took the time and trouble to visit and investigate crime conditions and the administration of criminal justice in the countries of England and France last spring. In speaking of conditions in this country this committee says: "The statement made by Chief Justice Taft a few years ago still remains true: 'The administration of criminal law in the United States is a disgrace to civilization.'"

If my understanding is correct, the group here represented is that which deals with the criminal who has been convicted and has received a commitment sentence. Your responsibility therefore begins largely where that of the legal profession, represented by the bench and bar, leaves off. If there could be a sympathetic mutual understanding and co-ordination of effort between these two groups, we could do much toward accomplishing our aim in the protection of society and the care and adjustment of the criminal.

On the one hand, we have the awakened interest of our bar associations and of our socially minded judges. On the other, we have the findings of our criminologists, penologists, psychopathologists, and medical experts which demonstrate how little the knowledge of science is being utilized in the present treatment of crime, at least so far as the adult offender is concerned. It would seem, therefore, that if real progress is to be made in the solution of the problems in connection with crime and correction, there must be a co-ordination of the efforts of the scientist, the sociologist, and the lawyer, so that our system for the administration of criminal justice may have the advantage of present-day knowledge in the field of science and sociology, and at the same time, the findings and recommendations of the scientist and sociologist may be given practical application without too great a disturbance of those fundamental rights of the individual, guaranteed by our constitution, and which the conservative American citizen so jealously guards. It is this conservatism which provides so great a barrier to the progress which seems so essential. Mr. Average Citizen, in his innocence, believes that the police, the courts, and the

correctional institutions exist for the protection of society and the punishment and elimination of those who threaten it. Unless this conception is replaced by an understanding of our plans for humanizing and socializing methods in the treatment of offenders, we should not be surprised when he talks of "coddling" prisoners and the responsibility of such methods for the so-called crime wave.

The late James Bronson Reynolds has well said that the fundamental causes of crime lie deep in physical and mental deficiency, in emotional deficiency, in moral perversity, in unfortunate heredity and debauching environment, and in the stupidity and injustice of our imperfect social and political system. It is not my purpose, even were I qualified, to advocate remedies for these fundamental causes of crime, but I am confident that we can do much if we will reconstruct our present method of dealing with crime through the police, the courts, and the corrective systems.

In comparing our American system with that of England and France, the American Bar Association committee found it to compare most unfavorably with that of those countries in the detection of crime, in the long delays attendant upon our trial and appeal system, and the lack of finality of our judgments. The study would seem to indicate that if there is a deterrent to crime, that deterrent lies not so much in the punishment rendered as in sureness of detection and arrest, celerity in trial and conviction, and the certainty of receiving a sentence which will not be lightly set aside upon appeal. The remedy for increasing the certainty of detection is in the freeing of our police departments from politics, adequate training, and adequate pay for the men, so that a higher type of personnel is available.

To lessen our present inordinate delays we should consolidate the criminal courts in our cities into one court of general criminal jurisdiction, where there can be no trial *de novo*, where plea and sentence are possible upon arraignment, where grand juries are eliminated, and the contested criminal actions are tried upon information filed by the prosecuting attorney. Our entire criminal procedure, including the laws of evidence, should be so modified that the trial, in fact as well as in theory, is confined to the single idea of arriving at the truth. The report of the Bar Association committee, already referred to, contains the following statement: "Our appellate courts too frequently do not make their chief concern the question as to whether or not justice was done, but whether the court proceeded according to the rules." Chief Justice Taft has said: "The trial of a criminal seems like a game of chance, with all the chances in favor of the criminal, and if he escapes, he seems to have the sympathy of a sporting public." We must begin, therefore, by eliminating from our criminal courts the medieval idea of a contest. When the truth has been ascertained, and if conviction results, the defendant should not be immediately sentenced, but he should be remanded so that a complete case study may be made. With the conviction of the defendant, the primary functions of the court have been

fulfilled. The facts with reference to the commission of the crime have been determined, and the status of the defendant has been fixed. The fixing of this status by conviction is the warrant, the excuse, for the state to interfere with the freedom of the defendant. Already many of our courts are realizing that every sentence pronounced should be based upon social as well as legal considerations—that it is impossible to make a suitable disposition of any case without adequate insight into the social, physical, mental, and emotional history of the defendant. To secure such information the court needs the services of a physician, psychiatrist, psychologist, a case supervisor, and a sufficient number of trained social workers. The first three might be attached to the court or to a community clinic. The case supervisor and the social workers would naturally be the chief probation officer and staff. With this equipment, a complete case history may be made, and recommendations from specialists will be available to the judge for a proper disposition of the case.

The law should be so elastic as to permit wide latitude in the matter of sentence. To do this the law must be so modified that after conviction the individual and not the crime will be dealt with. All fixed and determinate sentences should be abolished by law. It has been suggested that there be but two types of sentence—probation and commitment. If a commitment sentence is pronounced, it should be indeterminate, and to a clearing-house institution, such institution to be under the control of some administrative board, commission or department, such as the department of public welfare, board of charities, board of control, parole commission, or whatever name you may wish to give it. When commitment is once made, the jurisdiction of the court over the individual should be superseded by such administrative board or department. To it should come, from the court, such case histories as have been prepared prior to commitment.

This clearing-house should have psychopathic and medical clinics, case supervisors, and an adequate number of trained social workers. Attached to the staff of the administrative board there should be a sufficient number of parole officers. It is suggested that the personnel of the administrative board include representatives of the medical and legal professions, the bench, psychiatrists, sociologists, and penologists.

By this system there could be sorted out the mentally defective, the mentally diseased, the emotionally unstable, and other types of offenders. An original commitment having been made, the procedure to be followed by the board would be merely that of transfer to the appropriate institution, or a release on parole under such supervision and terms as may be fixed by the administrative board.

New Jersey has adopted the clearing-house idea, with reference to delinquent women and girls, but as it has been explained to me, it is intended as a part of the court machinery. The institution has not yet actually been set up. All courts having power to make commitments of women offenders to a state

institution may after conviction remand the defendant to the state clearing-house for a period of thirty days, for observation and study. The defendant will then be returned to court with a recommendation by the clearing-house as to her disposition. It will not be mandatory upon the court to follow this recommendation in its disposition of the case.

In whatever form the clearing-house may be adopted, it seems to be the most hopeful idea yet proposed. The sifting and sorting process and the continual case work will substitute individual, in place of mass treatment, will permit a thorough knowledge of each offender, his antecedents, his training, his family tendencies, his associations, his motives, his congenital defects, and his reactions toward society. It would seem to offer at last a really constructive and at the same time practical program, in which the vindictive treatment of the offender may be replaced by that individual and human emphasis which takes into consideration both the best interests of society and the well-being of the offender.

THE RELATION OF A BOARD OF PUBLIC WELFARE TO THE PUBLIC

Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, Commissioner, State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, Raleigh

Under the title of "The Relation of a Board of Public Welfare to the Public," the chairman of this division has asked me to emphasize two points: (*a*) What is the popular reaction, if any, to a department of public welfare and how may the department meet the reaction; and (*b*) To what extent may we accomplish educational results through publicity of various kinds?

Obviously the reaction of the public depends to a large extent upon the thoroughness with which the department or board seeks to carry on its duties and promote its program; and this in turn is determined by the power and scope of the department, the ability, personality, and training of its staff, and its financial resources. There are great variations along these lines in the several states. But as no state refuses to undertake something for its socially maladjusted, even though there is wide divergence in power, practice, and organization, there is enough in common between all official agencies to make the things I shall discuss more or less familiar and generally applicable.

In no one particular do state boards of public welfare or charities vary so much as in their connection with state institutions, though most of them seem to have at least general supervision and power of investigation. In North Carolina there existed a number of well-established state and private institutions before the state board of public charities was expanded into the Board of Public Welfare with sufficient power and appropriation to employ capable people satisfactorily to supervise state institutions or investigate private ones. It is probable that the same conditions exist elsewhere. Frequently state insti-

tutions are governed by boards, often self-perpetuating, entirely disassociated from the state board in so far as selection is concerned. Why is it necessary or just, such boards may ask, that we be subjected to state inspection, supervision or direction? Haven't we been running our institutions for many years without side help? Why the sudden need for change or assistance? The answer to this is, of course, proof that with the advice of an unprejudiced agency such as a state board of public welfare the institutions may be more efficiently, humanely, and economically administered. Proving this, however, is sometimes apt to create a resentful and occasionally even hostile attitude on the part of institutional boards and officials. The best remedy for this that I know of is enduring patience and tactfulness on the part of the state agency; a real desire to be helpful rather than merely to exercise power; an honest attempt to understand the point of view of the institutions supervised rather than effort to force one's point of view on them. A time usually comes, sooner or later, when a state board has opportunity to abandon the rôle of critic and assume that of a friend in need.

Penal institutions present the most difficult of all problems of state supervision. For two reasons this is true. First, the administration of penal institutions has very generally been one of the spoils of politics, and it is hard to change the public attitude, and especially the politician's attitude, toward this. Second, when it comes to the treatment and care of offenders against the law, the public mind is less progressive and humane than it is in regard to any other group of maladjusted folk. The idea of society's revenge against the criminal, as proper, is still widely prevalent in the public mind. Therefore the agency which tries to handle penal institutions in a modern and constructive way has only a modicum of intelligent public opinion to support it.

State boards like those in North Carolina, Virginia, Minnesota, Missouri, and others perhaps, which have a certain amount of control of county agents or agencies of public welfare, without giving financial support, have always to combat a feeling by the counties against centralization of power on the part of the state. It is doubtless equally true in other states, but in North Carolina the desire for local self-government in the counties has often become so exaggerated that it is merely the doctrine of states' rights gone to seed. Hence it becomes one of the state board's most difficult responsibilities to show local governing bodies how no one county can be outside or separate from a comprehensive state-wide program that includes adequate care and protection for all those in need of help; that while, without state supervision, one county might have an organization for public welfare with progressive and modern standards, another might have one far below the line; and that a state is obliged to secure equality of care and protection for all its people. Needless to say, it is especially difficult to keep politics out of a county organization. When, in 1919, a law was passed in North Carolina making it mandatory that counties with a certain population should have a superintendent of public welfare, there was little

opposition to it. Here was another plum dropped into the political basket to be passed out to the faithful. But the fruit proved to be not quite so juicy as it first appeared, for there is a clause in the law which says that a county superintendent of public welfare must have the approval of the state board. This power the board has tried to use honestly and conscientiously for the purpose of getting efficient people to fill the county office. Consequently each time the legislature meets several counties make an effort to abolish the office, partly for this reason.

Consider last of all the tax-payer who demands results in return for his money. His is a very understandable attitude. Good roads, schools, concrete institutions; these are all tangible evidences of where his money goes. But what does he get out of this welfare work? Showing him is a difficult but not impossible task.

Education of the public in regard to the objects and methods of public welfare through publicity will, I believe, do most to lessen any unfavorable reaction to this work, whether it relates to prison problems, difficulties of county organization or the answer to the tax-payer's query, "What am I getting for my money?"

We must remember that during this process of social evolution when boards of public welfare, with more or less inclusive powers and scope, have developed from the old board of charities possessing limited power and scope, social leadership has far outstripped general popular thought. Boards or departments of public welfare which have come to life within the past ten years, so far as I am able to learn, have been the result of the far-sightedness of a small, a very small, group of people. So these boards were born of plans made out on paper, and were put down on the people; they were not the result of a growth from the bottom up. Consequently boards of public welfare have a big educational job to perform—one of their most important functions. In a large majority of cases opposition to the work of the state board is due to ignorance or misapprehension as to what the board is trying to accomplish, and one of the best ways to reduce this opposition is to make the objects clear by publicity. There are a number of ways of doing this, through the newspapers, in special feature stories as well as news stories, by the spoken word, by specially prepared exhibits, through special bulletins and publications issued by the board itself. One of the important members of the staff of the board of public welfare is the publicity director. To know what is news, to see a good story, to prepare material in an interesting and acceptable way for newspapers is an art in itself. But publicity is as essential to the stability and growth of a state board as the favorable public opinion which the right kind of publicity assures.

I once remarked that it is my constant aim to keep the public welfare work in my state out of politics and to put religion and common sense into it. Public welfare officials must make people see that we have a practical program that will save the state money by bringing about more economical and efficient

administration of public institutions. We must make them see that it is more economical and humane to give the pre-delinquent child such care and training as he needs than continue to build institutions to care for delinquents. We must make people see that the segregation and prevention of increase of the mentally defective is absolutely essential for the purification of our blood stream. In other words, we must make them see that effective public welfare is a common sense measure. This is largely a matter of education. We must let the people know clearly what we are trying to do and why. When the public is better informed of what public welfare means they will support it more heartily.

As to religion and public welfare, I have found that the churches, when once interested in the public welfare program, are generally glad to give it their support. I think probably the most valuable thing I have done during the past year has been to interest the church people of my state in the welfare program. Speaking before many church meetings, I have said in effect:

> You say that you believe in Christian social service; I do not know how to distinguish between Christian social service and the work being done by the state board of charities and public welfare. The work of the board seems to me to be Christian, if Christianity is a religion of active service that seeks to relieve distress and to better human life. The state's public welfare program is directly in line with the spirit of service which is supposed to animate the churches, and hence has definite claim upon their support.

Usually the religious denominations are glad to be shown how their own social service programs can be made to co-ordinate with the state program.

Another source of support is in the civic organizations, such as the Rotarians, Kiwanians, and so on; and unfailing supporters are the women's organizations. By interesting the churches, the civic organizations, and the women's organizations in public welfare, one can muster behind the work a body of influence that will give even the politicians pause, and do much to hasten the growth of general public opinion favorable to public welfare.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC WELFARE DEPARTMENTS AND THEIR REMEDIES

DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITY

Richard K. Conant, Massachusetts Commissioner of Public Welfare, Boston

In the last decade in public social work the departmental form of government has been making great strides. The older form of government in public social work was government by boards rather than departments, by boards of trustees of institutions, and by supervisory state boards of charities. It had some advantages over the departmental form. It had the advantage of fixing responsibility for the management of an institution upon its board of trustees. The supervisory board of charity could devise policies and in a supervisory way

secure their acceptance by institutions, it could co-ordinate the functions of the institutions and it could stimulate the growth of the entire service, but it did not attempt to manage the institutions from the state house; it did not attempt to prescribe in matters of detail the exact procedure. The responsibility for the management of an institution was left with the local board of trustees.

The departmental form of government is an attempt to fix responsibility in government upon departmental heads directly responsible to the governor. In it there is a very strong tendency to centralize at the state house the responsibility for the administration of the institutions. And yet those at the state house do not feel that they are really responsible for the management of the institutions, and they do not desire to take away from the superintendent and trustees their initiative or interest. They usually recognize that the ultimate responsibility should be placed at the institutions, decentralizing administrative responsibility and centralizing only the supervision and the development of policy.

The result of this conflict between the tendency to centralize and the desire to leave institutional boards of trustees is often a division of responsibility which is dangerous. It is not, I believe, a diffiiculty so serious that sensible people will not easily overcome it with sufficient thought, but it mystifies the officers who are too busy to think out the philosophy of it, and it irritates even the more philosophical when they are busy.

During the same period when the departmental form of government has been developing, there has come along the economy and efficiency movement with temporary and permanent efficiency commissions. These two reform movements spring from the same general sources and yet it is interesting to note that the economy and efficiency reform usually adopts as a style of organization for its own agency (the efficiency commission) the board form which it discards for the rest of the government in favor of the departmental form.

These two allied movements, one for the departmental form of organization, the other for economy and efficiency measures such as central purchasing, central printing supervision, central personnel supervision or control, central engineering supervision or control, and central budget supervision or control, are apt, as they progress, to make serious divisions of responsibility. Central purchasing, for example, may come to the point where the patients are seriously affected by the delay in getting potatoes, unless the steward realizes that the central purchasing system hasn't really relieved the institution of the responsibility for feeding patients. Central purchasing of beef, with the inspection and stamping at the point of distribution of a sample portion of the lot, may let pass to the institution some sides which are far below specifications and may seriously affect the patients unless the steward realizes that the primary responsibility for good beef still lies with the institution. The purchasing agent may insist upon buying more of an article than the steward can keep, e.g., putting into storage more eggs than the steward thinks wise. In that conflict all must

remember that the responsibility for serving musty eggs in Lent will be upon the institution. These instances of the danger of divided responsibility are not imaginary; they, with many others, occurred in Massachusetts during the last year, and they required a great deal of patient and wise philosophy to avoid public controversy. Fortunately, we have a sensible purchasing agent, and we have a tradition of institutional responsibility.

So with the other features of the economy and efficiency program. A wise director of personnel realizes that he can only set up general scales of salaries, and that within those limits he must leave the detailed increases to the superintendent and trustees of an institution, or to the head of a department. A director of personnel cannot abolish positions without assuming a responsibility for the management of the work for the full consequences of which he would not be willing really to be held responsible. As long as he sticks to supervision and guides the policy of increases uniformly for all the institutions and departments, he performs a useful service. Central engineering supervision is helpful when it is good, when it shows each institution how it compares in efficiency of power plants with all the others, and makes recommendations for improving the efficiency. When it assumes so great a responsibility for the direction of detail that it undertakes to operate the boilers and engines and interferes with the management of the plant, it becomes dangerous to life. Supervision of printing is helpful when it calls attention to unwise extravagance and unnecessary forms and publications. When it cuts down publications to such an extent that they become useless or cuts out a publication which is an essential function of a department or institution, it is really an attempt to control the policy of the department or institution. It assumes a portion of the responsibility when it would be unwilling to assume entire responsibility and take the consequences. Budget supervision is helpful when it arranges equitably the departments' respective shares in progress; but when a central supervisory board attempts to dictate in detail how the money shall be spent, it relieves the department or institution of responsibility for control.

Now, as I have said, with sensible people in charge, the difficulties of divided responsibility, after causing much irritation and argument, can be reasonably well overcome. They will be more easily overcome, I believe, if we leave the responsibility for the management of the institution with its own board of trustees. In this matter public departments have varying practices. Some departments have no boards of trustees; the departmental form of organization has proceeded so far that it makes one commissioner at the state house responsible for the institutions of the department. In my department, the central authority, formerly a board of charity, now a commissioner with a strong advisory board, has never attempted to exercise control, but merely supervision. Control has been left definitely with the boards of trustees of each institution. Now that the departmental form of organization and the efficiency commission have been given great strength in Massachusetts by constitutional amendment

and statute, my department insists that the power at the state house must be supervision rather than control, that the responsibility for the management of the institutions never has been centralized at the state house and never should be centralized at the state house; and we have boards of trustees and superintendents who are strong enough to hold up their end of this argument.

To place the entire final responsibility for management with the institutional boards, to strengthen them in every possible way, and to make the supervisory authorities of all sorts exercise supervision rather than control is, I believe, the best way to avoid division of responsibility. If everyone keeps that principle in mind, it prevents, as far as it can be prevented, the irritation and conflict which arise in every day's work from an apparent division of responsibility.

THE MERIT SYSTEM IN SOCIAL WORK

Fred Telford, Bureau of Public Personnel Administration, Washington

My experience leads me to believe that social workers, like almost all other people, regard the merit system with mixed emotions. Theoretically they are very much in favor of it. Their practice accords with their theory when some political faction or some politician desires to place in a position which ought to be filled by a trained social worker some person whose main or only qualification is that he has rendered service to the political organization or has some political or family connections which make it necessary to find a place for him. When all is running smoothly, however, social workers, like a great many others, are inclined to regard the merit system as a hampering influence which keeps them from quickly filling vacant positions with trained social workers whom they know to be available and competent. When the persons administering the merit system fail to use resourcefulness in getting qualified persons to file applications, or use tests which really do not get at the basic qualifications necessary, or apparently move with the deliberation characteristic of glaciers, I have known social workers to damn the merit system out of hand and to assert in unmeasured terms that they would be better off without it. In a word, people engaged in social work, as far as I have been able to observe them, have a very friendly attitude toward the merit system; this attitude is intensified in hours of trial, but has a tendency to fade away when the world looks pleasant.

Those of us who are responsible for the administration of the merit system naturally feel considerable concern about the attitude social workers take toward us. We are not satisfied merely to have them stand shoulder to shoulder with us at such times as spoils politicians and others are making onslaughts on both the merit system and social organizations in the public service. We feel the time is long past when the merit system should be favorably regarded solely because it affords one means of thwarting the desires of those who would

debauch the public service. We believe that if the merit system is to retain the place it now has in our government machinery and is to become a stronger influence in making our country a better place to live in, it has a positive as well as a negative function. Its positive function, we believe, is to provide the most effective means for securing and retaining in the public service the most competent and best qualified persons from among all those available. It is just at this point that our friends, the social workers, seem inclined to part company with us, though this is the exact stage at which we most feel the need of their sympathetic understanding and assistance.

Modern personnel management in the public service has developed to the point where if there is proper administration it affords the best means that has yet been devised to realize the maxim, "The best shall serve the state." The usual conception of a civil service examination, as I well know, is that it consists largely or entirely of academic questions having no relation to the work which the persons taking the examination will have to do if they are successful and are appointed. This conception, however, has little foundation in fact. The well-administered civil service commission in these days gives tests which are slightly or not at all academic in character, but which deal with the education and record of the persons applying for positions, with their knowledge of the duties of the positions to which they seek appointment, with the personal traits they should possess, and, in the case of social workers, with their knowledge of social agencies, methods of investigating and dealing with cases, juvenile and other laws relating to social problems, and, in general, with social science to the extent that the successful employee of a particular kind must know and apply it. If there is any better method than this of determining whether any given individual does or does not possess the necessary qualifications for social work, or for determining which of two persons who do possess these qualifications have them to the greater degree, I have not been able, after diligent search, to discover it.

Even if there is agreement as to the sort of tests that ought to be given in selecting social workers—and I take it that nobody would deny that tests of some kind must be given, even though they consist of nothing more than a letter of application or an informal interview—sincere well-meaning people may still disagree as to who should give the tests. I am not going to detail the arguments for and against selection by the appointing authority at the head of the social agency, or by the central employment agency. As a matter of fact, in most of our large jurisdictions, the latter has already been designated by law, and the sensible thing is for everybody to co-operate with the civil service commission so as to enable it to make the best possible selection. We who are engaged in civil service administration are perhaps more acutely aware of our shortcomings than those who look at us from the outside and find fault with the things we do and fail to do. I am of the opinion, however, that it is only in very rare cases indeed that a civil service administrator is so pig-headed or stupid or unen-

lightened as to fail to recognize or heed helpful advice when it is offered him. In a word, if the tests for social workers in any jurisdiction are not what they ought to be, I feel very sure that anybody proposing improvements will be given a respectful hearing by the civil service administrator responsible for the tests, and will not find it very difficult to secure the adoption of any suggestions which have in them real merit.

In this connection I should like to point out one of the difficulties in the way of proper selection of social workers, which unfortunately is imposed by law in most jurisdictions. That is the preference in civil service examinations which must be given to veterans. Unfortunately, it seems to me, there has been considerable confusion of thought on the part of those who brought about the enactment of these preference laws. Whatever may be our attitude with regard to the recognition and rewarding of those who served in time of war—and I am one of those who believe in recognition and liberal treatment—I cannot believe that much good can possibly result through introducing a complex social problem, such as the rewarding of deserving veterans, into a complex employment problem, such as the administration of the merit system. Personnel administration at its best is in these days a rather crude science, and at its worst it is a rule of thumb process which is none too certain in its workings. The system, moreover, is constantly under attack from people who misunderstand what it is and what its aims are, as well as from politicians who know exactly what it means and how they intend to evade it. The introduction of such an issue as veterans' preference generally acts as a very effective smoke screen to enable the enemies of the system to accomplish their designs under cover, and in addition hopelessly confuses the great mass of people already none too clear in their thinking, as well as the conscientious civil service administrator who no longer can tell how his tests are working and what results he ought to get and is getting. Moreover, as far as I have been able to observe, the veterans' preference provisions in our civil service laws have not served to settle or appreciably to alleviate the social problem involved. The net result, it seems to me, has been to give the veterans a stone when they want bread, to confuse the thinking with regard to the merit system, and to introduce additional difficulties in civil service administration. It would be better for all concerned, I believe, in dealing with the veterans, if their problem were handled separately, and if this additional means of debauching the public service—for politicians and others are using it for that very purpose—were not injected into an employment situation already complex.

In conclusion, I wish to point out that what I have said, if it has any merit at all, merely indicates the need of understanding the aims, methods, and results of the merit system before praising it lavishly or condemning it roundly. Undoubtedly there is room for a great deal of improvement in civil service administration. Those of us engaged in attempting to bring about such improvement are highly desirous of a sympathetic understanding on the part of social workers, whom we regard as among our best friends, and bespeak their aid in the efforts we are making.

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT

J. E. Hagerty, Dean, College of Commerce and Journalism, Ohio State University, Columbus

The three periods of public welfare administration in the United States are first, from 1870 to 1900; second, from 1900 to 1917 or 1920; third, from 1917 or 1920 to the present time.

In the first period, from 1870 to 1900, each of the state institutions was under the control of a separate board which had general charge of the administration of the work of the institution. In this period usually a state board of charities, an unsalaried non-partisan or bipartisan board, appointed by the governor of the state, exercised advisory and supervisory functions over the various state institutions, state local welfare work, and in a small measure over private philanthropies.

The second period begins with the organization of state boards of administration, called by various names, in which one board made up usually of a small number of people, often a bipartisan board, exercises administrative and executive control over all the state institutions and the public welfare of the state. In this form of organization the board of state charities continues to exist or may not exist.

The third period really begins with the Illinois law of 1917 in which we have the centralization of executive and administrative functions in one individual, appointed by the governor, who holds office only while the governor remains in office, and is usually a member of his cabinet. This system is sometimes known as the Federal Plan. Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and several other states have either adopted the Federal Plan or some modification of it.

When we think of legislative control of public welfare departments, I presume we are inclined to think of this third period of development of public welfare work in the United States. However, it is conceivable that legislative control may also apply to the first and second periods of the development of welfare work. When I was first invited to discuss this subject, I declined, on the theory that the subject "Snakes in Ireland" had been assigned me—in other words, there is no such thing as legislative control of public welfare institutions. A more careful consideration of the subject led me to see that something might be said on it, and as I have very definite convictions, I saw no reason why I should decline the responsibility of expressing my views.

There are three ways in which supervision and control can be exercised by the legislature:

First, budgetary control. In every case, public welfare departments, or similar organizations of whatever name, must present to the governor and state legislature a statement of its annual receipts and expenditures, and upon the basis of these, it makes its recommendations for increases, decreases, and expenditures for new work for the period over which the legislature exercises control. These departments, moreover, make recommendations with reference

to changes in legislation, and often lobby to secure the passage of desirable legislation. Finance committees of both the House and the Senate discuss the budgetary recommendations and often visit state institutions and make recommendations to their respective houses for legislative action. This form of legislative control of public welfare work has always been exercised, and in the very nature of things, the exercise of such authority and control must be continued.

The second method of legislative control is the supervision of public welfare departments by standing committees of the legislature. One case of such exercise of authority by the legislature is that of the state of Massachusetts. Quoting from its commissioner:

> We have a legislature in session six months in each year and it prescribes the laws under which the department is operative. It leaves to us the detailed administration of the laws subject to such supervision as it imposes. Its committees are helpful to the departments and try to co-operate with us. The Committee on Public Institutions has a real interest in the institutions of the state and makes very helpful visits and good suggestions about their management from a lay point of view. The Committee on Ways and Means, formerly considered quite a bugbear, now exercises a kind of supervision which has come to seem more reasonable since we have had a Department of Administration and Finance with certain supervisory powers.
>
> Each Department, including the Department of Administration and Finance, reports to and gets its power directly from the legislature. We do not have the cabinet system of government. It seems to me that we find in the supervision of the legislature a safeguard against too rapid overturns which we might not find in a cabinet system of government. There are, of course, difficulties in the way in which a legislature must conduct its business, but on the whole I think that the popular will gets its proper effect and unwise expressions of it are prevented by the system of checks and balances. A good deal of latitude is given to the departments in interpreting legislation.

I am not aware of the fact that any other state exercises the degree of legislative control as is exercised by the state of Massachusetts. However, the mention of the Massachusetts plan will serve as an illustration of this form of control. It will be observed that the situation in Massachusetts is peculiar in this sense that the legislature is in session approximately six months of every year. In most cases in the American states, the legislature meets only once in two years, and then remains in session only a few months; consequently, any degree of legislative supervision exercised by committees of the legislature would have to be carried on while the legislature itself is not in session.

The third form of legislative supervision is exercised by investigative commissions which go over the work of the public welfare departments or state welfare institutions. These legislative investigating commissions are appointed because of real or imaginary mismanagement, or because of a desire of the party in power to make a disadvantageous showing of the opposite party. In the very nature of things legislatures can always exercise this control. This sort of thing lessens with the decline of political control and will ultimately practically cease with the disappearance of political control. Under political management, officials are often incompetent, and even when competent and very

desirous to do their duty, ambitions of opposite parties may interfere with their successful management of welfare work.

This form of legislative control should be for all practical purposes abandoned, although state legislatures will always exercise this right. When our public welfare institutions and welfare work are placed upon a nonpartisan and non-political basis, there will be no more occasion for the use of investigative commissions to pass on their efficiency than there is at the present time, for such commissions in controlling the higher institutions of learning, the state universities, and the state normal schools of different states. These institutions are now placed upon a basis where they are practically free from partisan or political control of any sort, and it should be the ambition of all who have the highest interest of public welfare work at heart to place public welfare work and public welfare institutions upon a basis where they are as free from partisan and political control as are our state universities and our state normal schools.

The first form of control as I have described it, budgetary control, we have always had and always will have. A more intelligent point of view of the legislative committees in investigating budgets and making reports is of course very desirable, and all efforts should be made to increase the intelligence of legislative committees with reference to these things.

The only question at issue, it seems to me, is as to whether state legislatures through standing committees should exercise supervision over public welfare work as is the case in Massachusetts. The experiment in Massachusetts may be a success and the plan in Massachusetts may be satisfactory for Massachusetts. This may be an individual case. I am convinced that this form of supervision cannot be successfully carried out in the great majority of states in the American union, and for the following reasons:

First, because of the lack of intelligence on the part of the average legislator, and the incapacity of legislative committees to survey the work of welfare departments and to appraise results. The average legislator is no more intelligent than the average citizen, on public welfare work and its supervision, and the meddling of political interests in matters which in no way should have the taint of politics is the great disadvantage of this system.

Second, the average legislature is in session only a few months every two years. While they are in session, the members are occupied with a great many things. They are too busily occupied to make anything like an intelligent investigation as to the needs and requirements and the efficient management of welfare institutions and welfare work. Placing this sort of thing in the hands of legislative commissions would almost place a veto power in the hands of the ignorant.

Third, legislators are party men, and this of itself should disqualify them in supervising welfare work. If they are thorough party men, decisions will often be made with reference to the political advantage of their party. Even though they should try to conduct their work without any partisan intentions, the fact

that they are party men would lead many to make assumptions unwarranted which would likewise interfere with the efficiency of their supervision.

Fourth, it is unnecessary to state before this body that technical knowledge and technical skill are necessary to make surveys of any kind, and especially social welfare surveys leading to the appraisal of results. This conclusion would of course altogether exclude a legislative committee from participation in the supervision of welfare work.

Fifth, it is the duty of legislators to legislate and not to administer. It is their duty to make laws governing the activities of welfare work, to lay down the rules of a very general character under which the welfare work is to be conducted. Welfare departments should be removed entirely from partisan and political control. This work should be placed in the hands of the trained, the experienced, and the competent, and when this is done, we will have absolutely no need of legislative supervision or even of civil service.

FINANCIAL RESTRICTIONS

L. A. Halbert, Executive Director, Council of Social Agencies, former Superintendent, Department of Public Welfare, Kansas City

The difficulties caused by financial restriction may be divided into two classes: first, restrictions that so limit the budget as to make it inadequate; and second, restrictions that cause the budget to be unwisely or unjustly applied to the various phases of the program.

The budget allotted to the department is usually based on estimates prepared by the head of the department after consultations with his assistants. The estimates have to pass inspection and perhaps be revised by higher officers. Finally, the appropriations to cover the budget must be passed by some legislative body. Ultimately, the size of the budget is limited by what the voters will stand for in the way of taxation. How much money should the people spend on the welfare department, anyway?

That depends. We should not spend enough money in that department to make life easier for the beneficiaries of the department than it is for the supporters of it. If we maintain ideal conditions and programs for prisoners and inmates of industrial schools and the inhabitants of other public institutions, we arrive at a situation in which we spend more money on trying to make something out of the incompetent and defective members of society than we do in utilizing and improving the good normal human material which is going to waste for lack of cultivation. This is obviously an illogical policy. The public should give custodial care, on a scale of living not higher than that attainable by the family of the self-supporting common laborer, to the defective and delinquent members that hamper or menace society. Any society can

afford this. As a business proposition, we may safely spend any amount of money to utilize or develop the dependent, defective, or delinquent members of society so that they will cost less. In carrying out such a process of salvaging the lost material of society, it is true that the returns on the capital invested may be deferred so that the books cannot be balanced annually, but if the ultimate net gain is really demonstrated, the investment should be made.

Another type of work is devoted to controlling the conditions of living, such as insanitary housing, injurious working conditions, or immoral environment. In making his budget, the administrator cannot go back of the law to say how much legal regulation of the conditions of living there should be. He must have a sufficient force to carry out the inspections and enforce the regulations charged to his department by law.

The third line of work to be provided for in the budget is such services as are furnished by legal aid bureaus, employment bureaus, etc., for self-supporting citizens. I am inclined to think that these should ultimately be supported mainly by fees.

The establishment of public work for the unemployed, and industries for institution inmates, are important welfare activities that can often be self-supporting. For example, the operating of branch farms at institutions can be greatly expanded and make it possible to care for more people without any increase of appropriation from tax funds.

Of course those who sponsor the department of public welfare must persuade the budget-making officers and the legislature to provide the money. In places where keeping down taxes is the main achievement by which the public officers expect to commend themselves to their constituents, the first line of defense is to show how dangerous is the policy of neglecting, abusing, or underfeeding the poor, and how unwise it is politically to give any campaign stories along that line to the enemy. The presentation of precedents both locally and from outside to justify the budget is also a good line of defense. That is, the executive may show that he is only asking what others already have had and what he has formerly had. The presentation of comparative cost figures to show efficiency and economy is another good line of argument. The opponents of the budget will seldom have anything but a general desire to save money or to force some political concession by opposing the budget. They can seldom present any data to show that they know what they are talking about. The executive should not yield to pressure and to fear and voluntarily cut his budget below what he really thinks is justified. He should put the responsibility for making unwise cuts frankly and directly on those who have the power.

If improper motives are known to be behind any opposition to a budget or schedule, it is a good idea to bring that out into the open if possible. Sometimes opposition can be traced to people whose interests have been affected by some action of the department taken in line of duty. The statement of what experience lies behind the opposition will sometimes effectively kill it. The

changing of details by the budget-making authorities or the legislature may be a very serious matter. I remember on one occasion when the passing of the salary schedule of the board of public welfare in Kansas City was held up several weeks by a councilman on the finance committee in an unsuccessful effort to force an increase in salary for a favorite he had on the staff of the department. On another occasion, I remember how a state legislature cut the salary of the executive of the State Board of Charities and Corrections below the salary of his chief assistant in an effort to force him out of office. This placed a serious financial restriction on the board, not only in regard to employing that particular secretary, but in securing his successor. Such a procedure should bring severe public censure on those who perpetrated it.

The city council in Kansas City always approved a schedule of positions and salaries that gave quite a little flexibility in the matter of what program of activities could be carried on under it. If it had been necessary to specify just what research work would be undertaken in detail, it would have prevented us from adapting our studies to problems of unemployment or of vice when circumstances arose which made these studies particularly timely. Of course, a closely segregated budget may help to keep a bad executive from wastefulness and graft. Municipal efficiency experts frequently favor quite minutely segregated budgets, but such restrictions hamper initiative on the part of a good executive.

It is not possible to forecast exactly the expenses of a public welfare department for a year in advance. Nobody knows just what industrial conditions are going to be, and these affect the volume of relief and delinquency. Nobody knows when police policies may change and affect the volume of delinquents to be handled. If a saving made in one department can be transferred to some other department, then there will be some incentive to try to save, but if savings in any branch of the segregated budget are required to revert to the general revenue, then there will be a distinct temptation to spend the full appropriation for a given purpose. In fact, one feels under pressure to do so for fear a surplus this year will result in reducing the estimate next year.

It is a good general principle to give public officials freedom and hold them responsible for results. This principle should tend to keep financial restrictions down.

In some places, the earnings of a department are required to be turned into the general revenue. This policy certainly militates against efficiency because the department has no direct incentive to expand its productive activities.

It is doubtful whether making yearly contracts for supplies is better than buying on the open market, although the making of such contracts sometimes saves a good deal and it is surely better than careless buying on the open market.

In general, I will say that the hope of the community or the state lies in securing public-spirited and competent administrators for its work, and negative restriction against incompetent or corrupt public officers are liable to do as

much harm as good. My personal opinion is that if the budget-making authorities fix the gross amount of the department budget, confine its expenditures to lines of work authorized by law, fix the rates that may be paid in salaries, and require that all important purchases be made on a competitive basis, no further financial restrictions are desirable.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OF PUBLIC WELFARE DEPARTMENTS

THE BUREAU SYSTEM

Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Secretary of Welfare, Pennsylvania

Every state government must assume certain obligations relating to dependent, defective, and delinquent individuals. These obligations may be executive or supervisory or both and may include fiscal control as well as professional standards of work in the social field, both public and private.

Pennsylvania's department of welfare will serve as an example of the bureau system representing the reorganization and co-ordination of previously existing agencies of state government, the state board of charities, the commission on lunacy, the mothers' assistance fund, the prison labor commission, the legal powers of these several agencies having been transferred to the department of welfare. In addition, the fiscal control (budgetary) of some twenty-eight state-owned institutions was lodged with the department by act of legislature in 1923. It has been the purpose of the department to interpret the old law to which it fell heir, in the light of the best modern social practice.

In studying the field of the social obligations of the state it became obvious that the work fell naturally into four subdivisions, namely, for dependent and delinquent children; for dependent adults; for adult delinquents or criminals; and for those suffering from mental disease and defect. In Pennsylvania we have designated these four subdivisions of our social problem, for purposes of organization, as the Bureau of Children, the Bureau of Assistance, the Bureau of Restoration, and the Bureau of Mental Health.

The executive head, known as the secretary of welfare, is appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate, and the deputy secretary must also be approved by the senate. All appointments to subordinate positions in the departments are made by the secretary of welfare subject to the approval of the governor. (The governor is elected for four years and may not succeed himself.)

Civil service is not operative in Pennsylvania, but under the Pinchot Administrative Code a personnel office has been established and definite "job specifications" and qualifications have been set up which insure the selection

of competent persons to fill the various positions within the department; tenure of office is not, however, assured.

Each bureau is organized under a director and within the bureau there may be sections dealing with major undertakings in the given field, or units which handle some special phase of work. In certain instances in which the work to be done does not fit in precisely with the work of a given bureau, a unit or section directly responsible to the secretary of welfare is provided for in the scheme of organization, as for example, the work of promoting voluntary county boards of public welfare.

The fundamental policy which we have laid down for our guidance in the development of our organization is that our staff shall be able to render real service in the field which is to be covered. In consequence we have been able to bring together a personnel highly qualified by training or experience to respond to all calls made upon us.

As the work of the department developed, and with the addition of the fiscal control of the state-owned institutions to our responsibilities, it has become evident that there are certain expert services needed by each one of the four bureaus from time to time which call for highly trained technical people, we have, therefore, developed a group of staff officers attached to the secretary's office, whose services are at the disposal of all bureaus, and whose services in addition have a direct bearing upon the budgetary control of the state institutions.

The staff consists of an engineer competent to pass upon plans, specifications, and plant operations in connection with heat, light, power, and sanitation; an accountant; an expert in institutional management who is developing standards as to purchasing, storeroom, and general efficiency; a nutritional supervisor whose duties cover the improved kitchen and dining-room management; an agricultural supervisor competent to advise in regard to the many problems arising on our institutional farms, and to assist in developing a proper policy for the state in this field.

In addition the staff officers include a social service consultant whose servings are available to all our bureaus, and who gives advisory service in the development of this important department in our mental hospitals, our general hospitals, and to the directors of the poor throughout the state. This consultation service is also available to any hospital aided by the state. A supervisor of nursing is also a staff officer whose activities will be fully occupied in developing the training schools for nurses in our state-owned institutions in accordance with the standards of the Pennsylvania State Board of Examiners for the Registration of Nurses, and in addition assisting in the standardization of nursing policy and practice in our institutions in which there are no training schools.

A state welfare commission of nine members appointed by the governor, of which the secretaries of health, labor and industry, and welfare are members,

functions as an advisory body in determining the policies of the department. The terms of service of the commissioners overlap so that there is not a complete turnover with each election of the governor.

What are the advantages in this bureau type of organization? Through the power vested in the single executive head, to secure: first, elimination of duplication of effort; second, absolute co-operation in the various fields of work; third, complete covering of the social field of work (leaving no gaps as between bureaus) if appropriations are available; fourth, economy in administration through the use of staff officers by all bureaus, and through the supplementary service which each bureau automatically renders every other bureau; fifth, a cabinet standing for its executive in a federalized type of organization. Sixth, and last, by no means least, a great advantage to be obtained through this bureau type of organization is the development of an understanding of the whole purpose of a social welfare program for the state on the part of every member of the organization. Team work is possible which could not be thought of if the several bureaus were actually independent units of state government.

As a result it is possible to develop a coherent policy and a solidarity of effort at a minimum of cost, which is absolutely essential if prevention of social disorders is to become a reality.

The disadvantages inherent in the Pennsylvania plan are: first, the danger of overturn of personnel and policy every four years with the change in governor; second, the large number of state officials, all appointees of the governor, on the state welfare commission (three out of nine) which tends to weaken its standing as a representative body of citizens in case of a "political" attack.

THE SINGLE DEPARTMENT PLAN

Burdette G. Lewis, State Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton

The New Jersey welfare plan is even more successful in practice than was indicated in my address before the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association at Philadelphia in 1919, and in a similar address before the Conference of State Accounting Officers at Denver in 1922. I wish to re-emphasize the further advantages of co-ordination and co-operation with other governmental agencies pointed out in my address before this section at the Milwaukee conference in 1921 as inherent in the New Jersey plan. I wish to assure Amos Butler, a friendly critic, that in six years we have shown not only that we do investigate ourselves but that we have had the pleasure of demonstrating for the second time in sixteen years that a rigid plan of self-scrutiny and of publicity of shortcomings as well as of successes is the most useful program in public administration.

We did not claim too much in advance. We have the greater pleasure in stating achievements, although, of course, in many respects we have as yet made only a good beginning. At the end of four years, the state board of control enumerated in a summary of reports the following accomplishments of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies, inaugurated in 1918: the establishment of a co-ordinated department in place of the investigational and reporting agency which preceded it; the specialization of state institutions in place of institutions of general scope with overlapping powers, functions and responsibilities; the installation of a thoroughly modern and complete system of cost and consumption accounting; the provision of administrative codes for each institution, establishing a merit system of assignment and promotion; the establishment of a proper line of demarcation between centralization of policy making and decentralization of administration; the substitution of a program of treatment and prevention for a program of custodial care; the establishment of a modern system of training, productive work, medical treatment, and rehabilitation in place of private prison contract treadmill work; the completion of adequate surveys of the problems of tuberculosis, insanity, feeblemindedness, instability, and delinquency in New Jersey; the establishment of a system of inspection and promotion of economical and humane administration of county, municipal, and other public and private institutions in New Jersey; the promotion of adequate co-operation between the departments of education, labor, health, and institutions in demonstrating the social and monetary economy of administering institutions as community enterprises; the establishment of a sound and economical building construction policy for the state; the inauguration of a thorough and efficient system of informing the public currently through the medium of magazines, the press, and motion pictures.

During the present fiscal year, our department has been visited and studied by many persons from various states and from abroad. None came to New Jersey in a more skeptical frame of mind than Mr. Henry A. Higgins, secretary of the Massachusetts Prison Association and former deputy commissioner of correction of that state. In a letter to me, and in an editorial in the *Prison World* of March 15, 1924, he states the following approval of the New Jersey department as he saw it:

> What struck me most was the sweeping and comprehensive scheme of co-operation through which your diverse problems were brought to a focusing point under the study of expert group intelligence.
>
> I can think of no finer idea by which to approach to many related vital public interests with the combined economies of time, money, and trained intelligence. The integration of such a system of institutional administration and the realization of admirable detail in its operation has carried New Jersey forward to the point where she can justly lay claim to highly progressive leadership in this feature of her state administration. Expressed as a theoretical project on paper, it would seem an interesting adventure in vision. But in operation I found it to be a practical delight.

I greatly admire the New Jersey idea of concentrating in the hands of a trained lay administrator all the institutional problems which are purely administrative in character. This relieves from administrative duties those experts of special training who in so many states, including Massachusetts, fritter away in such work their valuable expert time. It frees them to apply themselves solely to their medical and similar specialties. The idea works a twofold advantage by insuring the state that its expert skill and training both in administration and specialties are efficiently applied where they are productive of best results.

The co-operation of the psychiatrical and psychological specialists with your institution heads in the examination of prisoners is excellent, and deserves to be copied by any organization that aims to be efficient. Then the interest and assistance offered by educators and labor leaders or experts in training your prisoners and fitting them for freedom is inspiring. The orderly and thorough way in which this is all worked out is illustrative of the sure and measured progress you have made over the purely experimental or hit-or-miss efforts. From each of the sources I have mentioned you seem to have developed a most admirable plan of practical and demonstrably productive specialization which is superior to anything in the correctional field anywhere.

The plan of conducting our institutions in Massachusetts, although created only a few years ago, offers nothing approaching the New Jersey method as regards unified administration. We are sadly behind you in the economy of general management. We have a number of official bodies occupied with the departmental affairs which you have unified. Your plan makes for smoother administration, higher specialized efficiency, and greater economy. You have eliminated overlapping of functions and duplication of official duties.

There is no groping, no uncertainty, no catch-as-catch-can, to the New Jersey plan. Everything is measured, definite, and clear cut. From every important point of view the prisoner is studied, and his adaptations, aptitudes, and correctional possibilities blueprinted. Psychiatry plays its part in the scheme as it should. But unlike that as proposed in Massachusetts, New Jersey does not allow psychiatry to be the catch-all. On the contrary, the New Jersey prisoners are studied from the collective point of view by different experts, all of whom bring their wisdon and intelligence to play in the problems involved. And it is noteworthy that the head of the institution presides over the group study of the prisoner.

New Jersey has just reason to be proud of its admirable penal system, of which the classification process is but one of many examples of high efficiency. It is the natural result of New Jersey's policy of engaging men of the highest ability to conduct her institutions.

Politics and revolutionary changes eliminated.—In my Philadelphia address, referred to previously, I made a statement indicating how the New Jersey plan was especially designed to eliminate politics and too rapid changes due to changing administrations. I want to re-emphasize the last two paragraphs of that address which reads as follows:

One of the most important features of the New Jersey plan is the interposition of an unpaid, non-political board of citizens between the commissioner and the regular state officials, who change with each change in political control of the state. These officials may change, but under the law but three of the eight members may change during the term of any one chief executive of the state, and the chief executive under the New Jersey constitution is ineligible for re-election. It was the hope of Governor Edge and of the legislature which passed the new law in 1918 that a change in the personnel in the state administration would not bring an immediate change in the administration of institutions. New Jersey institutions have been relatively free from politics. The new system is meant to insure the continuity of administration, which all our states need, without perpetuating a system until it disintegrates because of dry rot.

The inquiry commission's reports stated that the most important thing was to secure a high-grade administrator, with a staff of high-grade expert associates. Under the law, the state board chooses the commissioner, to serve indefinitely without term, during the will of the board,

and he in turn chooses the expert staff with the approval of the state board. It seems, therefore, that New Jersey has gone as far as is possible to eliminate petty politics, while at the same time insuring an administration reponsive to the popular will.

Especially striking changes.—I wish briefly to summarize the most striking of the other features of the New Jersey plan: first, the interchange of personnel and services between institutions of every description, eliminating artificial barriers and useless restrictions; second, the functional organization of divisions of the department with directors, each of which is appointed by the commissioner with the approval of the state board, and who must be qualified experts; third, the centering of ultimate power and responsibility of almost every description in the hands of the state board or commissioner, who acts as its one and only agent; fourth, control of finances, including the annual budget, by the state board acting upon recommendations of the commissioner as head financial officer of the department; fifth, possibility of combining employment, educational and medical programs for all state institutions, and their proper co-ordination with county and municipal institutions and agencies; sixth, centralization within the department of all state building operations requiring architectural treatment, including the power to employ inmates of institutions in any manner the state board of control sees fit; seventh, centering of power and authority in the hands of the state board and commissioner to take sworn testimony and to issue summonses calling for the production of witnesses, all book papers, memoranda, etc., pertinent to any inquiry; eighth, the cordial co-operation of organized labor and of organized capital; ninth, enlistment of wide range of public support through the power of the state board with the approval of the governor to appoint local boards of managers for all state institutions and agencies; tenth, possibility of demonstrating the economies and efficiencies inherent in such a welfare plan.

Other pertinent facts.—Under the New Jersey plan, a reorganization and improvement of administration utilized existing facilities and preceded all requests for reconstruction or enlargement of existing institutions or provision of new institutions. Approximately five million dollars has been spent for reconstruction of present institutions to make them serve better the demonstrated needs of each such institution for purposes of administration. About six million dollars is on hand for enlargement of existing institutions, with fair prospects that the legislature will complete its program of enlargement which it adopted in 1921. This will call for provision of some nine million dollars more within the next four years.

During this year, we had experts make a study of all of the business forms, business accounting, and other forms and all paper work required within the department. These experts reported back that every installation of every description was working smoothly and had the hearty approval of each and every superintendent and chief officer, and that there were no complaints of any sort concerning the volume or character of the paper work of the depart-

ment. The same experts in 1923, in completing an organization survey of the central office and department as a whole, said:

> The internal organization and administration of the department as devised by the state board and administered by the commissioner are remarkably efficient. Its form of organization is in accordance with modern principles of effective organization; divisions have been established along clean-cut functional lines, and their work and objectives defined in a comprehensive administrative code written for their guidance. Above all, the divisional or sectional chiefs have been given a high degree of responsibility within their respective fields, and this, with the personal feeling of loyalty and enthusiasm that has been engendered by their direct contact with the commissioner, has set a high standard of work and aim for all in the department, which compares most favorably, in organization, efficiency, and standards, with the most efficient type of commercial organization.

We are deeply indebted to the other state departments for co-operation of an unusual kind. We are under obligations to all political parties for uniform support. We are under obligation to four different governors, two of whom were Republicans and two of whom are Democrats. We are especially indebted to Governor George S. Silzer, State Comptroller N. A. K. Bugbee, and State Treasurer William T. Read for continued support of administrative policies and especially of our construction program. If the present support continues, the achievements of the next six years will at least quadruple those of the past six years, and may in that event be of interest to other divisions of the National Conference of Social Work which apparently have gotten out of touch almost wholly with hospital and institutional administration.

THE BOARD OF CONTROL PLAN

Charles F. Hall, Director, Children's Bureau, State Board of Control, St. Paul

The State Board of Control was created in 1901 to take the place of the several boards of charities and corrections which then had charge of the various state institutions. It consisted of three members appointed by the governor for terms of six years each. Later, in 1921, the legislature increased its membership to five, two of whom were to be women. In 1923, the legislature again acted with reference to membership of the board, reducing the same to three, one of whom shall be a woman. The activities of the board are of two kinds: business activities and welfare activities.

The business activities consist of the complete official and general control over the eighteen state institutions. This alone involves the expenditure of about $8,500,000 for each biennial period. It not only has charge of the construction of buildings for the institutions under its control, but also has charge of the construction work at the university, the agricultural schools and stations, state teachers' colleges, soldiers' home, state fair, and county tuberculosis sanatoria, making the total amount administered by the board of control some twelve to fifteen millions of dollars.

In the administration of its affairs the board has several departments, viz., the purchasing department, the accounting department, the deportation department, department for the parole of the insane, a bureau of research conducted by Dr. Fred Kuhlman, well-known psychologist, and the welfare department under the director of the children's bureau.

The purchasing department purchases all supplies for the institutions under its jurisdiction and for all governmental departments of the state; fuel for the university, agricultural schools and stations, teachers' colleges, and capitol; and equipment for county tuberculosis sanatoria. It has charge of the state insurance fund.

The board has charge of the manufacture and sale of binder twine and farm machinery at the state prison; and the operation of a granite quarry, a rock-crushing plant, a clothing factory, and a wood-working factory, at the state reformatory. It collects the charge for maintenance of the insane, has supervision over paroled insane, and has charge of the deportation of the non-resident insane. It determines the legal residence of paupers. It inspects jails, lockups, poorhouses, and infirmaries; examines all plans for new structures or for repairs; and has advisory supervision over all such institutions. The legislature has from year to year increased the responsibilities of the board by placing the administration of practically all the welfare laws of the state under its supervision.

The board carries on its business activities through a carefully planned budget system. While the business activities of the board are large and of great importance, its most important and constructive work consists in its welfare activities, that is, in its supervision and care of the insane, the feebleminded and epileptics, the blind, the deaf, the dependent and neglected children, the crippled children, the delinquent boys and girls, and the inmates of the three penal institutions—state prison, reformatory for men, and the reformatory for women. Besides the regular care given to all these wards of the state in the way of housing, food, clothing, medical attention, dental care, mental examination, education, recreation, religion, an attempt is being made at all times to keep well informed upon the most progressive methods and policies of improving the conditions of these wards.

The board of control acts as a board of parole and discharge for the State Training School for Boys, and the Home School for Girls. The member of the board of control oldest in service is ex-officio chairman of the state board of parole for the state reformatories and the state prison. It is charged with the administration of the aid, relief, re-education, and training of the adult blind. It is also charged with the administration of the soldiers' welfare fund by act of the 1923 legislature. It also has supervision over a soldiers' recreational camp as created by the legislature of 1923.

In 1916 a commission was appointed to codify and improve the laws relating to children. Under this code it is the duty of the board to promote the enforce-

ment of all laws for the protection of defective, illegitimate, dependent, neglected, and delinquent children. For this purpose it appoints county child welfare boards. In the eighty-seven counties of the state, seventy-two now have child welfare boards. It has powers of legal guardianship over the persons of all children committed by the courts to the care of the board or to institutions under its management. It is the duty of the board to supervise and promote efficiency and uniformity in the administration of mothers' pensions. It inspects, investigates, and licenses maternity hospitals, infants' homes, and agencies for receiving and caring for children or placing them in private homes. It investigates all petitions for the adoption of children, and visits the children and the homes in which they have been placed. It is charged with safeguarding the interest of illegitimate children; establishing their paternity; and securing for them the nearest possible approximation to the care, support, and education that they would be entitled to if born of lawful marriage.

From January 1, 1918, to March 1, 1924, the children's bureau received a total number of 17,071 cases:

Adoptions	2,265
Placements	1,937
Unmarried mothers	7,148
Miscellaneous, neglect, delinquency, etc.	3,998
Feebleminded committed	1,723

In 1924 it licensed and certified 653 institutions and agencies:

Maternity Hospitals	213
Child caring institutions	29
Child caring agencies	23
Boarding-homes	388

During the past few years occupational therapy for the insane has been greatly increased in the state, and splendid results are being obtained. A system of extra institutional care for certain types of the feebleminded is being developed. The latest methods of instruction and training for the blind are used; lip reading, music, and speech are receiving special emphasis in the training of the deaf; both of these groups being given special vocational training in order to prepare them to become self-supporting. Education and vocational training are given special emphasis for the dependent, neglected children at the state school. The State Hospital for Crippled Children was the first state hospital of its kind established in the United States, and is classed by the American College of Surgeons as "A1" in all the requirements. A training school for nurses has been added to this hospital. At the school for delinquent boys and girls, special stress is laid upon the vocational training and also upon the placement and follow-up of the paroled boys and girls.

Minnesota has kept abreast of the times in its penal institutions, where the most progressive methods prevail. The state prison has a physical plant that

is second to none. We have the indeterminate sentence law, the parole law under supervision, and aid and relief for the families of inmates. I believe Minnesota is the only state which provides aid and relief for the families of the men incarcerated in penal institutions. It is done on a carefully supervised case method and has a very beneficial effect upon the inmates who know that their families are being cared for so that the home may be intact when the prisoner is released.

At the present time the board has almost completed the establishment of a confidential exchange for the use of the various state institutions and the social agencies of the state.

The board at all times co-operates very fully with the state boards of health and education, and with the state university and state agricultural college. It has recently taken an active part in the establishment of a state psychopathic clinic, and also in welfare work among the Indians of the state. While these do not come directly under the supervision of the board, it has been able to do some very effective work for the state along these lines.

X. THE IMMIGRANT

ADULT IMMIGRANT EDUCATION

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Marguerite H. Burnett, State Director of Immigrant Education
Wilmington, Delaware

In 1920, according to figures compiled by the government census bureau, the adult foreign-born population of the United States numbered 14,000,000 persons who were natives of 43 different countries. Of this number, 48.6 per cent were classified as Northern Europeans, 50.1 per cent as Southern Europeans, and 1.3 per cent as Asiatics. One million five hundred thousand, about 11 per cent, could not speak or understand the English language, and a still larger number, 1,700,000, about 13 per cent, were said to be totally illiterate, that is, unable to write their name and to read in any language. Forced by ignorance of language and lack of training into unskilled and semiskilled occupations in factories, mines, and shops; 75 per cent were living in densely populated urban districts, where homogeneity of race, language, and religion leads to racial colonization with its perpetuation of ethnic culture and traditions, and the gradual development of economic self-sufficiency and independence of other groups. In this number were included 74 per cent of all foreign-born illiterates and 69 per cent of all non-English-speaking adults.

Adult immigrant education is a broad term. It may and does include the activities of all agencies interested in the assimilation of the immigrant. In this paper, I shall treat that phase of it which may be considered the legitimate function of public educational authorities.

Ever since 1890, when the influx of the new immigration brought large groups of non-English-speaking and illiterate aliens to our shores, educators have been conscious in a greater or less degree of the educational needs of the adult alien. At ports of entry and in large industrial centers where the rapid growth of immigrant groups made the recognition of this need imperative, the teaching of English to immigrants became a function of the public night school, and classes for this purpose were organized. Except in isolated cases, the teaching in these classes was done with little or no understanding of the capacities, needs, and methods of approach to immigrant groups, and measured by its power to interest and hold pupils, it was a lamentable failure.

With the world-war came a nation-wide realization of America's immigrant population and the desirability and necessity for its assimilation. The process by which this assimilation was to be accomplished was known as Americaniza-

tion, and many and varied were the programs put into operation for this purpose. Since a knowledge of the English language was considered a primary requisite for the process of assimilation, educational activities occupied an important place in these programs.

With the vigor and enthusiasm that characterized all war-time activities, plans were formulated and promoted by federal, state, and local agencies, both public and private, to stimulate thought and crystallize methods in the field of adult immigrant education. Although from the very nature of its inception, much done at that time was transitory in nature and reflected an interest motivated by fear of immigrant groups rather than by a belief in the desirability of their assimilation, much of permanent value was accomplished. For the first time in the history of the movement, the need of expert leadership was realized and met, and principles of organization and procedure enunciated and adopted. These principles adopted by the Interstate Council on Immigrant Education in February, 1920, and readopted by the Department of Immigrant Education of the National Education Association in 1923, state that:

1. The education of the adult immigrant in English and citizenship is a public responsibility and should be carried on under the direction of public educational authorities.

2. There should be no compulsion of the immigrant. You can't compel good American citizenship. If anything must be compulsory, let it be the furnishing of proper educational opportunities.

3. Only trained teachers and skilled leaders should be permitted to engage in immigrant education. It is a task calling for the highest efficiency.

4. The course of study, teaching methods, and scheme of organization for classes of adult immigrants should be adapted to the ability, needs, and working conditions of the pupils.

5. The educational program should be of sufficient flexibility to provide for the introduction of such supplementary activities as will facilitate the immigrant's adjustment to life and conditions in America and provide for intelligent co-operation with other agencies.

6. The non-English-speaking immigrant is a problem of the local community, the state, and the nation. Hence all should share in the cost of removing the language barrier.

In the years following the war, marked progress has been made in the adoption of programs embodying these principles. Eleven states having 50 per cent of all the non-English-speaking adult immigrants of the country are now supporting and directing state programs. Eight states having 42 per cent of the non-English-speaking population of the country have no state supported programs, but individual cities and communities in these states make adult immigrant education a function of their public school system.

Working in conjunction with state and local public school systems, is the Bureau of Naturalization of the United States Department of Labor. This

Bureau carries on as part of its naturalization work an educational program intended to aid the public schools in training candidates for naturalization for responsible citizenship. The kind of assistance given by the Bureau varies according to the needs and wishes of the community. It consists largely of preparing and distributing free textbooks, training teachers, and organizing states and districts having no educational program. The cost of the Bureau's educational activities is paid from fees collected from immigrants at the time of their entry into the country.

At the present time, the federal government gives no financial support to adult immigrant education. The cost of its maintenance is met entirely by states and local communities. A bill carrying a large appropriation for federal aid will come before the next session of Congress. If this bill becomes a law, the appropriation will be distributed to the states on a fifty-fifty basis, according to their percentage of the foreign-born population of the country.

Trained and sympathetic leaders appreciating the need of methods of approach and procedure based upon a knowledge of immigrant groups and an appreciation of the value of their contribution to the upbuilding and enrichment of the nation, have overcome much of the faulty technique that characterized the pre-war period. Adequately trained teachers possessing a knowledge of the social background and life of the immigrant and a sympathy that begets confidence, co-operation, and a development of self-expression and power in the pupils are now required in every community.

Courses of study, methods of instruction, and systems of grading adapted to the ability, needs, and cultural life of pupils of all degrees of intellectual attainment have replaced the inadequate curriculum and unsatisfactory procedure of the earlier period. California's plan to meet the needs of her advanced students is an admirable illustration of this policy of adaptation. By this plan, advanced English and citizenship classes for adult immigrants will combine with representatives of women's clubs, labor unions, and other groups to study social sciences. These classes will be taught by professors supplied by the University of California. In this way, says Miss Richardson, California will follow the tutorial classes of England, and will substitute for fifth and sixth grade geography, history, and civics, a study of those subjects which will enable its adult immigrants to think clearly and straight in matters of government and social living, and to qualify for responsible citizenship in rapidly changing and complex civilization.

To appreciate how generally educational authorities are co-operating with immigrants in the arrangement of classes at times and places best suited to the convenience and working conditions of the pupils, one has only to visit classes in different parts of the country. A Finnish church for a pastor and members of his congregation in a fishing town on the Atlantic; factories, coffee houses, and clubrooms for the mill workers of Massachusetts; village schools, grange halls, and the homes of hospitable farmers for the farm hands of Minnesota,

North Dakota, and Montana; the basement of their parish church for a group of Italian mothers in Detroit; school cottages for the neighborhood women of southern California; a specially equipped study room for hotel workers in New York City; a United States lighthouse ship for seamen preparing for naturalization on the Delaware River; racial halls, social settlements, and parochial schools are some of the many places in which educational authorities bring their Americanization message to the very heart of the immigrant communities and reach many thousands whom the traditional school has no power to attract or hold.

In addition to meeting places already mentioned, there is a steadily increasing use of home centers for mothers whose many small children make attendance at school centers impossible. In some communities where the size of publicly supported classes is above the number in which home groups can be organized, private agencies are financing the instruction given by trained teachers under the supervision of state or local educational authorities. The Emergency Committee in New York City, the Service Citizens in Delaware, the Americanization Committee in Chicago, the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames in Omaha, are a few of the many organizations which are supporting work carried on under this plan.

For persons whose hours of employment prevent attendance at evening sessions, day classes are now very generally arranged for. In at least three cities and possibly many more, full-time day schools are in session five days a week, to which pupils may come at any hour of the day that best suits their convenience and receive whatever kind of instruction they may need or desire.

With a broader concept of the aim of immigrant education has come the expansion of the educational program to include socialized activities. Through these activities the schools seek to recognize and to foster the cultural achievements of various immigrant groups and to develop and inspire their force in order that they may contribute to the enrichment of American life and successful upbuilding of the American democracy.

Another result of increasing the sphere of influence of the school has been intelligent co-operation with other agencies, both public and private, which touch the immigrant in his process of readjustment to life and conditions in the new land. A few outstanding instances of co-operation of this type are found in the states of Delaware, California, Massachusetts, and the cities of Detroit, Cincinnati, and Cleveland, where public or privately supported agencies carry on in close conjunction with the public schools trouble or aid commissions or bureaus. In these bureaus an effort is made to overcome and prevent the tragic injustice and misunderstanding with which immigrants are constantly confronted, and which tends to shatter their faith in the ideals and institutions of American democracy, and retard and hinder the Americanization process.

And with all that has been done, have we brought into and held in the classroom, be it in schoolhouse, home, factory, church, racial hall, or social center,

a large percentage of the five million who are said to need the instruction we are preparing to offer them? No, we have not. Three hundred thousand would represent an outside estimate of the enrolment in these classes in 1923–24.

Does this represent a gain over the number reached before the present methods were put into operation? Yes, decidedly. Because of the difficulty in securing figures for the country at large, the exact numerical increase cannot be ascertained, but some idea of what it has amounted to may be gained when it is known that in one state alone the enrolment increased from 3,000 in 1919 to 30,000 in 1924, and in several others there has been a comparable increase.

And what is the outlook for the future of the work? Will it be permitted to go on utilizing the enthusiasm, skill, and momentum that has been gained in the last five years to reach more effectively and in increasing numbers the newcomers to our shores and the older residents who are beginning to seek and avail themselves of the opportunities we have prepared to offer them, or will the limitation of immigration and racial and national antagonism which is now so seriously affecting the thought and action of large areas of the country result in the curtailment of the movement? It is impossible to say. At the present time, three different tendencies are evident. One is opposition to the continuation of the program, and the withdrawal of all public funds for its support. Ignorance, intolerance, and prejudice have fostered this policy, and fortunately for the future of the American nation, the communities and states where it has been followed are few. A second is the meeting of enforced retrenchments in public expenditure by placing all or part of the cost of his education directly upon the immigrant through tuition or compulsory registration fees. The latter plan, sponsored by the United States Secretary of Labor, would compel the annual registration of unnaturalized immigrants over twenty-one years of age, and the payment of a fee of $5 to be collected by the Department of Labor and distributed by that Department to public schools throughout the country. The use of tuition fees has been tried with varying degrees of success, in three states. A smaller percentage of enrolment and an instability of organization resulting from uncertainty of revenue interferes with the efficacy of this system and would prevent its indorsement by workers in the field. Compulsory registration is not yet a reality and it is hoped it never will be. It is an old-world heritage that liberty loving Americans do not wish to see perpetuated in their government.

The third is that looking toward the expansion of the field by a program making it include all phases of adult education having for its purpose the training of men and women for responsible citizenship, irrespective of previous educational opportunities and native or foreign birth. This unites and directs toward a common objective the thought and activity of progressive educators in all parts of the country, and it is a decided step forward. It removes the stigmatizing and discriminatory connotation of illiteracy and Americanization, and elevates to its proper dignity that system of education by which men and

women attempt to satisfy their thirst for knowledge, and equip themselves for their responsibilities as citizens and members of society. It is the type of education of which Ethel Richardson says: "In the interest of the individual and of the great mass of the people, as well as for the future of the nation, the world, and even civilization itself, we are called upon to reconsecrate ourselves to the task of immigrant education."

EDUCATION IN CANADA

Alfred Fitzpatrick, Principal, Frontier College, Canada

The education of the adult immigrant is inseparably bound up with that of the native born. It is unwise to try to educate our own sons and daughters and neglect those who hope one day to become fellow-citizens with ourselves. It creates a class feeling of superiority on the part of the native-born workers, many of whom are in reality not as well educated as the foreigners.

Matthew Arnold used to say, very wisely, I think most of us will agree, "Whatever bears on the question how to live is a moral idea." But whatever is moral is a fit and proper subject for education; therefore, whatever bears on the subject how to live is education, and particularly in its application to the adult immigrant.

The first question to ask is not what kind of education do we require for immigrants, but how best can we assist them in providing bread and a home for themselves. Any Samaritan will find a knowledge of mathematics or first aid useful, but equally important to him will be a well-developed muscle to lift the man fallen among thieves out of the ditch and on to the back of his mount. The method is of little consequence. The object and the kind of service will determine the method.

The successful education of both the foreign and the native born depends upon their having steady employment. So long as the very difficult problem of unemployment remains unsolved the education of all affected, foreign and native, is at a standstill. Any man who has money and leisure, if he is not lazy and without ambition, can be interested in education. The homesteader, the farmer, the lighthouse-keeper will read and study if he has a job which provides a means of livelihood, and some hours in which his business does not require all his attention, especially if the education you offer has some relation to his work. But you cannot teach the out-of-works when they are hungry and grouchy. The business of earning one's bread and butter is so serious that the average unemployed man, and especially the newcomer, will not be attracted by any education that does not promise to increase his likelihood of a job, and thus add to his efficiency in the performance of the daily round and common task connected with that position. Work is an essential condition of healthy life and is a necessary accompaniment of all education.

We have stereotyped our systems of education. Our graduates are not prepared to take their full part in the world's work. In fact, much of the recurring unemployment is directly traceable to this condition of things. The education of the adult immigrant, as of the adult native, will in the near future be of the hands and feet as well as of the mind. At least this is the kind of education I am interested in—education that will enable a man to take his full part in the day's activities.

In considering some of the causes of unemployment, let us examine, for the few minutes at our disposal this morning, the shortsighted policy which has long been pursued in the handling of our timber resources. Has overemphasis been placed on a centralized system of education, to the sacrifice of scientific methods in forestry and settlement? This directly concerns the education of the adult immigrant.

Quite recently, in British Columbia, I watched the loggers felling three big trees, about six or seven feet at the stump, and nearly two hundred feet in height. Of these three, one broke, and another, a big cedar, split in about ten strips throughout its entire length. The waste in felling big timber is enormous. Not only is there great loss incurred to the trees themselves, but in the process they often break young trees, and sometimes knock others down. If they fall down grade they frequently shoot ahead and leave a trail of damaged timber in their path. It is incredible in this first quarter of the twentieth century that we should learn to talk without wires and to travel without roads, yet apparently we cannot discover a means of harvesting our ripe timber without destroying our young trees, and thus preventing the cutting of another crop within half a century. In this lies food for serious thought. Is permanent employment promoted by such waste? Have our educational systems been found wanting in these ways? I feel that the welfare of the adult and the families of all newcomers are intimately associated with the care and scientific cutting of our forests.

Will the cut-over and burnt-over districts of our Dominion ever be occupied? Yes, chiefly in three ways: first, by reforestation of large burnt-over barren areas by our governments; second, by assisting settlers who are now on lots unsuited for agriculture in the reforestation of their farms; third, by encouraging the unemployed and their families to settle on poor lots and assist them in reforestation.

It is a fact that even on lands unsuitable for raising grain crops the trees in many places have all been cut or burned. In other localities again, much valuable timber is needlessly destroyed during lumbering operations. Lands thus deprived of timber do not readily reproduce themselves without artificial reforestation. On good soil the waste is not so lamentable, as grain and fodder crops may be raised, but on sand, gravel, and rock the loss, once the timber is stripped thereform, is appalling.

A very wealthy lumberman, one of our senators, once said to me that settlers should not be allowed on lands in timber areas. "They have the fire bee

in their bonnet and are a danger to the limits," he added. Perhaps the senator had reason for his opinion, but the mistake was made in selling whole timber areas to the large dealers. To sell the pine to the big operator instead of to the settler was the hardest blow ever struck at private ownership. It was criminal to take the oak, pine, and other valuable woods from the settler and offer him nothing by means of which he could make a living, save the rocky or gravelly soil already robbed of its timber. To add to that crime the settler was kept in ignorance of the first principles of forestry, and allowed to go to the incalculable trouble and expense of clearing land entirely unsuited for agriculture.

Had the pine, along with the land, been sold to the settler on the condition that he must cut it scientifically, you would have had no exodus of the young people from the maritimes or from the country districts of the New England states to Boston and other American centers. What a hue and cry you would have heard on the prairie if the government, when selling land to the settler, had reserved to itself the privilege of raising wheat. Homesteaders and purchasers of prairie lands would then be compelled to raise only flax, buckwheat, potatoes, and oats. If that had been the case you would have had a rebellion on your hands, compared with which the Riel uprising would pale into insignificance. And yet, this is a legitimate and fitting parallel of the policy long pursued in the disposal of timber lands.

On soils good, bad, and indifferent, ever since the first square timber was cut on the St. Lawrence, along the Ottawa, the Gatineau, and the St. John, for a whole century this criminal cutting and waste of valuable timber has been going on. We are killing the goose that lays the golden egg. Thousands of men were thrown out of work when the largest redwood areas were cut in California; thousands met a similar fate when much of the pine and cedar of British Columbia, and the neighboring states of Washington and Oregon, were either cut by lumbermen or destroyed by fire. Many thousands of men, too, have thus been thrown out of work by the imprudent and unscientific cutting of white pine and white spruce in Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes.

In our efforts to specialize in education, we have been unduly anxious to obtain learning of a certain kind—cultural we have called it—but in thus pursuing along particular lines we have, among other discrepancies, failed to teach the value of our great forests. With few exceptions we have educated our leaders, often with their muscles atrophied, if not indeed with their powers of observation dulled.

Recently, in British Columbia, when I told a lumberman that I wanted him to go fifty-fifty in a building in which to carry on our educational work, he replied, "I would not have a building about the camp that would accommodate more than eight. The men would use it for red propaganda." We must get beyond this, treat the hungry immigrant better, or cease inviting him to the country altogether.

Let us utilize surplus labor by making homes for adult immigrants. This may be accompplishe in many ways. The following may be mentioned: by

reforesting the cut-over portions of rocky and sandy areas, thus providing occupations in tending cattle on adjacent areas, while the young timber is growing; and secondly, by assisting men and women to make for themselves homes somewhere on the millions of acres of good arable land with which a beneficent providence has endowed us, and surely for no other purpose.

I have long believed that a kindly reception of the immigrant should synchronize with our efforts to educate him. While it is laudable to establish funds which will amount ultimately to the expenditure of millions in an effort to promote citizenship in the United States alone, yet is it not advisable to outlay some of this in forms of work and in the making of homes for the new arrivals?

I take it that the first step in the education of the adult immigrant, and native as well, is to try to undo the great wrong of needlessly destroying our natural resources. Let us aim to make homes for the immigrant. In the process of acquiring a home, the opportunity for obtaining a well-balanced education of mind and hand will be found. Home-making will afford an unexcelled medium for imparting instruction. If we would give the right kind of education, we must give the individual more personal property, not take away what little he has. If he has been given a rocky, gravelly lot from which the only valuable thing has been taken—the timber—we must atone for the wrong by helping him to plant his lot with young trees, give him an agricultural lot instead, and plant it for him, or buy the lot from him and plant it for some other settler.

The education of the adult immigrant will, therefore, be best brought about by our schools and colleges. Either these agencies must begin the great task of home-making, or abandon the pretense of educating the immigrant. In these efforts at home-making we shall find the means and the opportunity of an education suitable to the needs of the diversified races looking to us for guidance.

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP THROUGH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

SOME BROADER ASPECTS OF ASSIMILATION

John A. Lapp, Director of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Council, Chicago

Universal migration.—Without cessation, since time began, people have migrated, sometimes singly, sometimes in group, and sometimes with whole tribes. The movements have been slow at times and in some countries and swift at other times and in other countries, as when new lands, discovery of precious metals, or economic advantages accelerate the migration of large masses of people. No country has a monopoly of immigration or emigration. People come and go in and out of all countries. If there were no legal restric-

tions, migrations would be far greater than they are now. Contemplate what would happen if the swelling masses of China and India were set in motion, as the Italians, the Germans, or the Irish.

We sometimes think that Canada and the United States are exceptions to the general rule, that here migration moves only one way. Yet in the last twenty-five years, 1,447,000 people from the United States emigrated to Canada. Since 1820, 2,209,403 Canadians have come to the United States, and in 1920, 1,138,174 Canadians were residents of that country. Between 1908 and 1922, 9,426,821 people came to the United States as immigrants and 3,416,735, or more than one-third, returned to their native lands. We do not know how many Americans migrate to Mexico, South America, Europe, and Asia, in search of gain, but the number is undoubtedly large. Migration from state to state and from province to province is also an index of the stirrings of the migratory instinct. We do not all live where we were born. In the United States in 1920, 20,000,000 of the 91,000,000 native born were living in some other state than that in which they were born. Forty-eight and seven-tenths per cent of the people born in Nevada, 39.9 per cent of those born in Wyoming, 38.4 per cent of those born in Vermont, 37 per cent of those born in Kansas, and 36.1 per cent of those born in Iowa, are living in some other state; even 10 per cent of the people of California have deserted that Elysium for other states. How many people live in the county where they were born is not known, but it is a safe estimate that more than 50 per cent of all our people have migrated out of the communities in which they were born.

Prejudices against the immigrant.—These vast hordes of migratory people must make new adjustments in their new homes. These adjustments are economic, social, political, and cultural. The man who moves from state to state is not supposed to have difficulties in adjustment because of homogeneity in language and inheritance, but does he? In the first place, he is not permitted to vote for a year, as a penalty for coming among us, in most of our states. He, of course, would not presume to run for office or be appointed to office for years. The favorite son idea prevails strongly in our national politics; moreover, there is distinct prejudice against people from another part of the country. One must be proved before he is taken into confidence. Now, add to the above the prejudices which attach to certain groups as, for example, in a Ku Klux territory the coming of a Jewish merchant or a Catholic teacher, and we get some glimmering of the problem of adjustment, even of individuals who speak the same language, have the same standards of living, and enjoy the same social and civic outlook. The prejudices are, of course, enhanced if the immigrant comes from a foreign land, even though it have the same language, race, and civic ideals. Why these are facts we must appeal for answer to the social psychologist. But when the migrant is an immigrant from a foreign land, of different tongue and racial stock, and when he has an inferior standard of living and cultural background, no matter from what cause, what then? If there is

any prejudice at all against people of our own country, race, standards, and language, how much more will it be found against such as these? How much more difficult will it be to make the necessary economic, social, political, and cultural adjustments?

The problem of Americanization or Canadianization is just that, and we in the United States, at least, are trying to solve it by methods which would not for a moment stand the tests of social psychology. We are trying to solve it apparently without remembering that men, wheresoever they come from, have instincts, minds, and souls very like unto ours. We have, for instance, in some quarters, been glorifying force as a means of compelling Americanization, as though force ever had any permanent effect on the mind and soul of man; as if force ever made a good citizen; as if, in fact, force did not bring the very opposite of good citizenship! The purpose may be good, but the method all wrong. We all want active, harmonious citizenship. How best to bring it about should prompt the earnest endeavors of educators, social workers, social psychologists, and statesmen. We need to take stock of the problem and the method, lest we do more harm than good.

Two important factors must be considered in adjustment: first, the situation to which adjustment is sought; second, the human materials to be adjusted. It has already been pointed out that we are prejudiced even against "foreigners" from other states of our own union, and that prejudice is intensified when language, race, color, or creed enter to feed it, or when lower standards of living or culture make it proud to maintain itself. These prejudices reach their maximum in the case of foreigners of alien manners, language, and blood, coupled with the status of manual laborers.

Prate of our magnanimity toward the immigrant as much as we please, the unpleasant fact confronts us that we suffer from an indifference and callousness toward the immigrant and his problems at all times, and this is intensified whenever any direct impetus is given, as by war, industrial disturbance, political inflammations, competition for employment, or by "prejudice for profit" activities, such as are sometimes developed. The worst of the situation is that when the alien is assimilated and becomes one of us, he is often equally intolerant of any newcomers. Each nationality forgets too easily its own struggles against intolerance, greed, and oppression, or perhaps but exercises a vicious instinct to get even by making others suffer likewise. The easier explanation is that, with honorable exceptions, all people act alike under similar circumstances. It is into this state of mind in the environing world that the immigrant is placed when he comes seeking whatever it is that he does seek, economic advantage, religious or civil freedom, or democracy.

Foreign languages.—One of our most intensive prejudices is against the language of the immigrant. Why did he not check his language at Ellis Island? Why did he not know English in his home land? It surely must be a sign of viciousness that he has stuck to his barbarous tongue when he might have been

using a civilized speech. At any rate, he must now be divested of his native language and at all hazards he must be prevented from perpetuating it in his children. So we propose to force people to learn English to get a job; or to remain in the country, or to enjoy life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness. Proposals to suppress all foreign-language publications have been freely made. Furthermore, some states have passed laws (fortunately declared unconstitutional so far as private schools are concerned) prohibiting the teaching of a foreign language in any elementary school, public or private. School authorities, under pressure, have even stopped the teaching of German in high schools, thus shutting off one great source of scientific and cultural knowledge.

It must be granted that the teaching of English is one of the first essentials for adjustment and assimilation. But what foolishness to use force! What extreme folly to try to keep out foreign languages and root out native tongues! In the very necessities of the case, immigrants will learn enough English to get along with, and that is about all that can be expected of the mass of adults. Children will inevitably get English in the school (the idea that any considerable number of children were being taught the common branches in their native tongue was one of the hysterias of the war) and they will, with rare exceptions, use English by necessity, as well as by preference. In 1920 there were only 1,488,000 people, or 11 per cent of the foreign born who could not speak English. These statements are not to minimize the necessity to provide facilities for learning English, but to point out the absurdity of compulsion. To prevent the teaching of a foreign language in elementary schools is the height of folly, for if we are to teach foreign languages properly, we must begin with children. Before the war we thought it highly productive of culture to teach French, German, Spanish, and Italian. Now, apparently, if it is the immigrant who wants his children taught his native language, even one of those, it is dangerous to the state. How unreasoning are we made by propaganda? We should provide convenient facilities for teaching English to immigrants, and we should compel the use of English as the medium of teaching in all schools, but we should encourage the study of foreign languages, and above all, we should encourage the perpetuation by immigrants and their children of the use of their own language.

The love of the home land.—The next exhibit of our folly in dealing with the assimilation of the immigrant is our repression of the love of home. We expect apparently that when a man arrives in America he must soon divest himself of all his instincts which tie him to the land of his birth. Somehow it is believed that the immigrant is different from us. We love our country, our home, our birthplace; about them center the tenderest memories. But the immigrant has no such instincts; he must put his home land out of mind, he must never speak kindly of it, he must not take its part even when it is oppressed, he must be one hundred per cent American in thought, word, and deed! As though such a thing could happen with anybody! For my part I do not want citizens

who do not love the place and the land of their childhood: such citizens would love us no more when they have migrated again. We want citizens who retain that heaven-born instinct of love of birthplace, the home of their fathers, while giving due allegiance to the land of their adoption. Let us not forget, too, that the love of home will take—and very properly—many back to their native lands. About one-third returned to Europe during the last twenty years just as our emigrants come back from Mexico, South America, and Baku, or wherever it is that they go for personal advantage or pleasure.

Justice and charity.—If we are to get anywhere with real assimilation of immigrants we must make justice and charity prevail. We cannot hope to instil allegiance to America if we permit exploitation by employment agencies, landlords, steamship companies, financial institutions, and merchants. We cannot build up a confidence in our institutions if the courts and executives deal not open-handed justice. We cannot make good citizens by intimidation through espionage systems of private and public detectives. After the Palmer, Daugherty, and Burns régime of the last five years, it is a wonder that any immigrant trusts us. The "deportation deliriums" of 1919 and 1920, so well pictured in Louis F. Port's book by that name, were enough to destroy all of the good work of those who had been preaching that this was the land of freedom and opportunity, where the oppressor's hand was not seen. No act of a Prussian kaiser was ever more flagrant than those committed in the United States in the name of "law and order" against harmless immigrants who took literally the declarations of civil liberty contained in the Constitution. Until we make retribution for those acts and make good our belief in liberty by really guaranteeing free speech, free press, freedom of assemblage, religious freedom, freedom from false or arbitrary arrest, habeas corpus, trial by jury, and the right of all, not some, to be protected in life, liberty, and property, we cannot truly assimilate immigrants nor even hold our citizenship in high respect. Our real Americanization efforts should be directed to the so-called defenders of the Constitution, those chambers of commerce, and American Legion posts which have violated the spirit and letter of the Constitution in its most vital parts by unwarranted acts of suppression upon labor unions, radical societies, pacifist meetings, and even upon the freedom of the pulpit and schools, and to the newspapers which condone those offenses, and to the executives and courts which uphold the offenders or shield them from punishment. As long as hundreds of people are in jail for no offense except membership in the I.W.W., we should suspend our efforts to make citizens out of immigrants, and turn our attention to the teaching of fundamental American history and American democracy to the erstwhile defenders of the Constitution who appear to know nothing in society but the application of force.

Force as an assimilative.—Lastly, we come to the use of force in assimilation. We hear it said that every immigrant should become an American citizen or return from whence he came; that we have no place here for any others. Com-

ing from irresponsible or boastful people who strive to be important, the idea of force could be discarded as unlikely to be applied. It is so foolish to talk about making good citizens by compulsion that we might believe that it was not seriously advanced. Here comes, however, the Department of Labor of the United States government proposing that every immigrant be registered upon arrival, and that he pay a poll tax and re-register every year, and if within a certain length of time he has not become a citizen, he is to be deported to his former home. This idea has been embodied in a bill presented to Congress and is being discussed by the Secretary of Labor in addresses and articles. It seems to me that if we should attempt cunningly to calculate the devising of methods to repress Americanization we could not do better than to put through the proposed registration bill. What does it imply? First, that the immigrant must register. Perhaps if he came from some of the autocratic countries of Europe that would not be an unknown procedure to him. It is also comparatively a simple process and easily carried out the first time. Men are registered automatically when they come into the country. But what does re-registration involve? It involves the necessity of keeping track of the immigrants after their first registration, else they will disappear in the mass. It will involve a secret service force of huge proportions to round up the immigrants every year to make them register. A spy system many times greater than that set up by Palmer, Daugherty, and Burns will be required to check up on the whereabouts of the registrants.

If immigrants do not register, what then? Presumably they will be punished by fine, imprisonment, or deportation. What a pretty mess this will leave us in, with the secret service departments attempting to justify themselves in the number of persecutions.

Anyone who imagines that the process of registration can be carried out without serious harm has little conception of what it means in a free country to have a force of spies circulating among the populace. The chance for exploitation of immigrant people under such a system would be most harmful to the country by breeding distrust and deeply seating it in the minds and souls of those whom we would make citizens. And then the worst of it all would be the issuing of naturalization papers upon compulsion. I do not need to ask what kind of citizens such a process would give. Those who might under a free system become good citizens would most certainly be made less so by the compulsory process. It would cheapen and destroy virtue of good citzenship. It is contrary to the basic intent in granting the right to join the ranks of citizens. Naturalization should be a free process. If a man does not wish to become a citizen common sense would say, let him remain as he is. But they say: "Why allow such a man to remain in the country if it is not his intention to become a citizen?" This is a fair question and we might answer it by referring to the statements at the beginning of this paper, where it was pointed out that migration is a universal process. Let us assume that the republic of Mexico

should enact a law that all American exploiters, who have migrated to that country in search of gain on a large scale, should become citizens of that country within a certain length of time or depart. What would we say about that? Or rather, what would the plutocracy not say about that? Would there not be representations from the state department to the republic of Mexico admonishing that government to desist, and is there any difference between a rich exploiter who goes to a foreign land for gain, and the humble immigrant who comes to work in America because of the possibilities of economic advantage?

Our trouble in America is that we have never looked on all sides of the question of immigration. We forget the Golden Rule, if we ever learned it. We see virtue in our own actions and little in the actions of others. We are led into hysterics by propagandists, lose sight of our gains, and are distorted clear out of our orbit. We seem to lose sight of justice, charity, and common sense.

Immigrants can be assimilated only through the application of justice and charity; the result cannot be achieved otherwise. We may have the outward forms of good citizenship but hollow rottenness inside. We should limit immigration, but the most profound reason why we should is that we do not seem, since the war, to have justice and charity in our body politic sufficient to deal with the assimilation of immigrants. With the present restrictions we shall, even with the crude methods that we have been following, be able perhaps to catch up. Even at the worst we are better off than the alarmists picture. Quiet, peaceful assimilation has been going on. Immigrants have been naturalized at a far greater rate than supposed. In 1920, out of 12,498,720 foreign-born whites, 6,208,697, or 49.7 per cent, had been naturalized and 1,194,276 had declared their intentions. There were 4,364,909 still alien, and 730,838 whose status was unknown. Since 1920 the process of naturalization has been accelerated, but with doubtful advantage, since a great deal has been the result of the methods of force, mostly economic, which this paper has condemned.

RECENT DEVELOPMENT IN LIBRARY WORK WITH IMMIGRANTS

Mrs. Eleanor E. Ledbetter, Librarian, Broadway Branch, Public Library; Chairman, Committee on Work with Foreign Born, American Library Association, Cleveland

For fifty years libraries have been moving with constantly accelerating speed toward a goal of complete community service—a book for every man, a book that he can use—the right book at the right time. The ultimate aspiration is of course to enrich life by bringing all men into contact with the treasures of the past and with the great minds of the present; to open the book of knowledge, to increase the understanding, to develop tolerance and wisdom.

This is the goal which like a mountain peak dwells amid the clouds. Occasionally the mists lift for a moment, the sun strikes the peak, and we see in all

its majesty and glory the summit of our aspiration. Then the clouds close round it again, the actual view is obscured, and only the vision remains to guide our direction.

No one ever climbs a mountain without work; no social worker achieves any elevation of living conditions without work; no librarian increases the book use of the community without work. The merchant who sits still in his store and waits for people to come in and ask for what they want never builds up a business, however good his stock. If he wants to do real business he has to go out after it; he must make people want things they didn't know they wanted, and he must establish the suggestion that it is in his place that their needs will find satisfaction. If he cannot do this he will never find the tide which leads on to fortune; instead, his business will remain always "in shallows and in bitterness."

So the library which sits down in its neat Carnegie building and with folded hands waits for people to come in and ask for the books they want will dwell always in shallows and futility. The articulate people conscious of their wants are too few. The library must go out and develop inarticulate and subconscious wants to the point where they become conscious needs, articulately demanding satisfaction. For human nature is so curiously constituted that few of us know what we need until someone else has told us about it; and the inhibitions which subconsciously hedge us in are often illumined by such revealing phrases as "I never thought that I could do it," or "I did not suppose that such a thing was possible for me." In the library one may often get the response, "I did not know there were such books"; or "I never thought that other people had wondered about these things."

The merchant who would increase his business studies his community. He sees what people are in the habit of buying and he studies situations and interests to see what new lines can be made attractive enough to induce additional buying. The librarian, too, must know the community, must study its component parts, its industries, its recreations, its connections with the rest of the world, until she can penetrate the veil of the accustomed and the habitual, and visualize the possibilities of response in the untouched life beneath the surface; and then bring forward the books which appeal to the possibilities thus discerned. Only so can she increase the use of books and reading.

This is true of every library everywhere, in every kind of a community; fundamental to its work is understanding of actual interests, intelligent and interpretative vision of possible interests. The problem is the same whether the community be a college town or an industrial center; an established home of descendants of the Puritans or a transient colony of recent arrivals from the steerage, whether Nordic blondes or Jewish refugees. What are their actual interests and possibilities in the use of books and reading? What subconscious interests and possibilities can be magnetized and brought to contact?

Library work with immigrants is therefore merely one phase of library extension work; it is not a philanthropy, not an exhibition of noble generosity

on our part, not a condescension; it is just a straightforward necessary part of extending the service of the library, the use of books, and reading, to the whole community.

Its differentiation comes in the fact that it requires, for success, a special sort of what I will call sympathetic intelligence—an ability on the part of the librarian to observe and to learn, an intelligent sympathy which makes it possible to divine the unexpressed, and a practical trend which sees at once the basis for establishing a definite contact.

The most obvious library service is that which assists the adjustment of the immigrant to the demands of American life: the books which help him to learn English—dictionaries, phrase books, and easy reading English books—the tools of adult education; then books about America, in his native tongue. These are all too few; in some languages there is practically nothing, and in no language is there sufficient satisfactory material. The work of the Press Bureau of the Foreign Language Information Service cannot be too highly commended in this respect, but the need for satisfactory books is very great. Their production is purely a financial problem; translators and editors could easily be secured, but the cost of publication is heavy and the market is limited. The Czech publishing house which put out a translation of Forman's *History of the United States* did so as a patriotic contribution, knowing from previous similar experiences that they had little prospect of clearing expenses.

Such books as are available along these lines have been purchased by practically all libraries having immigrants in their communities, and much energy and originality has been put into efforts to advertise them and to promote their use. Librarians have shown great diligence also in the search for English books sufficiently simple in style to be read by students of the language. No book can be safely recommended until it has been read with this purpose in view. Probably from your memory of it, every one of you would recommend *Rip Van Winkle*. But *Rip Van Winkle* simply bristles with long hard Latin words like perpendicular precipices, obsequious, apprehension, impenetrable. I shall never forget the Christmas when I undertook to read to an educated foreigner with a very fair degree of English, Milton's "Hymn on the Nativity." It is a poem I love, and my mind retains the general effect of the noble rhythm and the exalted sentiment; but when my hearer demanded explanation of all the similes and metaphors, I was embarrassed beyond measure. One wonders how many persons not born to the English language ever learn to read and love these classics. Certainly not the average immigrant whose European education was slight, whose opportunities here are very limited, and who is in no sense a student. The librarian thus comes squarely up to the question, what service will make this man a regular and permanent user of books? What can we offer him for recreation and relaxation?

To this there is only one answer—his native literature in his native tongue. Nothing else will take the place of this, any more than any other food will take the place of "mother's cooking." The Russian whose taste has been formed

by Tolstoi, Dostoyevsky, and Chekhov finds our literature insipid—if he can read it. The Pole to whom Sienkiewicz is self-expression finds no satisfactory substitute in English; the Czechoslovak loves the simple tale of country life with a vein of folklore, and the Jugoslav himself writes in the style of the heroic epics of Marko, the king's son, and of the heroes of Kossovo. We ourselves are interested in these works when they are translated for us. It is then an asset to American culture to have in our midst people who can read them in the original.

There have been libraries that were dominated by librarians or library boards who said, "Let the immigrant learn our language and read our books. This is America. Let him be an American." This sounds rather arbitrary and seems to indicate a certain limitation of culture on the part of the one who says it; but we might give it consideration if it worked. As a matter of fact, however, no one reads for pleasure anything that he cannot read easily. An immigrant may with hard work plough his way through a manual of the steam-engine, if he has in view an engineer's license; but for recreational purposes he must read without effort or he will not read at all.

In this he is no different from you or me. I spent last summer in Central Europe. I can read German if I have to; I can read Czech too if I want to; I understand as much Polish as the average Polish immigrant does English, but do you imagine that I read any German, or Czech, or Polish? No, indeed, it was too much like work. I studied their guidebooks just as the engineer studies his manual; I read the headings in the newspapers just about as the immigrant does in our papers; but beyond that I went all summer without reading, and I love to read. When finally I came to a bookstore with a few English books in a Tauchnitz edition, I bought one of Berta Ruck's, a very silly one—we don't have it in the library—and I read it with the greatest delight because I could read it without effort.

So libraries are coming generally to recognize that if the immigrant is to become a reader it must be through books that he is able to read. And in order intelligently to provide these books we are enlarging our own minds by the study of literature hitherto little known to us.

The American Library Association Committee on Work with the Foreign Born is initiating a series of pamphlets which will be officially published by the Association. The first, now just out, is entitled *The Polish Immigrant and the Library*. It gives a brief survey of Polish literature, prefaced by a review of the conditions of Polish life in America and of the most effective methods of approach to the Polish immigrant. This article, previously published in the *Library Journal*, was reviewed by a Polish newspaper under the heading, "How to Find the Way to Us." The magazine, *Poland*, said editorially: "No surer counsellor could be desired by those who wish to deal with the Poles and with Poland, whether in the social, intellectual, or even in the commercial fields, if they have first come to the realization that a psychological understand-

ing must inevitably precede any successful attempt to interchange ideas or commodities. I think that social workers will be interested in this series."

Assuming now a librarian with understanding of her community and a library with books to supply presumable needs, we still have the problem of how to bring books and readers together. In the various methods employed to make this introduction and to keep the acquaintance green and flourishing, librarians have developed a special type of social activity.

The average immigrant is shy and timid; he comes from a country where the caste system is rigid and where he was an inferior. He knows his education is deficient; he feels himself regarded as a "foreigner," an intruder, and he is sensitive to the danger of making some awful blunder which will subject him to criticism or ridicule. The inferiority complex is inwoven in every fiber of his being. It makes the Pole bitter, the Jew aggressive, the Slovak patiently submissive. I knew an illiterate immigrant who, in his own words, "always thought he was a dumb-head." Drawn into an English class almost by accident, he found that he could learn like other people and the whole world was changed for him. Yet every little while the old feeling of inferiority would sweep over him, and he would suffer again the paralysis of a "dumb-head."

For such as he, democracy is a pulling-up process. We think more or less unconsciously of democracy as a bending-down process; an attitude in which we treat as equals people whom in our hearts we really regard as beneath us. We have no conception of democracy as the form of assertion in which a man claims as his right an equality which all his inherited instincts tell him does not belong to him. These instincts cannot be changed in a moment. When the Lithuanians were baptized at the command of Jagiello, they did not in that moment forget the heathen divinities and become on the instant devout Christians; they had to grow gradually into the spirit of the new religion. So the immigrant has to grow gradually from the feeling of inferiority which was his in the Old World, to the position of democratic equality which is waiting for him in the new.

As an agency in the development, the public library stands alone. It is the only institution which is open to all ages, both sexes, all races, and creeds on equal terms and with equal treatment for all. It is the only branch of the city government which can make a friendly appeal. Its possibilities should never be overlooked in any survey of social agencies available for work among the foreign born.

In order to overcome the sense of strangeness and the feeling of inferiority, and to make immigrants feel that the library is meant for them, librarians have exercised much ingenuity and social talents, which if applied to their own advancement might have secured them introductions at the Court of St. James. Homogeneous groups have been invited to the library for special occasions, with carefully prepared programs of attractions, such as a "homeland" exhibition of handicraft, pictures, and souvenirs, with an explanatory speech by one of

their own leaders; or a stereopticon talk on their native land, or on America; or a "parents' day" for the parents of child readers. Classes, lodges, and conventions have been specially entertained. Collections of books are loaned to societies for use in their clubrooms, the installation being made by the librarian personally presenting the allurements of the books loaned. In other cases, librarians have given book talks to societies, circulating on the spot copies of the books discussed, the borrowers returning them to the library after reading.

The librarian who thus secures a place in the natural life of the immigrant community soon becomes a general adviser. She is asked to organize classes in English; to secure teachers for men wishing to prepare for their "second papers"; to connect parochial school teachers with educational authorities competent and willing to confer recognized credentials; to procure guidance in the choice of suitable movies for use in the church hall; to suggest suitable articles of handwork for a bazaar; to get publicity in the American papers for distinguished guests, or important local events; to speak at anniversary banquets; to act as judge at a costume ball; to interpret and investigate apparent injustice on the part of social organizations, like the associated charities and the humane society.

Thus the library becomes naturally "the interpreter's house," a place for the establishment of mutual understanding. First and always is the interpretation of America to the immigrant, then the interpretation of the immigrant to the American. No material reward could possibly be so satisfying as is the gratitude and affectionate regard of the immigrant group for the person who truly interprets them to the American public. The hunger for appreciation is much deeper and more general than people realize.

More delicate and difficult is the task of interpreting the various groups to one another; for between each two of them lies a gulf as deep and as wide as that which separates them from the American; and bridge-building is always in order.

At the Broadway Branch of the Cleveland Public Library we have for four years had a series of Slav evenings. The beginning was a trembling experiment; programs were framed with difficulty and contributions furnished with an air of doing it merely to oblige; last-minute messages announced the failure of chief attractions, and offered contributions sometimes had to be tactfully turned down. Clubs which had refused to take part changed their minds without notice and appeared expecting to go at once upon the platform.

One night it seemed that the advertised speaker was the only person who did not want to make a speech. At another time the church choir scheduled for the major part of the program sent word at next to the last minute that they could not come because their director had quit in a huff. But we weathered all these storms, and secured enough "Americans" for our audiences so that before the end of the first season the immigrant groups had begun to see a value in the enterprise. After Czech, Ukrainian, Russian, and Jugoslav evenings, a

man came forward wanting "to show that the Slovaks have something too," and with his help we had a Slovak evening, A Slovenian society sent word through their English-speaking representative, "We have voted to give you a concert. Please let us know what the expenses will be!"

Now we pick and choose for our programs, seeking to give adequate representation to all parties and to all varieties of talents. We have introduced to the musical world of Cleveland the Croatian tamburica orchestra, the magnificent music of the Russian church choirs, the splendid *verve* of the Czech choruses. We are building up a mailing list of Americans who wish to be informed of important musical affairs among our immigrant friends. The time is fast coming when at every such concert or operetta there will be representation of music lovers from the city at large.

After the program each time we have a social hour which gives opportunity for the cultivation of acquaintance. An official guest, consul or diplomat, adds éclat to these affairs whose development has been most encouraging. Once we found our guest of honor, a recent arrival, almost panic-stricken at the announcement of an informal reception in his honor. He did not know the the word informal—which he pronounced "ín-formál"—and connecting it with the word information, he feared that the reception might be some sort of an affair where he would be expected to give out great gobs of information.

Probably the general public was equally vague as to what was expected of them, but the library staff, as hostesses and general steering committee, tactfully directed the current. The less assured followed those with greater *savoir faire*, and the reception went through on conventional lines with great mutual satisfaction.

Two years ago the Polish consul from Detroit was our guest for the Polish evening. Although he was a very agreeable and unassuming gentleman, the inferiority complex seemed to be working overtime, and only a comparative few of the audience could be induced to step up and be introduced. The rest stood dumbly around like wistful children,—looking on, but not daring to take part. This year, entertaining a new consul, the reception moved off like clockwork. The public stepped along and were introduced, chatted a little, took the refreshments with conventional ease, and said good night at leaving. The contrast was enough to pay for all the work that has gone between.

This is the sort of thing which libraries are doing and which they can do because of their unique situation in the immigrant community.

But perhaps some of you are thinking, "Our library does nothing like this"? When you go home, make it your business to find out why. Perhaps the librarian has never thought of it and needs your suggestion. Perhaps she has wanted to and needs your encouragement. Perhaps she has tried to and lacked your support. Find out where the trouble lies, make your suggestions helpful and constructive, and when she tries, support her with your presence, and with all the following you can bring; and don't forget the words of encouragement.

THE LEGISLATIVE SITUATION

THE NEW QUOTA LAW IN THE UNITED STATES

Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell, Assistant to Director of Foreign Language Information Service, New York

Knowledge that the 3 per cent quota act of 1921 expires on June 30 has kept the subject of immigration well to the fore in congressional discussion during the first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress. On May 26, with the signature of the President, members of the House, and Senate, immigration committees who have been advocating further restriction of immigration, heaved a sigh of victorious relief over the enactment of the immigration act of 1924.

Summary of twelve important features of law.—Briefly the important features of the new law may be summarized as follows: first, limitation of total number of immigrants admissible annually from July 1, 1924, to two per cent of the total number of persons of the various nationalities resident in the United States in 1890—the minimum quota for any one country being one hundred; second, limitation of the number of immigration visas which may be issued in any one month to 10 per cent of the annual quota for that particular nationality; third, determination of nationality by country of birth, with possibility of determining nationality of minor child or wife by nationality of parent or husband; fourth, establishment of six classifications of aliens exempt from quota restriction as non-immigrant aliens; fifth, establishment of five classifications of immigrants exempt from quota restrictions as non-quota immigrants; sixth, establishment of two classifications of preferred immigrants within the quota as preferred quota immigrants; seventh, requirement for all immigrants entering the United States, both quota and non-quota to be in possession of an immigration visa issued by an American consular officer abroad; eighth, requirement for relatives of immigrants seeking entry as non-quota immigrants or as quota preference immigrants to file a petition for the issuance of such immigration visas to their relatives, with the commissioner general of immigration; ninth, issuance, upon written application by resident alien about to depart for a temporary visit abroad, of a permit to re-enter the United States after his temporary absence; tenth, exclusion from the United States of aliens ineligible to citizenship; eleventh, placing of burden of proof upon alien to establish right of admission; twelfth, deportation of any alien found not to have been entitled under act of 1924 to enter the United States or to have remained longer than permitted.

These twelve principal features would permit of endless discussion, but careful consideration is practically impossible without constant recourse to the actual text of the law, so my plan is to present certain facts about the administration of the law, which as yet are known to very few people outside of official circles, rather than to attempt a critical discussion of law already enacted.

Quota allotments.—We know in general that the quota for next year is approximately 161,000. The allotment of exact quotas to foreign countries has still not been announced, but quota control stations have been authorized in sixty-six different countries as contrasted with the forty-one countries listed throughout the discussions of Congress as the countries to which quotas must be allocated. In general, it is safe to assume that two-thirds of the quota will be allotted to countries of north Europe and that countries like Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Esthonia, Finland, Greece, Latvia, Spain, Syria, Turkey, will receive only between 100 and 200 as their individual quota. With the great demand for a quota number, the distribution even of the largest blocks of quota numbers becomes a most delicate matter.

Quota control—how it works.—The immigration act places squarely upon the American consuls abroad the responsibility of keeping immigration to the United States within the prescribed numerical limit. The quota for each country will be under the control of the consul general or a consular officer designated as the quota control officer. The quota for a given country, let us say Great Britain, will be fixed by the committee of the secretaries of state, labor, and commerce and sent to the quota control office in London. Every consul throughout the world who expects a demand for an immigration visa from an alien born in Great Britain will cable his estimate of the number of quotas needed to the quota control officer who will assemble all the requests including those from his own district. The assignment of quota will then, as far as possible, follow this formula: Total demand is to total quota available for allotment as *X's* request is to the possible allotment.

The quota control officer will not allot more than 90 per cent of the total quota for his country in advance to the various consular officers. He will maintain a reserve of 10 per cent, from which he will issue emergency or special quotas upon request at a rate of not more than 10 per cent a month. It is from this reserve that consuls in other countries will receive their quotas, for instance, American consuls here in Canada asking for British quotas would probably receive from this 10 per cent reserve. It is interesting to note in this respect that the American Consul in Toronto says that there are enough British-born applicants for visas in Canada, seeking entry to the United States, to use up the whole British quota. All cable expense attendant upon obtaining immigration visas must be borne by the interested parties. The ideal to be reached by the quota control is completion of the quota in the first ten months at a uniform rate of 10 per cent per month.

Issuance of immigration visas.—The next step after the distribution of the quota is the issuance of the immigration visa. The intending immigrant must appear before the consular officer of the district in which he resides, to be interviewed. He must bring with him all important documents of identification for the consular officer's inspection. The consular officer will explain carefully the various classes of aliens not eligible for entry into the United States, he

will look at his papers, and if, in the opinion of the consular officer, the applicant is a likely candidate, he will permit the immigrant to fill out in duplicate the application blank requesting an immigration visa. Note that the immigrant is not allowed to fill out the application form by himself. It must be typed by the proper official clerk. Interpreters are to be used if the consular officer does not know the language. The immigrant signs the application and swears in person before the consul. The application form, the *dossier*, "collection of documents," and any other evidence submitted by the alien will then be reviewed and a decision reached by the consular officer who has the responsibility of granting or refusing the visa. The immigration visa consists of one copy of the application visaed by such consular officer, specifying nationality, whether quota or non-quota, and date on which validity expires. The form for the visa is printed on the application sheet and the details are filled in by hand by the consul and the consular seal is imprinted on the photograph of the alien.

Quota immigration visas are printed on the back of white application sheets with a place to indicate whether preference or non-preference quota. They are numbered by the proper official in Washington exactly in accordance with the method laid down for fixing quota in the law.

The non-quota immigration visas are printed on the back of blue application forms and are numbered consecutively in each consular office. Such non-quota immigration visas, which exempt the holder from the operation of the quota, may be issued to the following classifications only: non-quota relatives—wife and unmarried children under eighteen of American citizens resident in the United States (petition must be filed by father or husband citizen); non quota returning—alien returning from temporary visit abroad (residence credential must be produced); non-quota national—alien born in Canada, Newfoundland, Mexico, Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Canal Zone, independent country of Central or South America (birth certificate must be produced); non-quota minister or professor—professional certificates required; non-quota student—permission from secretary of labor necessary, approving of institution to which alien student intends going.

Control of preference within quota.—The law states specifically that preference within the quota shall be given, up to 50 per cent of the quota, to the following classes of immigrants: unmarried child between eighteen and twenty-one, of American citizen resident in the United States; the unmarried child under twenty-one of an American citizen resident abroad; the alien wife of an American citizen resident abroad; the father, mother, husband of an American citizen over twenty-one; an immigrant skilled in agriculture (one skilled in planting, cultivation, and harvesting of crops; skilled in forestry, horticulture, and animal husbandry). Many hundreds of immigrants have in the past months received visas to their passports and have been waiting for the opening of the new quota. Since the law states so clearly that preference must be given to relatives, the particularly designated classes will receive priority, but second

priority will be given to aliens who obtained visas to their passports during the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1924.

The non-immigrant alien visa.—One group of aliens must still be mentioned with regard to the visa, and that is the non-immigrant alien—the alien who does not classify as an immigrant. He comes for a temporary stay and is required only to have his passport visaed in the regular fashion. Government officials, tourists, traders, transit travelers, and seamen come under this classification and must not be confused with immigrants.

Conclusion.—You now have had presented the chief features of the law and the general plan for its administration. It remains, before discussion is opened, to draw certain general and fairly obvious conclusions. First, the responsibility of enforcing the numerical limitation of the new law is placed directly upon the consular service. In the past, this responsibility was left with the steamship companies who could bring immigrants to the United States in excess of quota as long as they were willing to pay fines. While the Department of Labor still maintains the final authority, immigration visas will not be issued in excess of quota, and immigrants will not be taken on steamers without immigration visas. The hardships entailed in exclusion as result of excess quota should disappear. The consular officers have authority to verify the documentary claims of immigrants applying for a visa. Up to the present, the consular officer was legally authorized to withhold a visa only if the alien was an anarchist or a proved criminal. Just how this new responsibility on the part of the state department will work out remains to be seen. Appropriations running up into the millions, and extra personnel to the number of many hundred will be necessitated. Certainly such activity on the part of our state department denies congressional assumption that immigration is a domestic issue!

Second, in addition to the reduction in the total number of aliens admissible, the actual number of exempt classifications has been reduced, and preference within the quota, which up to the present has been extended to wives of declarants, will after July 1, 1924, be discontinued. The small quotas and the discontinuation of these exemptions will undoubtedly result in many unfortunate separations of families. A country like Greece with a quota of one hundred does not offer much opportunity to the young Greek declarants to be reunited with their families. A small quota is especially tragic in districts where the naturalization judge is unwilling to grant a petition for naturalization, if the family of the candidate is not in this country. Utterly unable to get his family here unless he be a citizen, such a resident alien cannot become a citizen unless his family is in this country. This sort of paradox threatens numerous communities of Albanians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Latvians, Greeks, Syrians, Turks, and the other countries having a quota of one hundred.

Third, with the increase in paper work, the opportunity for forgery, counterfeiting, and graft is greatly increased. That the framers of the law anticipated this result is obvious from the inclusion of drastic fines and imprisonment

for conviction of such crimes. Hand in hand with such opportunity for corruption will go the increased smuggling of aliens along a border that is as wild as the Canadian or as much of a sleeping wilderness as the Rio Grande. The maintenance of a border guard similar to the Canadian mounted police, provided for by recent congressional appropriations, is an indication of an entirely new and serious element of force in the administration of our immigration laws.

The immigration act of 1924 takes effect tomorrow, July 1, 1924. The results of this new venture in restrictive immigration legislation will not be apparent for many months. However, the transition period is the one which will present the greatest amount of difficulty for the individual immigrant. There will be many complicated tangles to unravel since the more restrictive laws we pass, the more laws there are to break. The more we shut people out of the United States, the more they will probably desire to enter. Is it not the responsibility of every American citizen whose daily work brings him in contact with the foreign-born friends and relatives of prospective immigrants to study the provisions of the new law so that he may be in a position to explain its provisions as far as it is possible, and to further an understanding of the law, which will prevent the experiencing of needless hardship and disappointment on the part of immigrant people no longer admissible to the United States under the new restrictive law?

THE CANADIAN IMMIGRATION LAW AND THE TREND OF PUBLIC OPINION

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The United States and Canada are both countries which receive immigrants, but there are, between these two countries, certain differences of conditions which are reflected in their policies with regard to immigration.

With approximately the same geographical area, the United States has a population of approximately 100,000,000; Canada has a population of approximately 9,000,000. Within this area the United States has a wide range of climatic conditions which permit, to a certain extent, of "rotation" of employment within her own territory; Canada has not an equally wide range and has therefore to pay peculiar attention to the possibility of seasonal unemployment when considering the number of immigrants who can safely be absorbed into the national life.

While Canada possesses almost limitless resources of potential wealth and vast tracts of habitable but as yet uninhabited land, she has the limited capital-resource of a young country, and is at present burdened by a heavy war debt and a transportation system which was built for the future rather than the present. The position of Canada, as one of the fellowship of nations within the British Empire, also affects her immigration policies. In consultation and

co-operation with her oversea dominions, Great Britain has entered upon a policy of systematized migration and distribution within the empire. By assisted passages to both adults and children, Great Britain is directing the stream of immigration from her shores to those of the dominions with whom the cost of migration is shared. Under this arrangement, Canada is receiving a "handpicked" British immigration which will materially affect her future development. But Canada's position within the empire adds an additional complication to the already almost insoluble problem of Asiatic immigration, inasmuch as there are British subjects who are Asiatics and who are desirous of entering Canada as immigrants, whereas they are not generally considered to be suited to Canadian conditions. Such are some of the considerations which, among many others, produce a difference between the immigration policies of Canada and the United States, and they will serve as an introduction to a more detailed study of Canadian immigration law and the trend of public opinion in Canada.

The last decade has seen a drop in the number of immigrants arriving in Canada in one year, from over 400,000 in 1913, to less than 80,000 in 1923. The Great War was the immediate cause of the downward movement; but industrial depression with consequent unemployment has prolonged the period of limited immigration. The numbers have now begun to rise rapidly. The year 1923 is therefore a turning-point in the volume of immigration, and may be conveniently taken as the point of departure in this discussion, since, in that year, two important acts affecting immigration were passed by the Dominion Parliament.

Chinese immigration act.—The Chinese Immigration Act and Regulations (13-14 George V. Chap, 38, June, 1923) governs the immigration of Chinese persons and supersedes all previous legislation on this subject. It limits the entry to Canada to (*a*) the diplomatic corps with their families and suites; (*b*) the children of Chinese race or descent returning to Canada; (*c*) merchants whose qualifications are defined in the act; (*d*) students while attending recognized Canadian universities and colleges. Students and merchants must have valid passports, must land at the ports of Vancouver or Victoria, and are subject to the power of the controller who in this instance exercises powers which a board of inquiry exercises with respect to immigrants of other nationalities. Chinese immigrants and seamen on ships trading with ports in Canada must register within one year of the passing of the act. Such are the special regulations governing at the present time the entry of Chinese to Canada, but the minister of the Department of Immigration may at any time make regulations further defining the class of persons to be admitted, or the governor-general in council may issue orders-in-council modifying but not changing the policy laid down in the act.

In order to give a concise statement of the attitude of Canada toward Asiatic immigration it may be well to state here the conditions prevailing with

regard to other Asiatics although they were not modified by the legislation of 1923.

With Japan, Canada has a "gentleman's agreement" as to the number of immigrants from Japan to be received in Canada yearly. In reply to a question asked in the House of Commons by Hon. H. H. Stevens of Vancouver, the Hon. the Minister of Immigration (Mr. Robb) replied (as reported by the Canadian press) that the Japanese government has agreed to restrict to 150 annually the number of Japanese entering Canada as household servants or agricultural laborers, but that this number does not include Japanese permitted to enter Canada each year in other specified classes. Last year, 448 Japanese entered Canada. The Minister further intimated that, in reponse to representations from retail merchants in British Columbia, "the government is considering the advisability of a further restriction of Japanese immigration." He also stated that the present arrangement permits a rediscussion of conditions with the Japanese government.

The immigration of Hindus is practically prohibited by the regulation which demands that immigrants should enter Canada by "direct passage" from the country of origin. As there is no direct transportation between Canada and India, this regulation excludes Hindus, although they are British subjects.

The immigration act.—The second important act relating to immigration which was passed in June, 1923, is popularly known as "The Immigration Act," but its proper connotation is 13–14 George V, chapter 51. This act consolidates various previous acts and orders-in-council and affords a very convenient basis for a statement of the present position of Canada with regard to immigration. It is impossible to discuss, within the limits of the present paper, all the clauses of this important act, but certain fundamental principles may be discovered in its permissions and prohibitions.

Persons prohibited from entering Canada.—A study of the prohibitory clauses reveals that there is to be no lowering of the bars which exclude the unfit and the undesirable. In this act, Canada declares that she will not admit: (*a*) those who by reason of physical, mental, moral, or psychopathic defect or infirmity are likely to become a public charge; (*b*) those who by reason of disease are likely to injure the health of the community; (*c*) those who having reached the age of fifteen are unable to read thirty words printed clearly in a language selected by the would-be immigrant (exception is granted for persons over fifty-five who are going to reside with relatives); (*d*) those who practice or advocate force or violence against organized governments, spies, and conspirators; (*e*) those who practice immorality or profit by it in others; (*f*) those who are convicted criminals or are beggars and vagrants; (*g*) those who are chronic alcoholics; (*h*) those who are assisted to emigrate by charity (unless they have special permission from the deputy-minister of the department or the superintendent of immigration in England). These prohibitory clauses exhibit the policy which is fundamental with regard to the admission of any immigrant from any country.

How, then, is it possible for "undesirables," clearly included in these classifications, to enter Canada? (*a*) They may elude the vigilance of the immigration officials at the ports of entry; (*b*) they may be smuggled in at other points, especially along the United States border; (*c*) they may be admitted by the minister in virtue of the special discretionary powers secured to him by the act (clause 4): "The minister may issue a written permit authorizing any person to enter Canada without being subject to the provisions of this act. . . . . A form of permit is included in the schedule of this act."

The act further contains instructions for the proper inspection of all immigrants at the ports of entry, with stringent regulations governing the landing of passengers, and clause 27 (2) runs: "The governor-in-council may make regulations for the inspection of immigrants in the country of their origin or domicile, or at any port of call en route or on board ship, but any such inspection shall not relieve the transportation company . . . . of any of the fines, obligations, or penalties imposed by this act."

The act thus continues to throw upon the transportation companies the onus of all expenses incurred by the bringing to Canada of persons who come within the prohibited classes of immigrants, and, besides, imposes penalties for wilful infractions of the law. In some cases, the medical expenses of such persons while waiting to be carried back are also chargeable to the companies and the governor-in-council may by proclamation or order prohibit the landing in Canada of any persons brought by companies which refuse or neglect to comply with the regulations.

It will be noted that the placing of Canadian immigration inspectors in foreign countries is subject to the discretion of the governor-in-council. It is impossible to place them in all foreign countries. The penalizing of transportation companies for carrying unfit passengers is another method of protecting Canada from receiving undesirables and of protecting a family or individual from being uprooted to no purpose from the country of his birth or residence.

From the act, it is possible to deduce certain main principles of action: first, the exclusion of the unfit and the undesirable—Canada is not to be made a dumping-ground for the problem cases of the world; second, the virtual exclusion of the Asiatic—Canada is to be a "white" country; third, preferential treatment in the matter of passports to British subjects and citizens of the United States; fourth, provision for further restriction of immigration by the governor-general-in-council, who may prohibit (*a*) entry of persons not reaching Canada by continuous passage; (*b*) landing of passengers by a company not conforming to the law; (*c*) entry of immigrants of a specified race or nationality, class or occupation, for any of the following causes: industrial conditions in Canada; unsuitability of immigrant in respect to climatic, social, educational, industrial, or other conditions and requirements of Canada; unsuitability of immigrant in respect to customs, habits, modes of life, methods of holding property, or probable inability to become assimilated or assume the duties of

Canadian citizenship; and lastly, the minister's discretionary power to admit immigrants excluded by the act.

Trend of public opinion in Canada.—It is practically impossible to blend into one harmonious statement the various phases of public opinion with regard to immigration, and perhaps a plain expression of some of the opinions —even if contradictory—may give a truer impression of the situation.

Public opinion appears to be favorable to the policy of the present government in (*a*) favoring the immigration of British stock, (*b*) excluding Asiatics, (*c*) "humanizing," as far as possible, the conditions of immigration by land and sea. It would be possible, however, to find Canadians who do not support *a* and *b*.

There appears to be a distinct movement in favor of the assumption by the provincial governments of a larger responsibility in regard to the obtaining of immigration for their respective provinces, and the settlement of all immigrants entering the province. Conferences between the Dominion and provincial governments have marked a greater stage in co-operation while not relieving the federal government of its responsibility for the national policy. Provisions for the welfare of juvenile immigrants have been made by two acts recently passed in provincial legislatures—Manitoba (7 George V. c. 89) and Ontario (14 George V, 1924).

Opinion with regard to the desirability of the immigration of children and juveniles without their parents is sharply divided. On one side are those who regard such immigration as beneficial equally to the children who find a second chance in a new land and to the households which receive them and as a legitimate expedient for obtaining a rural population. On the other side are those who question the advisability of sending young children to face the possibilities of exploitation as cheap labor in a strange country, and who regard the keeping together of a family whenever possible as a fundamental principle of social work. There is, however, a general agreement that, if permitted, juvenile immigration demands far more detailed attention, and more enlightened methods than prevail at present among government officials and emigrating agencies, and a more friendly attitude in the communities where such children are placed.

There is also a sharp division of opinion as to the number of immigrants who can be safely admitted and absorbed into the national life. Mr. E. W. Beatty, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, stated recently that he believed that, under a carefully prepared system, Canada could welcome annually half a million newcomers, including both farmers and skilled labor, and that by such an immigration Canada would be enabled to broaden the field of taxation, reduce the overhead of the railways, and increase the demand for Canadian manufactures by creating a large domestic market. An interesting discussion of immigration from this point of view is found in a pamphlet entitled *Some Economic Needs of the Dominion of Canada*, prepared by a com-

mittee of the Board of Trade of Toronto, November, 1923, and submitted to a meeting of the Ontario associated boards of trade and chambers of commerce.

Mr. Tom Moore, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, writing editorially in the *Journal* of the Canadian Congress (January 24, 1924), says:

> Workers must be satisfied to receive even-handed justice if industry is to prosper, and if Canada is to take her place among the foremost nations of the world. Well-known happenings show conclusively that this condition does not exist today in Canada. The exodus of our skilled workers and farmers to the United States is a glaring warning of the undercurrent of dissatisfaction with present conditions. The latest figures available show that for nine months ending last June, 100,000 Canadians left Canada to take up residence in the United States, whilst 67,000 immigrants were secured from Great Britain and Central European countries to replace them. . . . . Is it not time that the Department of Immigration and Colonization devoted more time and effort to the colonization of Canadian citizens than to the frantic searching of other countries for immigrants to replace the voids created by migrating Canadians? . . . . It has seemed to labor that much might be done by Dominion and provincial authorities in providing the woefully lacking employment necessary to maintain our citizens.
>
> It is unfortunate that the profits derived from a large immigration do not always find their way into the pocket out of which come the expenses incurred by the immigrants who do not immediately fit into their places in the national life. The unemployed, delinquent, or otherwise dependent immigrant becomes a burden upon the municipalities, the churches, and the social workers; seeing the misery which may result from such conditions, they are inclined to say "make haste slowly."
>
> There is a general consensus of opinion as to the great value of the school as a social agency, making for assimilation and the maintenance of Canadian standards of life and conduct. There is a strong belief that much more might be done towards settlement if the immigrants were connected with their churches, the schools, and the health authorities in some definite plan, worked out by co-operation between the Dominion and provincial governments, and adopted by the voluntary societies as a basis of common effort.
>
> Among all classes of the community, there is a growing feeling of responsibility for the welfare of the immigrant as a human being, apart from his value to the community as a worker. We are growing away from the point of view of the employer who said "What we want are men with strong backs and weak minds," and nearer to the board of trade, which declares, "There is urgent call for the best thought, the best intentions, and the most sympathetic co-operation in this matter."

The establishment of the International Bureau of Labor under the League of Nations at Geneva is welcomed as a first attempt to deal with migration as an international world-problem, the solution of which can be reached by no high-handed national action. In Canada, we like to grumble, like true Britishers, about our own institutions and officials, so it was cheering to read in the *Outlook* of December 5, 1923, an article entitled "How Canada Selects Aliens," in which the writer asks: "Why not turn to Canada for a lesson? It is not too much to say that Canada . . . . has abolished all our immigration evils."

SOME SPECIAL ASPECTS OF IMMIGRATION

MIGRATORY IMMIGRANT LABOR

H. C. Hudson, Superintendent, Ontario Offices, Employment Service of Canada, Toronto

In order that we may have a clear conception of the term "migratory immigrant labor," shall we agree that it includes all those workers and their numerous immediate relatives who have left, or are desirous of leaving, their homeland in order to start life anew in some distant country which they believe offers the opportunity of improving their own and their children's present conditions.

At the present time those who are coming to Canada at least believe that they are going from unemployment to employment—from poverty to plenty. Who primarily leads them to believe that? First the shipping agents; second, the authorized representatives of our government. I am convinced, as a result of conversations with a great many new arrivals, that the statements made by government officials are substantially correct, but I also fear that the immigrant's ear for hearing the less optimistic side of the story does not function as effectively as what might be called his "high wages ear."

Among other motives which induce men to emigrate are the wonderful letters received "back 'ome." The man who has embarked on the great adventure, and brought his family to Canada or the United States, naturally hates to confess failure, and he is very apt to emphasize his good fortunes and minimize his bad luck in the new land. His letters, therefore, become immigration propaganda.

During the summer of 1923, an immigration movement which had many unusual features brought over 11,000 men from Great Britain for work in the harvest fields of western Canada. These workers were recruited by the transportation companies who guaranteed only thirty days' work, but who provided a very cheap passage from Great Britain, and low return rate for those who wished to go back when the harvest was concluded. With one man unemployed in every forty in England and Scotland, the transportation companies' appeal resulted in the recruiting of workers from practically every trade and occupation known to the Old Land. The majority of the men were of good physique and, what is more important, they had the proper attitude of mind toward their adventure in the new land. The result was that they rendered a valuable and efficient service in helping to harvest the grain crop of western Canada. Few earned less than $4 per day and there were many cases where men with mechanical ability were paid $7 and $8 a day looking after the machinery used in the harvesting operations. After the conclusion of the harvest some 2,000 returned to Great Britain; something over 8,500 more were absorbed by lumbering operations, on the farms, or in their own accustomed trades. A rela-

tively small number congregated in Toronto where they enlisted much sympathy and spent the entire winter in idleness. This group was made up largely of men who had experienced the doubtful benefits of the unemployment dole system and they consistently refused to accept farm employment although jobs were offered them at fairly regular intervals throughout the winter.

Quite naturally, organized labor has a deep interest in the question of migratory immigrant labor and during the annual Trades and Labor Congress, held in Montreal last August, a report was brought in declaring in favor of the effective supervision and regulation of immigration and the total exclusion of all Orientals. Amendments to the immigration act were also asked for in order to prevent the hiring of labor outside Canada by private employers, except through the employment services of Canada and Great Britain.

The Congress further approved the formation of a Dominion advisory council of immigration, and urged, also, that labor brought in to replace strikers be placed among the classes of prohibited immigrants. A closer supervision of immigration advertisements and a more rigid control of booking agencies were also urged by the Congress. Two resolutions, which were unanimously approved, concluded the expression of opinion with regard to the question under discussion. The first urged that land settlement and colonization schemes be made available to citizens and others already located in Canada, and the second suggested that medical and other inspection of immigrants should take place, so far as possible, at the port of embarkation.

When Canada or any other immigration-receiving country has obtained immigrants for which she may or may not have been seeking, it is in the best interest of the inhabitants of that country to take practical steps to see that the newcomers are given every chance of becoming good citizens. For other reasons, as well, we should be prepared to assume some of the responsibility for the immigrant's success in the land of his adoption, remembering that where he fails, the reasons may frequently be inherent in the native born rather than in the newcomer. Briefly, some of these factors are: lack of friendly, sympathetic, dignified reception at the port of entry; lack of intelligent, efficient guidance in fitting him properly into the economic life of the country; frequent thwarting of effort to settle upon the land, because of lack of proper direction, and often of exploitation; assumption of superiority toward everything and everybody foreign.

The foregoing factors, as described by Professor Drachsler, apply to Canadians as well as to citizens of the United States, and offer us food for serious thought with regard to our attitude toward immigrants and immigration.

It would seem desirable at this point to attempt to describe the procedure which is followed out in assisting the new arrival to find employment in Canada. This is not a problem for the immigrant alone but is a question in which the entire community is, or should be, interested. A system of public employment offices is the logical machinery for handling this problem.

The Employment Service of Canada with its seventy-eight offices extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean renders material assistance in the placement of immigrant workers. In recording the work done by the Service no attempt is made to keep an accurate record of the actual number of immigrants placed in positions, so that it is impossible to indicate statistically the extent of the bureau's activities. The information supplied by the local superintendents, however, proves conclusively that the new immigrant—particularly from Great Britain—finds the Service a most valuable asset not only in securing work but also as a center for obtaining accurate and reliable data regarding questions of vital importance to him as a prospective citizen of the country.

Previous to October, 1923, no record was kept of the number of immigrants who registered at the Toronto office of the Employment Service of Canada. Figures compiled since October, however, show that over one thousand, 1,064 to be exact, new arrivals solicited the assistance of the bureau in finding employment.

Before dealing with the placement of the individual immigrants it may be of interest to review the large scale colonization movements under way—so far as Canada is concerned—at the present time. Three thousand Mennonites in the Odessa district in Russia are at present on their way to western Canada. The Federal Department of Immigration announces that this group will receive no special rates or privileges, but will be treated in the same way as other immigrants.

Another colonization project under way at the present time, which should result in many hundreds of workers settling on the land in Canada, is that of the Salvation Army. Under their scheme, farm laborers and other workers for whom a demand exists in western Canada will be assisted to their destination, from Great Britain, by the Army. An interesting feature of this plan is the arrangement by which the British and Canadian governments share the cost of the transportation of such workers from Sudbury westward, in order to prevent their congregating in eastern Canada. It is also proposed, according to Commissioner Lamb, to establish a number of training schools and farm centers in different Canadian provinces for immigrants taken to Canada by the Army. This organization plans to settle 25,000 boys, single women, and widows with families in the Dominion. Individual efforts to secure employment probably account for the placement of many times the number who secure employment through colonization plans.

Whenever urban employment tightens up and work in the cities becomes scarce, the cry goes up from those least familiar with the situation: "Why don't you send the unemployed to the farms?" The first difficulty lies in the unwillingness of those whose entire working experience has been in the cities to leave the urban centers. They realize that while they are working in the country their opportunities of securing employment at their customary trades are limited in the extreme, and they seem to fear that in accepting farm work

even temporarily they may be missing an opportunity of establishing themselves as city dwellers. In addition, it so happens in Canada that the period of greatest unemployment in the cities is the period of lowest demand on the farms, so that there are not enough vacancies to take care of any appreciable percentage of those out of work, assuming the willingness to go. Then there is the case of the man who does try farm work, but who does not secure his position through any of the recognized agencies. He is quite likely to find himself engaged by a man who could not secure local help on account of his methods of dealing with his employees.

Returning, for a moment, to the method followed in placing on farms, as to workers who cannot speak English, we find that they generally find their way to the consulate of the country from which they have come, and the consul, as a rule, is able to provide them with the services of an interpreter. Through him, the immigrant is supplied with a bird's-eye view of Canadian conditions in agricultural employment, his misapprehensions with regard to fabulous wages are corrected, and finally, his engagement is arranged with a farmer who may be in the office at the time of his arrival.

Because of the interrelation of innumerable aspects of the immigration problem, it is reasonable to assume that the best thought—the most practicable ideas for dealing with the question—would come from an internationally organized body. Such a body is the International Emigration Commission established by the League of Nations. This Commission outlined the following certain standards which should govern the migration of workers from country to country. The sections of the regulations which deal with the immigrant from the point of view of his employment are here quoted:

REGULATIONS OF EMIGRATION

V. If he applies to collective recruiting agents, he has no guarantee of the conditions under which he will work in the foreign country. Many promises are made to him, but few of them are kept.

Remedy—collective recruiting of labor for foreign countries should only be carried out under the supervision of the authorities by authorized agents or employment agencies. after consultation with employers' and workers' organization. Suitable wages and labor conditions should be provided, and the contracts should, if possible, be written, and should take account of the state of the labor market in the countries concerned. Collective recruiting should be prohibited in the case of strikes and lockouts (resolutions XIV and XV).

XL. Abuse—his lack of knowledge of the country makes it difficult for him to find suitable employment.

Remedy—in order to assist immigrants to find employment, the commission proposed that each government should make its national system of employment agencies available for them; that the employment exchange and emigration organizations should keep in close touch with one another; that the exchange of information concerning the state of foreign labor markets between the employment agencies of adjoining countries should be facilitated; and that special employment agencies for emigrants should be set up in places where a large number of emigrants congregate (resolutions IV, V, VI, and VII).

EMPLOYMENT OF EMIGRANTS

IV. Each member should undertake to place at the disposal of emigrants and immigrants the services of the public exchange systems in addition to the special services which may exist for the purpose of assisting them in seeking employment.

V. For this purpose it would be desirable that permanent relations should be established between public employment agencies and the public services of emigration or of immigration or of both, where they exist.

VI. Each Member should undertake to furnish to the public employment exchanges of other countries which may apply for it, all available information necessary for the proper carrying out of the provisions of resolution IV, particularly as regards contiguous frontier areas. The exchange of information will be effected whether directly between the competent exchanges or by other means established by the appropriate authority.

VII. It is desirable that, in localities where emigrants and immigrants are concentrated in large numbers, an organization should be set up to find them employment and to provide them with any information which may concern them, having regard to the conditions mentioned in the two previous resolutions.

COLLECTIVE RECRUITING OF WORKERS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

XIV. That, if and when bilateral conventions for the recruitment of bodies of workers are made between members in pursuance of the recommendation of the Washington conference, or where collective recruiting takes place in another country, the following principles should be borne in mind: (1) Inspection and supervision by the competent authorities of the two states concerned, each on its own territory. (2) Recruiting operations should be carried on exclusively through the medium of officers or agents authorized by the competent authorities of the state. (3) Consultation of employers' and workers' organizations concerned in the case of recruiting carried out as a result of conventions between governments. (4) To see that the recruiting does not disturb the labor markets of the two countries; particularly that the wages should not be less than those paid in the country of immigration, and that workers recruited should not arrive on the occasion of strikes or lockouts. (5) Contracts signed in the country of emigration shall be fully enforceable in the country of immigration, except in the case of such clauses as are contrary to public order.

XV. If it appears that workers or employees (men or women) are recruited for another country in order to replace workers or employees of that country who are involved in a strike or lockout, the undertaking which has carried out this recruiting, or for the profit of which the recruiting has been carried out, should repay to the workers and employees thus recruited all their expenses, including the expenses of the journey in both directions.

My attempt has been to present a bird's-eye view of the broad topic of immigration as I have seen it from my position in the Department of Labor. Points upon which entire volumes have been written could, of course, be touched upon only briefly, while statements have undoubtedly been made with which you will not be entirely in agreement. I wish to assure my audience, however, that so far as we in the employment service are concerned, we desire to render the greatest possible assistance, having due consideration at the same time for the claims of those already established in the country.

JUVENILE IMMIGRATION

Charlotte Whitton, Hon. Secretary, Canadian Council on Child Welfare, Ottawa

Juvenile immigration, as far as Canada is concerned, is largely though not entirely a question of the emigration of juvenile immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland to this Dominion, and is similar in nature, if not in degree, to the movement of dependent juveniles in the last century from the congested areas of the Eastern United States to the agricultural settlements in the new West.

From 1868 to the end of the fiscal year 1922–23, Canada received no less than 77,683 juvenile immigrants (Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1923). Of this total, 38,589 have come since 1900, and 3,821 in the last three years. The figures for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1924, are not yet available, but will doubtless show an increase as the result of the Empire Settlement Scheme.

What type of child is being brought into this country?—These dependent children are the wards of the nine below-mentioned British emigration agencies operating in Canada. These and other philanthropic organizations in England and Scotland, together with the ministry of health, which links up the 600 boards of poor-law guardians and the certified schools (poor-law) of the home office, are the recruiting forces gathering children to be sent to Canada under the juvenile immigration scheme. They are, generally speaking, dependent institutional children, though there is a minority, a decided minority, of dependent children from poor homes, where the mother is willing to break the maternal tie in order to provide some of her children at least with what she is convinced is a better chance overseas than is available at home.

Certainly, if the encouragement of juvenile immigration, which must be recruited largely from the underprivileged groups of the Old Land, is to continue, Canada cannot insist too strongly and emphatically on the enactment and administration of the most stringent precautionary measures to guard the mental, moral, and physical fiber of her own being.

Why are these children being brought to Canada?—Apart from the fact that Britain, driven by the increased postwar problems of child dependency, unemployment, and the lack of space or money to provide homes and schools for these social problems, seeks an outlet overseas, there is a demand for these little immigrants here, as witnessed by the receipt of 17,000 applications annually for the last three years for such children. Yet Canada has today in but six of the provinces (the figures could not be obtained for Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and for New Brunswick outside of one center) 21,557 wholly or partially dependent children in institutions.

Of course, some of these children are not placeable, but the majority are, providing homes acceptable to the provincial child-caring authorities are available.

Possible placements per annum.—The provincial authorities responsible for this work state that they could anticipate the satisfactory placement in suitable homes of a total of 2,500 children annually in Canada. They have in their institutions 22,000 children, some partially dependent, some unplaceable, others unplaced. The federal juvenile immigration officials are meanwhile subsidizing the immigration of juvenile dependents from overseas, and reporting the receipt of 17,000 applications for such children annually. A fair inference would seem apparent—that the juvenile immigrants are being sought for placement in homes and under conditions which the Canadian provincial authorities will not accept for Canadian children.

The matter can be satisfactorily adjusted only by the most adequate provision being made by federal and provincial governments for co-operation between the juvenile immigration department of the federal government and the child-caring divisions of the respective provincial governments. To the latter are assigned, by the British North America Act, the responsibilities of child care within the province. It is unjust and unfair to the provinces, and inconsiderate on the one hand of the interests of the public welfare intrusted to them, and on the other to the juvenile immigrants, to place on the provinces the responsibility for the care of the neglected and dependent child, and to reserve to the federal department the right to flood the provinces with juvenile dependents. The provinces have all built up a body of children's protective legislation and the official staff necessary for its administration. Yet their whole supervisory and inspection service must stand helplessly by, while a federal department authorizes overseas agencies to engage in the work of child placement within the provinces; to put on their own inspectors; and to report only to the federal department; the said federal department in the meanwhile assuring the citizens of Canada at large that it is exerting a thoroughly efficient supervision over said emigration societies, and also inspecting all the children placed out under them. And this the department states it is accomplishing with a staff of six to eight full-time inspectors visiting 3,613 children located in the provinces of Canada.

The time has come when Canadian social workers must demand a "show down" on this intolerable situation and insist on an adequate working arrangement between the federal department and the provinces on this matter. The very crux of any agreement must be recognition of the province's right to control placements within its territory, and to lay down the conditions of juvenile emigration to its territory, and to exercise supervision and inspection of placements made therein.

But, why, with the confusion of power now existing, should the federal department be flooded with applications, and the provinces find themselves with placeable children in institutions? Are Canadian social workers not justified in their implication that while the children's agencies are placing children, the whole effect of the present juvenile immigration policy is to place little wage-slaves on the Canadian farms?

It does not redound to the credit of Canada that in an official publication of the Dominion government we should speak of getting "helpers from ten to thirteen years of age. The most suitable ages to send a child to Canada for service are from five to fourteen years for boys, and from thirteen to sixteen for girls. Children, three-and-a-half to ten, are emigrated only when foster homes have been previously selected for them in Canada." Can this country approve the immigration of boys, from five to fourteen years for service?

We find the supreme example of Canada's nation-building on the backs of children in this statement:

> It is absolutely certain that in Canada the conditions in respect to farm labor and household work can be met to a very large extent by the importation of thousands of carefully selected boys and girls, who have been under discipline and training in the various private and state schools in the United Kingdom. The supply of this class of help is ready to hand in larger numbers than was ever known heretofore, for one particular reason, namely, that there has been a very limited migration to Canada of juveniles from the motherland for a number of years.

Do these facts not bear out the contention of a cheap labor demand, a cheap labor that approaches perilously near to a form of slavery, when it is remembered that these young toilers are brought to a strange land at a tender age, from an institution to a private home, in many cases a more or less isolated farm home, placed there far from any friends or connections, and bound over by an indenture between the "employer" and a "society" for a given term?

Low wage rates.—In the *Superintendent's Report*, page 62, 1923, covering the children inspected in the last fiscal year, 1,426 children are listed as wage-earning, and the total annual wage paid to these children $173,190, or somewhat over $100 per child per annum. And yet, Canada wonders why she cannot get adult farm laborers! So long as this policy permits such exploitation of boy workers, what chance will there be of a decent wage for the adult farm worker?

Under the Empire Settlement Scheme, the Canadian and the British government each advance $40 per child (a total of $80) to any recognized society for the purpose of bringing to Canada children between eight and fourteen years of age. Child placement records are their own evidence that these ages are between the most desirable ages for adoption, and that these children are really being brought out as little "helpers" to use a kind and euphonious phrase.

Is the supervision given children in Canada by the federal department of immigration or the societies adequate or satisfactory?—The suicides of the last few months would seem to question its adequacy; further, the evidence of the lack of any adequate information by either the emigrating agencies or the federal department on individual children, on statistics of inspections, on records, etc., would support the query; the fact that at a given moment neither the federal department nor the emigrating agencies can submit any record of the distribution even by provinces of the applications for children received in the preceding twelve months; the oft-repeated statements of both department and agencies that they have no time for statistics for statistics' sake; the fact that in such

a vital matter as the payment of the child's wage the department leaves the matter entirely to the agency and the employer, and cannot tell at any time just how much has been paid or not, the matter being left to the agency; all bear out an uncertainty of satisfactory work. The department accepts the statement of the agency concerned as to the amount in trust, regularity of payment, etc., though the society or agency works without any supervision except its charter. The agency should be subject to the inspection of the provincial child welfare authorities. This very important matter, as well as inspection on the part of the imperial authorities, is left in the hands of the emigrating agencies themselves, who work without direct supervision of either federal or provincial authorities. The children and homes in each province should be under the inspection of the provincial authorities, and the societies should be bonded to the government of any province in which they work for the performance of their work to the satisfaction of that province's officials, and for the removal of any children found to be undesirable immigrants. The care of neglected and dependent children is entirely the responsibility of the province, and any underprivileged child becomes a direct charge upon the province. Yet under existing conditions the federal department of immigration and the emigration societies may agree to bring in any number of dependent children for placement in a province without that province's consent. And neither department nor society is in a position at the present time to answer a province's inquiry as to how many applications, together with details of the same, are on file from that province. Nor is information forthcoming as to placements made in a given period for a given center.

These are only some of the angles of the present situation in this field, but they are not sufficient to arouse the Canadian public to the necessity of the federal and provincial governments getting together on this subject and working out some co-operative arrangement, whereby the well-being of these thousands of homeless children and the very future of Canada's own strength may be served. Ontario has already taken the lead, and in an immigrant children's protection act has stated unequivocally that any society doing juvenile immigration work within her territory must meet certain conditions she lays down, the cardinal ones of which are the preliminary approval of the homes of all applicants by the province's own officials, and the subsequent periodic inspection and supervision of all placements by the same officials. Failure to comply with the province's regulations will forfeit the society's right to work within the province.

Practically every province of the Dominion has enacted protective legislation safeguarding the interests of the dependent and neglected children within its boundaries. It has been accepted as a principle of our social life that where any child is deprived of wholesome, natural guardianship, the state assumes responsibility for supplying the same. This responsibility is assumed, we prefer to believe, from humanitarian motives, but also in the interests of self-

preservation. Humanity in defense of its own survival demands public responsibility for the less fortunate of its own units and particularly for the young of the race.

In administration of the legislation placed on its statute books, each province has evolved a system of supervision of its neglected and dependent children. Provision is made for the apprehension of those who endanger a child's well-being; for the removal of children in danger of becoming neglected or dependent, for their care and maintenance; for their replacements under more propitious circumstances in institutions or in private homes, and for their constant supervision there. This the Canadian provinces exact on behalf of their own children, and no less can they countenance for the children brought to them from other lands. Freedom from child labor, a decent education, and such environment and treatment as will not cause neglect, dependency, or delinquency; these are what Canada requires and what she attempts to guarantee for her own children. A Christian citizenship can be content with no other minimum for children brought to our shores.

THE QUOTA LAW AND THE EFFECT OF ITS ADMINISTRATION IN CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY

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A new immigration law is now in effect, another quota law. Whatever criticism may be leveled against this new quota act, which became effective July 1, one thing is certain—a conscious attempt has been made to regulate its administration in a manner which should remove some of the most glaring and inexcusable cruelties inherent in the former quota law. The count of the emigrant at the port of embarkation instead of at the port of debarkation—the consideration of the family as a unit to avoid inhuman separation of parents and children—the admission, free of quota, of wives and children of citizens of the United States—these and one or two other provisions justify the contention of the advocates of the law that the human aspect has been given some degree of thought by the framers of this new legislation.

But the drastic effects of the first quota law are still being felt. Like the pebble thrown into the water causing ever widening circles until greater and greater areas are involved, the 3 per cent law, by its refusal to admit emigrants into the United States has drawn into its influence lands hitherto never contemplated as possible fields for emigration or migration.

When in the fall of 1923 the quotas for most of the great sending countries were being rapidly filled, great numbers of Russians who had sailed for the United States arrived too late to be included in the quota for their country.

Hundreds were therefore deported—some for the second time—to ports in England, France, and Germany, where they were permitted to remain in hotels provided by the steamship companies to await the opening of the new quota in July, 1924. Meanwhile, in addition to these deportees, a continuous stream of transmigrants from the Baltic states and from Southeastern Europe had been directed to the ports of Southampton, Cherbourg, Le Havre, Antwerp, Hamburg, Bremen, Riga, Danzig, and Constantinople, where they found upon arrival that the quotas for their countries were exhausted. With entire families uprooted, businesses and homes disrupted, all social ties dissolved, what course could these people pursue, but to remain at the ports of embarkation? Thousands of them had already procured their visas from the American consul and were eagerly awaiting the day when, the quota again opened, they might sail for the States. Though it has been difficult to procure exact figures of all nationalities now waiting in the ports of Europe for new quotas to open, there are at least 3,600 transmigrants, mostly Russians, holding visas which were granted them by American consuls before July 1, 1924. In addition to these transmigrants with visas, for whom, up to the passage of the new law, admission to America, although postponed, was nevertheless a possibility, there are many refugees who have no visas, and who are also anxious to join their relatives in the United States. For most of these people a return to their native lands is impossible. They are refugees from persecution and from military conscription in countries which had previously been enemy lands, but to which they are now obliged by post-war treaties to pay allegiance. Admission to the States immediately after the opening of the new quota is also out of the question. It was natural, therefore, for these people to succumb to any suggestions or advices that carried with them a promise of early entry into the United States; and there have been and are at the various ports many agencies brimful of such suggestions. Their arguments are simple. According to the 3 per cent quota law, an alien in a country contiguous to the United States was obliged to wait one year before he might apply for a visa to the States. As soon as this year of residence expired, the alien could apply for his visa. If he went to Cuba or to Mexico he was but a few hours' journey from the States and could thus come in on the very first day that the new quota was opened. This plausible reasoning won many converts and as a result there are today in Mexico and in Cuba thousands of emigrants of every nationality. In the island of Cuba alone there are some 10,000 including about 2,000 young women and children. Cuba and Mexico have suddenly become new lands of liberty—havens of refuge for these thousands who are unable to return to their native lands and who must find permanent homes elsewhere. Thus the 3 per cent law has created new and perplexing problems which require immediate solution.

Constantly besieged by relatives in the United States requesting advice as to the propriety of directing their European kinfolk to Cuba, and recognizing also that the thousands of emigrants already in Cuba and Mexico were residing

in countries whose language and customs are totally unfamiliar to European people, and whose economic opportunities are decidedly limited, the National Council of Jewish Women undertook a preliminary survey of the situation in Cuba. A brief résumé of the result of the survey demonstrates the far-reaching effect of the quota law on the lives of the many victims of the world-war.

The transmigrants now living in Cuba find it difficult to acclimate themselves to the tropical heat. They do not enjoy the food commonly eaten by Cubans, and many of them suffer from skin rashes due to the heat and to the fact that they persist in eating the heat-producing foods to which they have been accustomed. They cannot speak the Spanish language and are thus isolated from the rest of the community. They must rely upon others to interpret for them. A purchase in a drug-store, the cashing of a check at a bank or the calling at the post office for a letter, cannot be accomplished without the aid of an interpreter. This causes the emigrants to congregate in one section of Havana, and as fast as newcomers arrive they too seek the quarter which contains people who understand them and speak their language. Obviously, this quarter is not in the best district of Havana. Fearfully overcrowded, with a minimum of convenience of any sort, with soap boxes and dry-goods cases for furniture, their beds a bare cot, or a pallet on the floor, many of these transmigrants have been residing in Havana for almost a year, patiently but hopefully accepting these discomforts because on July 1, 1924, they would go to America. Their greatest problem has been the question of employment. Cuba is an agricultural country with very few industries. Hundreds of migrants who are skilled laborers or have trades or professions have found it impossible to procure employment because they do not know the Spanish language. The unskilled workers, on the other hand, have found it difficult to compete with local labor. The European emigrants are unable to work in the tropical sun on sugar plantations and on railroad tracks as do the Chinese and the Negroes, nor can they accustom themselves to the food which is served these workers. Furthermore, there is no social or intellectual life to be found on these plantations, and the Europeans, accustomed to urban advantages, cannot adapt themselves to this new mode of living. Many of the men attempt this work on their first arrival, but after a few months they return to Havana, broken in health and in spirit. For the women and girls there are positions in households as domestics. Some do sewing at home or work in the few underwear and dress factories in the city. Numbers of men earn a scant livelihood by peddling, but this form of employment too has its disadvantage because of the intense heat. Last summer some of the men found that they could earn what they considered a fair living by peddling Eskimo Pie. They strapped boxes, filled with ice and the pies on their chests, but the conflict between the ice on their chests and the sun on their backs resulted in many deaths from pneumonia. Quite a number of the men are still suffering as a result of this venture in the Eskimo Pie business.

However, the greatest danger confronting transmigrants in contiguous

countries like Cuba and Mexico is the exploitation which is rampant. From the moment these migrants land at the docks where there is no accredited representative from any social agency to assist them, they are the prey of any unscrupulous person who approaches them. They are overcharged for their baggage and for the rooms which are found for them. If checks are to be cashed, they lose money on the transaction. When they seek employment they are obliged to pay so-called labor agencies good round sums for promised jobs which rarely materialize. They are registered by various individuals who offer to take them to Canada, or to smuggle them into the United States, or to procure their visas for them from the American consul, at charges ranging from $6 to $175. When they attempt to organize themselves into mutual benefit societies, they are invariably duped by an unscrupulous member of their own group who attempts to seize the leadership of their organization and who usually succeeds. Such emigrant organizations are therefore short-lived, and there descends upon these helpless men and women a feeling of utter hopelessness which robs them of all further incentive.

Unfortunately, in these contiguous countries, the resident groups which belong to the same nationality of these emigrants are usually very small. In Havana, for example, while there are several sectarian organizations designed primarily to look after local problems, there is no central organized agency such as we have in the United States, to which all or any persons might turn. There is no public library in Havana. There are many remarkable private clubs or centers where dues of $2 per month entitle the members to educational and recreational opportunities, medical service, etc. To the emigrants, such clubs are naturally closed because of the high dues and also because they cannot speak the Spanish language. The effect of this dearth of social and educational life upon the young people can well be imagined. The streets in which they reside are full of temptations; the Latin conventions, together with the Latin attitude toward unprotected young women, works havoc with the European girls, and any aspiration or desire for clean living and high thinking must quickly vanish in such an unsavory environment.

So long as this was but a temporary matter and there was the knowledge that after a year's residence the majority of these transmigrants would be able to join their relatives in the States, the situation, although distressing, was one which could still be coped with. Those who were unable to find work received aid from their relatives in the States, or from relatives in Europe.

With the passage of the new law, however, the problem has become even more acute. The paring of the quota to 2 per cent, and the limiting of relationship in the preferential quota-group to parents of citizens and children between eighteen and twenty-one creates a condition far-reaching in effect, reacting on relatives in the United States as well as on the emigrants themselves. An immediate program to assist transmigrants in Cuba and Mexico has therefore become an absolute necessity. Already certain agencies interested in immigrant aid

are preparing to establish a community center in Havana which will contain educational, recreational, and medical facilities, in addition to an employment bureau for these Europeans, to assist them in adjusting themselves to the new life in Cuba. For most of these people will now be obliged to regard Cuba as their permanent home. Although many will endure the hardships of the pioneer, there is no reason why they cannot become incorporated into the community life of the island. A central council of American social agencies, working in conjunction with representatives from the local resident groups of Havana, should be formed to assist these pioneers. Such an agency must prepare to co-operate with similar social agencies operating in Europe and America for the welfare of emigrants.

The new immigration law in effect on July 1 has not yet begun to function. It is too early to judge whether its enforcement will create even greater problems than has the previous quota law. This much may be safely prophesied, however: that until an international program of protection for emigrants is adopted by all governments, hardships and exploitations will flourish, suffering and disillusionment will continue, and social agencies will be forced to redouble their efforts to salvage and repair, after the damage has been done.

THE PLACE OF SOCIAL SERVICE IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF IMMIGRATION LAWS

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In the successful administration of any immigration laws or regulations social service must play a large part. The administration must be human; the good of the individual must be considered and the regulations enforced with judgment, sympathy, and with a thorough knowledge of the needs of the country.

The first question which occurs to one is, Where does the administration of the immigration laws begin? The answer is, first in selection, followed by administration; then in distribution and settlement, and finally, when necessary, in deportation. Under these headings let us consider thoughtfully where social service is used.

Selection.—In connection with the women's branch of the Department of Immigration and Colonization of Canada, the Department has appointed Canadian women in all the principal emigration offices in Great Britain. Their duty is to interview intending women settlers, not in order to induce them to come to Canada, but to give them advice and accurate information. These Canadian women know the labor situation in the Dominion thoroughly. They also are aware of the opportunities in this country and are thoroughly familiar with the conditions under which our people are living, and their positions do

not depend on the number of emigrants they secure for this country. Their aim is the welfare of the individual, knowing that a settler who is dissatisfied, who has made a bad choice, invariably writes home and prevents other desirable people from coming to this country. I will cite a few examples to enable you to grasp some of the difficulties with which we have to contend.

When a girl comes in for definite employment as a domestic, it is known that according to the immigration laws she will be admitted to this country providing she is healthy, but it is necessary to know, in order that the welfare of the girl may be properly guarded, first, what kind of work she is coming to; second, where she heard of this job; third, what previous experience she has had; fourth, who is the employer and what are the wages and where she will live; fifth, who is paying her way out; sixth, why does she wish to leave her own home? The questions which are asked are of course in accordance with existing regulations which govern admission. It is known that at present there is assured employment in the Dominion only for women who will take housework, and they are required to proceed to a government hostel of which there is one in every province, and be placed in situations through the employment service of this country.

In Great Britain it is often found that wives run away from their husbands and children, and it is necessary, when women state they are married, that their husbands' consent be asked for, before they are allowed to proceed. This work at the beginning is of a preventative character and there would be trouble of a very serious nature if the investigator were not extremely careful. Then again, an investigation shows that a man is on a lonely farm but is thoroughly respectable and wishes to marry the girl in question. He is asked to sign a statement to this effect. Eight hundred and twenty-eight girls came out to Canada to be married during the past fiscal year. Investigations were not made in every case as the girls were able to produce the necessary satisfactory letters. Then again, young girls apply who have got in touch with an employer. Investigation often reveals most unsatisfactory labor conditions, that there is no woman in the house, and that the house is miles away from a settlement, or that it is in the heart of a city and the employer has never been able to keep anyone for any length of time.

Although the emigration regulations state that a woman who is likely to become a public charge is not allowed to come forward, nevertheless we are human, and often a girl is in a pregnant condition and the man has sailed for Canada. In this case the Department makes an exception and an investigation and the girl is allowed to come forward, and as a result many happy marriages have been witnessed.

All the steamships which sail for Canada now carry conductresses to look after girls. This has been the result of a decided effort by the Department. Girls were not allowed to sail on ships which did not carry conductresses, and when the steamship companies found out that it was to their own advantage

to appoint these women, and that their pockets were being touched, they complied with the regulations and appointed conductresses.

Admission.—At the port of arrival there is a great field for social work, for in spite of the care that is taken people arrive who are not able to comply with existing regulations, namely, women who are likely to become public charges; men and women who have come out as husband and wife, when cable is received advising us to have them returned; women who have in some way got through the medical examination but who are definitely feebleminded. The existing immigration laws, however, have made it more and more difficult for these people to reach our shores, and we are thankful to say that we have had very few detentions during the past year, and have refused very few people at the ports of arrival.

A young woman arrived in Canada in a condition of pregnancy, and though she was a public charge from the moment she put foot in the country she was not immediately rejected. Her history was gone into and it was discovered that she had lived in a very lonely section of the country from which she came; that she did not realize that she was doing any wrong in coming to this country in that condition, simply that she was following the man who was responsible for her condition. She was perfectly normal and healthy and wished to be given a chance. She was admitted and given employment. Her baby was looked after and at the present time this young woman is doing good work. Efforts are being made to find the man.

Women officers in Canada are on all these boards of inquiry where women are concerned, and it is most essential that this should be so. The trial is of a private nature and if the woman has a friend sitting beside her it gives her assurance no matter whether she is guilty or not. There should be women on all boards of inquiry concerning women, and women should be employed in investigations on all medical cases. This is Canada's aim.

At the port of arrival the Red Cross nurses are doing a most important piece of welfare work. Though not administrating the immigration laws, it is hardly fair in a statement to pass them over. The nurses in charge of these nurseries have had public health training. They know the problems of the community and when they see women and children with whom there is likely to be definite difficulty in the future, they forward the names to headquarters, with the result that within a short time these people are visited by a Red Cross representative.

Distribution and colonization.—The government does practical social service work on the trains. The conductresses have a wonderful opportunity for studying human nature and for seeing the difficulties of the travelers.

A government conductress is in charge of most of the trains which leave our ports carrying immigrants. Under her care are the women and children, the young unaccompanied girls being her special charge, and often also children traveling alone. The work done on these trains can be called by no other

name than social service. The women are chosen by the civil service commission of Canada by means of a written and oral examination; education, experience, and character being taken into consideration. These women are alive to the problems of assimilation, etc. They study the group under their care, give advice and help, and report to the Department names and addresses of those who ought to be followed up, sometimes in order that the law may take its course, at other times in order that an inquiry may be made, and that the public health department may be advised.

A land settlement branch is under the Department to advise settlers how to buy farms, etc. There is a woman's branch, and classes are arranged for the farmers' wives; they are visited and encouraged when crop failures and inexperience tend to make them often wish to give up. This has developed from our Soldiers' Settlement Board which made such a success in getting the soldiers established on the land.

Women officers have been appointed in two of our largest centers for follow-up social service work in connection with immigrant girls. One asks why it is necessary for the federal department to do this work. Why cannot it be done by local organizations? Experience has shown us that it is, in some cases, extremely difficult for a social agency to decide what to do with an individual when it is known that the individual comes under the immigration law, namely, is a public charge, and therefore is liable for deportation, or is a mental case and must be referred to the federal department for action, or is an unmarried mother and the father of the child is on the other side, or a pregnant woman who has got into difficulty before she came to Canada.

The federal department through its officers in Great Britain and through its detailed records in this country is often able to render very valuable assistance. An investigation is made first to find out whether deportation is advisable. The case of an unmarried mother, for instance, is treated in quite a technical way. Investigations are made on both sides in order to determine the best methods of dealing with the matter. The following questions arise in dealing with a girl who is a public charge in a hospital: Is she mentally sound? Where is the man in the case? What were her surroundings in the Old Country, and her previous occupation? If returned, what guaranty have we that the man will marry her? Does the girl's family want her to return home? Is the girl anxious to make good and to keep her baby, and stay in Canada? Can a situation be found for her? Through what agency did she come out? What follow-up work in her case has been done in this country?

There is one point on which we all agree in the administration of immigration laws, that we cannot allow feebleminded women to remain in this country because we have no place of segregation and it is a great menace to the country. On the whole, Canada has a small population, and therefore must see to it that mental defectives do not remain in her midst.

In connection with deportation work the Department has women deportation officers who conduct these cases through the country to the ports. We trust that our methods of prevention will become more and more effective and that soon deportation will be a thing of the past. Already the number of deportations is being reduced each year.

It is to be hoped that our medical examination will be so thorough on the other side that in the future there will be no more medical deportations, but as long as medical standards differ on the subject of psychiatry as widely as they do at present, we shall have difficulties to contend with. More and more, as I study records, I realize the importance of outlining a case, giving all the necessary points of behavior which will indicate an unbalanced mind.

A great deal of practical social service work is done by the Department of Immigration, and has been done for years, but it is not known by that name. It is even doubtful if the officials who have for the last twenty years struggled unselfishly late and early for the benefit of the individual and the community in general, would recognize their efforts under the present name of social service. More is done by the government of this country than the public have the slightest conception of because it is of a confidential nature and must always remain so.

The immigration laws of this country were framed in the most part to correct certain social evils which were brought from time to time to their attention. The statistics which are kept in all social service agencies and the social service departments of the hospitals are of the greatest value to the federal government in forming its immigration policies. Taking all these reports from the different welfare organizations together, the Department is able to have a general conception of the whole problem. The present medical regulations which are now in force are the result of many reports from hospital clinics, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the social service workers who are able to recognize through their records the problems that arise. The Department is able to trace the source of the trouble and amendments are constantly being made to the immigration laws of the country. In all government departments which are successful and are doing vital work in the community, social service methods are employed, and it is the policy of the Department never to turn a case away without finding some solution for the trouble.

Social service work is largely preventative work and the immigration laws are framed on the whole for the benefit of the country and of the individual. We are endeavoring to keep people out when we know they will be on the streets out of work, because in that case their own home is the best. The unsuccessful immigrant in our country who gets into the jail, the asylum, the house of industry, a house of prostitution, or who becomes a public charge and wants to go home, acts as a constant spur to the government in keeping up standards of selection and admission. These cases, without any assistance from outside sources, serve as a reproof for some inefficiency, and one constantly says, "We must take steps that this does not happen again."

C. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

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Secretary, Margaret Strong, Toronto.

Edith Abbott (1924).....Chicago
Frederic Almy (1923–24).....Buffalo
John B. Andrews (1925).....New York
Mrs. Kenneth E. Appel (1925).....Boston
Roger N. Baldwin (1924).....New York
Allen T. Burns (1924).....New York
J. A. Dale (1924).....Toronto
Alexander Fleisher (1923–24).....New York
J. E. Hagerty (1925).....Columbus
Mrs. R. P. Halleck (1923–24).....Louisville
Gilbert E. Jackson (1924).....Toronto
Florence Kelley (1924).....New York
Paul U. Kellogg (1925).....New York
Owen R. Lovejoy (1923–24).....New York
R. M. MacIver (1924).....Toronto
J. W. MacMillan (1924).....Toronto
Annette Mann (1925).....Cincinnati
Mrs. W. L. Murdock (1923–24)..Birmingham
Rev. Richard Roberts (1924) .....Montreal
Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D. (1923–24)
Washington
John R. Shillady (1924).....New York
O. D. Skelton (1924).....Kingston, Ont.
Margaret Strong (1924).....Toronto
Arthur J. Todd (1925).....Chicago
Mary Van Kleeck (1924).....New York
Solomon Wolf (1923–24).....New Orleans

DIVISION VI—NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman, George A. Bellamy, Cleveland.

George A. Bellamy (1924).....Cleveland
Dora Berres (1923–24).....Los Angeles
LeRoy E. Bowman (1925).....New York
H. S. Braucher (1925).....New York
Henry F. Burt (1923–24).....Minneapolis
Mrs. Ralph S. Doud (1924).....Toledo
Dorothy Enderis (1924).....Milwaukee
Corinne Fonde (1924).....Houston
George E. Haynes (1923–24).....Nashville
John Ihlder (1923–24).....Washington
H. H. Jacobs (1923–24).....Milwaukee
E. C. Lindeman (1925).....New York
Joseph C. Logan (1925).....Atlanta
Edward H. Lynde (1925).....Madison
Mary E. McDowell (1923–24).....Chicago
Eleanor McMain (1924).....New Orleans
Mrs. Beverley B. Mumford (1925). Richmond
J. B. Nash (1923–24).....Oakland
Wilbur C. Phillips (1923–24).....New York
Frederic Siedenburg (1923–24).....Chicago
Robert A. Woods (1924).....Boston

DIVISION VII—MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman, Frankwood E. Williams, M.D., New York.
Vice-Chairman, Walter E. Fernald, M.D., Waverley, Mass.
Secretary, Edith M. Furbush, New York.

Smiley Blanton, M.D. (1924).....Madison
Mary V. Clark (1923–24).....New York
Walter E. Fernald, M.D. (1923–24) Waverley, Mass.
Bernard Glueck, M.D. (1925).....New York
George A. Hastings (1924).....New York
Clark E. Higbee (1924).....Grand Rapids
C. M. Hincks, M.D. (1925).....Toronto
Arnold J. Jacoby, M.D. (1925).....Detroit
Mary C. Jarrett (1924).....Boston
Everett Kimball (1925).....Northampton
Suzie L. Lyons (1923–24).....Baltimore
Mrs. Carleton Parker (1923–24)...New York
Robert L. Richards, M.D. (1923–24) Talmadge, Cal.
Thomas W. Salmon, M.D. (1924)..New York
Ada Edith Schweitzer, M.D. (1924) Indianapolis
Mrs. Maida H. Solomon (1925).....Boston
Martha B. Strong (1924).....New York
Jessie Taft (1925).....Philadelphia
William A. White, M.D. (1923–24) Washington
Frankwood E. Williams, M.D. (1923–24) New York
Mrs. Helen Anderson Young (1925) Minneapolis

DIVISION VIII—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman, Robert W. Kelso, Boston.
Vice-Chairman, Harry P. Wareheim, Rochester.
Secretary, John P. Sanderson, New Bedford.

Scott deKins (1924).....St. Louis
Guy T. Justis (1924).....Denver
Sherman C. Kingsley (1924)....Philadelphia
M. C. MacLean (1924).....Toronto
T. A. Mason (1924).....Bridgeport
W. F. Maxwell (1924).....Harrisbug
W. J. Norton (1924).....Detroit
J. P. Sanderson (1924).....New Bedford
Oscar Schoenherr (1924).....East Orange
H. P. Wareheim (1924).....Rochester
Elizabeth H. Webster (1924).....Chicago

DIVISION IX—PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman, Sanford Bates, Boston.
Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Clarence A. Johnson, Raleigh.
Secretary, John A. Brown, Indianapolis.

Burr Blackburn (1925).....Atlanta
Alicia Brown (1923–24).....Dallas
Herbert Brown (1923–24)...East View, N.Y.
Mrs. Carrie P. Bryant (1924)....Los Angeles
Peter Bryce (1925).....Toronto
Amos W. Butler (1924).....Indianapolis
Richard K. Conant (1925).....Boston
Caroline M. Crosby (1925).....Minneapolis
Clarence E. Ford (1925).....Albany
J. E. Hagerty (1923–24).....Columbus
Charles P. Kellogg (1923–24).....Hartford
Robert W. Kelso (1924).....Boston
Rev. William J. Kerby (1924)....Washington
W. L. Kuser (1924).....Eldora, Iowa
James L. Lakin (1925)....Charleston, W.Va.
Kenosha Sessions, M.D. (1923–24) Indianapolis
Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield (1924).....Boston
H. H. Shirer (1923–24).....Columbus
Lucy Sims (1923–24).....Paris, Ky.
M. J. Tappins (1923–24).....Madison
Forest S. Treat (1925).....Davenport
G. Croft Williams (1924).....Columbia, S.C.

DIVISION X—THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman, Fred C. Croxton, Columbus.
Vice-Chairman, Mary C. Hurlbutt, New York.
Secretary, Bruce M. Mohler, Washington.

Grace Abbott.....Washington
Jane Addams.....Chicago
Paul Blanshard.....Rochester
Rev. Charles T. Bridgeman.....New York
Kate Claghorn.....New York
Ruth Crawford.....New York
Julius Drachsler.....New York
W. W. Husband.....Washington
Albert Jenks.....Minneapolis
Julia C. Lathrop.....Rockford, Ill.
Mary E. McDowell.....Chicago
Rose McHugh.....Washington
Herbert A. Miller.....Oberlin, Ohio
Cecelia Razovsky.....New York
Graham Taylor.....Chicago

PART 2

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1925

Officers

President—William J. Norton, Detroit.
First Vice-President—Helen T. Woolley, Detroit. Second Vice-President—J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia. Third Vice-President—George W. Kirchwey, New York.
Treasurer—C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati.
General Secretary—William Hammond Parker, Cincinnati.

Executive Committee

Ex-officio—William J. Norton, President; Helen T. Woolley, First Vice-President; C. M. Bookman, Treasurer. Term expiring 1925—C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Frank J. Bruno, Minneapolis; J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington; Jessie Taft, Philadelphia. Term expiring 1926—M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati; Martha P. Falconer, New York; John L. Gillin, Madison; M. C. MacLean, Toronto; Amelia Sears, Chicago. Term expiring 1927—Edith Abbott, Chicago; James F. Jackson, Cleveland; Eugene Kinckle Jones, New York; Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford; Robert A. Woods, Boston. Chairmen of Divisions.—Edith Abbott, Chicago; LeRoy E. Bowman, New York; John A. Brown, Indianapolis; Louis I. Dublin, New York; Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia; George W. Kirchwey, New York; E. C. Lindeman, High Bridge, N.J.; Emma O. Lundberg, Washington; Stockton Raymond, Boston.

Committee on Program

William J. Norton, Detroit, Chairman; Grace Abbott, Washington; George A. Bellamy, Cleveland; James E. Hagerty, Columbus, O.; George A. Hastings, New York; Harry L. Hopkins, New York; William Hammond Parker, Cincinnati.

Committee on Resolutions

Martha P. Falconer, New York, Chairman; Edward N. Clopper, Cincinnati; Fred R. Johnson, Detroit.

Committee on Nominations

Arch Mandel, Dayton, Chairman; Edith T. Bremer, New York; Mary J. Condon, Pittsburgh; Anna B. Fox, Buffalo; Florence Hutsinpillar, Denver; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta; A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg; Ralph J. Reed, Des Moines; James Hoge Ricks, Richmond.

Committee on Time and Place

Gertrude Vaile, Denver, Chairman; George Bedinger, Philadelphia; C. R. Bradford, Salt Lake City; John A. Brown, Indianapolis; Irene F. Conrad, New York; Mrs. R. S. David, Denver; T. J. Edmonds, Des Moines; Katharine Ewing, Cedar Rapids; James Fitzgerald, Detroit; Frances Hollingshead, Buffalo; Cheney C. Jones, Boston; Robert W. Kneebone, Charleston; Oscar W. Kuolt, Rochester; Eugene T. Lies, Chicago; Edward D. Lynde, Cleveland; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham; F. D. Preston, Omaha; Sarah Selminski, Detroit; Elwood Street, St. Louis; William Wachs, Memphis; Forrester B. Washington, Philadelphia; Walter W. Whitson, Kansas City; Hattie P. Williams, Lincoln.

Committee on International Conference of Social Work

William Hammond Parker, Cincinnati, Chairman; Jane Addams, Chicago; C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Paul U. Kellogg, New York; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Owen R. Lovejoy, New York; Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington; Robert A. Woods, Boston; Helen T. Woolley, Detroit.

Committee on Divisional Reorganization and Kindred Groups

Grace Abbott, Washington, Chairman; Allen T. Burns, New York; C. C. Carstens, New York; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Rowland Haynes, Cleveland; Henry S. Hulbert, Detroit; Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago.

DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

DIVISION I—CHILDREN

Chairman, Emma O. Lundberg, Washington.
Vice-President, A. H. Stoneman, Lansing.
Secretary, Ruth Taylor, Eastview.

Grace Abbott (1925).....Washington
Marian Barney (1927).....Louisville
Ruth Berolzheimer (1925).....Chicago
Jane F. Culbert (1926).....New York
Marcus C. Fagg (1927).....Jacksonville
William W. Hodson (1926).....New York
Cheney C. Jones (1925).....Minneapolis
Leontine Lovotti (1926).....San Francisco
Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart (1926).New York
Mrs. W. L. Murdoch (1927).....Birmingham
J. Prentice Murphy (1925).....Philadelphia
Howard W. Odum (1926)..Chapel Hill, N.C.
A. Percy Paget (1927).....Winnipeg
R. R. Reeder (1927).....Van Wert
Bertha C. Reynolds (1926).....Boston
Carrie Weaver Smith (1925) Gainesville, Tex.
Sophie Van S. Theis (1925).....New York
Minnie Trumbull (1927).....Portland, Ore.
Miriam Van Waters (1926).....Los Angeles
Mrs. Frank D. Watson (1925) Haverford, Pa.
C. V. Williams (1927).....Chicago

DIVISION II—DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

Chairman, George W. Kirchwey, New York.
Vice-Chairman, Jessie F. Binford, Chicago.
Secretary, Edward R. Cass, New York.

H. H. Antels (1925).....Lincoln, Neb.
Sanford Bates (1926).....Boston
Jessie F. Binford (1925).....Chicago
Lucia Johnson Bing (1927).....Columbus
Edith N. Burleigh (1925).....Boston
Edward R. Cass (1927).....New York
Emerson Coatsworth (1927).....Toronto
Martha P. Falconer (1927).....New York
Bernard Glueck (1927).....New York
Maude Miner Haddon (1917).....New York
Hastings H. Hart (1927).....New York
Maude Loeber (1927).....New Orleans
Samuel D. Murphy (1926).....Birmingham
Virginia Murray (1925).....New York
Valeria H. Parker (1925).....New York
Herbert C. Parsons (1927).....Boston
Anna M. Peterson (1926).....Niantic
Louis N. Robinson (1926).....Swarthmore
Carrie Weaver Smith (1926).Gainesville, Tex.
Leon Stern (1926).....Philadelphia
Arthur W. Towne (1926).....New York
Miriam Van Waters (1925).....Los Angeles
Franklin Wilson (1926).....Muncie, Pa.

DIVISION III—HEALTH

Chairman, Dr. Louis I. Dublin, New York.
Secretary, Jessamine S. Whitney, New York.

Minnie H. Ahrens (1925).....Chicago
Dr. Donald B. Armstrong (1926)..New York
Hazel Corbin (1927).....New York
Dr. Louis I. Dublin (1927).....New York
Dr. David Edsall (1926).....Cambridge
Dr. Livingston Farrand (1926).....Ithaca
Enid F. Fergusson (1925).....Toronto
Elizabeth Fox (1925).....Washington
Dr. W. F. French (1927).....Fargo, N.D.
Edna G. Henry (1925).....Indianapolis
Harriet L. Leete (1925).....Washington
George J. Nelbach (1925).....New York
Florence Patterson (1925).....Washington
Dr. C. C. Pierce (1926).....Chicago
Philip S. Platt (1925).....New Haven
Dr. Alvin Powell (1926).....Oakland
Dr. Anna Rude (1925).....Washington
Elizabeth Smelley (1927).....Ottawa
Dr. Felix J. Underwood (1927) Jackson, Miss.
Dr. C. E. A. Winslow (1926)....New Haven

DIVISION IV—THE FAMILY

Chairman, Stockton Raymond, Boston.
Secretary, Francis H. McLean, New York.

W. S. Bixby (1927).....Akron
Mary F. Bogue (1925).....Harrisburg
Frank J. Bruno (1927).....Minneapolis
Joanna C. Colcord (1917).....New York
Elizabeth Dutcher (1926).....Brooklyn
Raymond F. Gates (1926).....Willimantic
Helen W. Hanchette (1927).....Cleveland
Joel D. Hunter (1925).....Chicago
Florence W. Hutsinpillar (1926).....Denver
Porter R. Lee (1926).....New York
Betsey Libbey (1927).....Philadelphia
Benjamin P. Merrick (1925)...Grand Rapids
Stockton Raymond (1926).....Boston
Amelia Sears (1926).....Chicago
Mrs. F. H. Stoltze (1925).....Minneapolis
Gertrude Vaile (1925).....Denver
Ella M. Weinfurther (1927).....Milwaukee

DIVISION V—INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman, E. C. Lindeman, High Bridge, N.J.
Secretary, Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, New York.

John B. Andrews (1925).....New York
Roger Baldwin (1927).....New York
Allen T. Burns (1925).....New York
J. A. Dale (1926).....Toronto
Gertrude Fletcher (1927).....Boston
J. E. Hagerty (1925).....Columbus
Mrs. R. F. Halleck (1927).....Louisville
Rev. F. E. Johnson (1926).....New York
Florence Kelley (1927).....New York
Paul U. Kellogg (1925).....New York
John A. Lapp (1927).....Chicago
E. C. Lindeman (1927)....High Bridge, N.J.
Owen R. Lovejoy (1926).....New York
W. S. Macmillan (1926).....Toronto
Annette Mann (1925).....Chicago
Arthur J. Todd (1925).....Chicago
Mary Van Kleeck (1927).....New York
George Wolman (1926).....New York

DIVISION VI—NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman, LeRoy E. Bowman, New York.

Elsa Alsberg (1927).....New York
George A. Bellamy (1926).....Cleveland
LeRoy E. Bowman (1925).....New York
Howard S. Braucher (1925).....New York
Margaret E. Chapman (1927)...Minneapolis
Frieda Foltz (1926).....Chicago
George E. Haynes (1926).....New York
R. E. Hieronymus (1927).....Urbana, Ill.
Albert J. Kennedy (1926).....Boston
John Kolb (1926).....Madison
John A. Lapp (1927).....Chicago
E. C. Lindeman (1925)....High Bridge, N.J.
Joseph C. Logan (1925).....Atlanta
Edward D. Lynde (1925).....Madison
R. D. Mackenzie (1926).....Seattle
R. M. McIver (1926).....Toronto
Mrs. Beverley B. Mumford (1925).Richmond
Lea D. Taylor (1927).....Chicago
Jesse O. Thomas (1927).....Atlanta
Eva W. White (1927).....Boston
Arthur E. Wood (1926).....Ann Arbor

DIVISION VII—MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman, Dr. Douglas Thom, Boston.
Secretary, Edith M. Furbush, New York.

Dr. Smiley Blanton (1927).....Madison
Mrs. W. F. Dummer (1926).....Chicago
Dr. Walter E. Fernald (1926)
Waverley, Mass.
Dr. Bernard Glueck (1925).....New York
George A. Hastings (1927) .....New York
Clark E. Higbee (1927).....Grand Rapids
Dr. C. M. Hincks (1925).....Toronto
Cornelia D. Hopkins (1927).....Chicago
Dr. Arnold J. Jacoby (1925).....Detroit
Mary C. Jarrett (1927).....Boston
Dr. Marian E. Kenworthy (1927)..New York
Everett Kimball (1925).....Northampton
Dr. Frank J. O'Brien (1926).....Louisville
Christine Robb (1926).....Memphis
Dr. Thomas W. Salmon (1927)....New York
Maida Herman Solomon (1925).....Boston
Dr. Jessie Taft (1925).....Philadelphia
Dr. Douglas Thom (1926).....Boston
Dr. William A. White (1926)....Washington
Dr. Frankwood E. Williams (1926) New York
Helen Anderson Young (1925)...Minneapolis

DIVISION VIII—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman, Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia.
Vice-Chairman, Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago.

Otto F. Bradley (1925).....Minneapolis
Mrs. E. T. Brigham (1925).....Kansas City
Kenyon L. Butterfield (1927).....Lansing
Margaret F. Byington (1927).....Hartford
Louise Cottrell (1926).....Iowa City
J. Howard T. Falk (1926).....Montreal
Rowland Haynes (1925).....Cleveland
Robert W. Kelso (1927).....Boston
H. T. Levy (1925).....Dallas
H. J. Maginnity (1926).....San Francisco
W. F. Maxwell (1927).....Harrisburg
Howard W. Odum (1926)..Chapel Hill, N.C.

DIVISION IX—PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman, John A. Brown, Indianapolis.
Vice-Chairman, Ada E. Sheffield, Boston.
Secretary, Charles P. Kellogg, Hartford.

Hugo B. Anderson (1927).....Salt Lake City
Burr Blackburn (1925).....Atlanta
Peter Bryce (1925).....Toronto
Joseph P. Byers (1926).....Kentucky
Richard K. Conant (1925).....Boston
Caroline M. Crosby (1925).....Minneapolis
Louise Cottrell (1926).....Iowa City
Clarence E. Ford (1925).....Albany
Elizabeth R. Forrest (1927).....San Antonio
Mary B. Harris (1925).....Trenton
Florence Hutsinpillar (1926).....Denver
Rev. W. J. Kerby (1927).....Washington
James S. Lakin (1925).....Charleston
D. F. McLaughlin (1925).....Los Angeles
J. T. Mastin (1927).....Richmond
H. H. Shirer (1926).....Columbus
Elizabeth M. Speer (1927).....Austin, Tex.
Forest S. Treat (1925).....Davenport
Gertrude Vaile (1927).....Denver
G. Croft Williams (1926).....Columbia, S.C.
Elizabeth Yerxa (1926).....Madison

DIVISION X—THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman, Edith Abbott, Chicago.
Vice-Chairman, Dr. G. Elmore Reaman, Toronto.
Secretary, Bruce M. Mohler, Washington.

Ruby Baughman.....Minneapolis
Edith T. Bremer.....New York
Bradley Buell.....New York
Rev. Thomas Burgess.....New York
Thomas L. Cotton.....New York
Fred C. Croxton.....Columbus
Mrs. Ralph S. Doud.....Toledo
George A. Green.....Cleveland
Winifred Hutchinson.....Toronto
John A. Lapp.....Chicago
Eleanor E. Ledbetter.....Cleveland
Rose J. McHugh.....Chicago
Herbert A. Miller.....Columbus
Thomas F. Mulholland.....Jersey City
Cecilia Razovsky.....New York
Philip L. Seman.....Chicago
Rev. C. W. Vernon.....Toronto

PART 3

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

Saturday, June 28, 1924

Meeting called to order by President Abbott.

Mrs. Eva Whiting White, Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, presented the following report from this Committee:

For president: Lee K. Frankel, William J. Norton; for first vice-president: Frederic Siedenburg, Helen T. Woolley; for second vice-president: Florence Kelley, J. Prentice Murphy; for third vice-president: George W. Kirchwey, Frankwood E. Williams. For members of the Executive Committee: Edith Abbott, Mary Clarke Burnett, James L. Fieser, James E. Hagerty, L. A. Halbert, Harry L. Hopkins, James F. Jackson, Eugene Kinckle Jones, John A. Lapp, Julia C. Lathrop, Malcolm S. Nichols, Arthur J. Todd, Robert A. Woods.

Motion carried that report be accepted.

On behalf of the Committee on International Conference of Social Work, Mr. C. C. Carstens reported as follows:

> The Committee recommends with the approval of the Executive Committee that the National Conference of Social Work co-operate with any international group which is planning to hold an international conference of social work, and that if such a meeting is held a committee be appointed to co-operate with such a group in working out a plan for such an international conference.

Motion carried that the recommendation of this Committee be adopted.

Dr. René Sand, at the request of the President, presented the tentative plans for such an international conference.

Miss M. Edith Campbell, chairman of the Committee on Time and Place, reported for this Committee as follows: "The Committee recommends that the next annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work shall be held in the city of Denver, the dates for such meeting to be decided by the Executive Committee."

Moved and seconded that this report be adopted.

Moved and seconded as an amendment to this motion that the words Los Angeles be substituted for the word Denver.

Moved and seconded that as an amendment to the amendment the words Salt Lake City be submitted for Los Angeles.

Amendment to the amendment lost.

Amendment lost.

Original motion carried.

The President reported that "The Executive Committee recommends to the Conference that the Committees to Study the Question of Divisional Reorganization and the Committee on Kindred Groups be relieved of further duties and that a new committee be appointed to consider both these subjects."

Motion carried that this recommendation of the Executive Committee be adopted.

At the request of the President, Mr. Karl de Schweinitz gave a résumé of the report of the Committee on Divisional Reorganization which had been presented to the Executive Committee.

The President announced the appointment of Mr. de Schweinitz of Philadelphia, Mr. Hall of St. Paul, and Dr. Van Waters of Los Angeles as tellers for the election of officers.

Motion carried to adjourn.

Tuesday, July 1, 1924

Meeting called to order by President Abbott.

Mr. Robert W. Kelso, Chairman of the Committee on Revision of the Constitution and By-Laws, presented the following report:

(This report appears as the newly adopted Constitution and By-Laws, on p. 637.)

Motion carried that this report be adopted as a whole.

Mr. W. S. Reynolds, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the following report from this Committee:

WHEREAS, The fifty-first convention of the National Conference of Social Work is keenly appreciative of the courteous and kindly hospitality extended to this great gathering by the people of the city of Toronto, and

WHEREAS, The Conference desires to make formal acknowledgment of this appreciation, therefore be it

Resolved, That this Conference express its hearty thanks

To the Local Committee on Arrangements, for their skilful, efficient management;

To the Board of Governors of the University of Toronto, for the hospitality of these university buildings;

To the churches of Toronto and the Toronto Conservatory of Music for the meeting places they have provided;

To the press, for their generous and accurate handling of Conference publicity;

To the Department of Public Health and Welfare of the city hall, for conducting registration and for manning the information desk;

To the Toronto Chapter of Graduate Nurses, for maintaining an information desk at the King Edward Hotel and at the Union Station;

To the Canadian Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Brigade, for maintaining an emergency station at Conference headquarters;

To the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides of Toronto, the Occupational Therapy Association, and Volunteer Aids of the Dominion for the ushering and messenger service given by their members;

To the Parks Commission and St. John's Industrial School for demonstrations of their work at Exhibition Park; and

To the Canadian National Exhibition Board for permitting the use of the exhibition grounds and buildings for the entertainment of Conference delegates; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the records of the Conference, and that copies of them be mailed to such committees, organizations, and agencies as are named therein.

Motion carried that this report be adopted.

Mr. Reynolds stated that a resolution had been submitted to the Committee on Resolutions to the effect that beginning with 1927 every fourth annual meeting be held in the city of Washington. He suggested that this be referred for consideration to the Executive Committee.

Motion carried that this resolution be referred to the Executive Committee for its consideration and recommendation.

The President reported:

The Executive Committee recommends to the Conference that a temporary division be created on professional standards and education, and that the chairman and divisional committee of this new temporary division be appointed in co-operation with the American Association of Social Workers and the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work.

Motion carried that this recommendation of the Executive Committee be adopted.

The President presented a report from the Executive Committee that the Division on the Immigrant be continued for the ensuing year.

Motion carried that this recommendation by the Executive Committee be approved.

The Secretary presented the following report embodying nominations by the Divisions for divisional officers and committees:

I. *Children*—Chairman, Emma O. Lundberg; Vice-Chairman, A. H. Stoneman; Secretary, Ruth Taylor. Members: Grace Abbott, Marian Barney, Ruth Berolzheimer, Jane F. Culbert, Marcus C. Fagg, William W. Hodson, Cheney C. Jones, Leontine Lovotti, Bryan J. McEntegart, Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, J. Prentice Murphy, Howard W. Odum, A. Percy Paget, R. R. Reeder, Bertha C. Reynolds, Carrie Weaver Smith, Sophie Van S. Theis, Minnie Trumbull, Miriam Van Waters, Mrs. Frank D. Watson, C. V. Williams.

II. *Delinquents and Correction*.—Chairman, George W. Kirchwey; Vice-Chairman, Jessie F. Binford; Secretary, Edward R. Cass. Members: H. H. Antels, Sanford Bates, Jessie F. Binford, Lucia Johnson Bing, Edith N. Burleigh, Edward R. Cass, Emerson Coatsworth, Martha P. Falconer, Bernard Glueck, Maude Miner Haddon, Hastings H. Hart, Maude Loeber, Samuel D. Murphy, Virginia Murray, Valeria H. Parker, Herbert C. Parsons, Anna M. Peterson, Louis N. Robinson, Carrie Weaver Smith, Leon Stern, Arthur W. Towne, Miriam Van Waters, Franklin Wilson.

III. *Health*.—Chairman, Livingston Farrand; Vice-Chairman, Louis I. Dublin; Secretary, Jessamine S. Whitney. Members: Minnie H. Ahrens, Donald B. Armstrong, Hazel Corbin, Louis I. Dublin, David Edsall, Livingston Farrand, Enid Forsythe Ferguson, Elizabeth Fox, W. J. French, Edna G. Henry, Harriet L. Leete, George J. Nelbach, Florence Patterson, C. C. Pierce, Philip S. Platt, Alvin Powell, Anna Rude, Elizabeth Smelley, Felix J. Underwood, C. E. A. Winslow.

IV. *The Family*.—Chairman, Stockton Raymond; Secretary, Francis H. McLean. Members: W. S. Bixby, Mary F. Bogue, Frank J. Bruno, Joanna C. Colcord, Elizabeth Dutcher, Raymond F. Gates, Helen W. Hanchette, Joel D. Hunter, Florence W. Hutsinpillar, Porter

Lee, Betsey Libbey, Benjamin P. Merrick, Stockton Raymond, Amelia Sears, Mrs. F. H. Stoltze, Gertrude Vaile, Ella M. Weinfurther.

V. *Industrial and Economic Problems.*—Chairman, E. C. Lindeman; Secretary, F. E. Johnson. Members: John B. Andrews, Roger Baldwin, Allen T. Burns, J. A. Dale, Haven Emerson, Gertrude Fletcher, J. E. Hagerty, Mrs. R. F. Halleck, F. E. Johnson, Florence Kelley, Paul U. Kellogg, E. C. Lindeman, John A. Lapp, Owen R. Lovejoy, W. S. MacMillan, Annette Mann, Arthur J. Todd, Mary Van Kleeck, George Wolman.

VI. *Neighborhood and Community Life.*—Chairman, LeRoy E. Bowman; Secretary, Lea D. Taylor. Members: Elsa Alsberg, George A. Bellamy, LeRoy E. Bowman, Howard S. Braucher, Margaret Chapman, Frieda Foltz, George E. Haynes, R. E. Hieronymus, Albert J. Kennedy, John Kolb, John A. Lapp, E. C. Lindeman, Joseph C. Logan, Edward D. Lynde, R. D. Mackenzie, R. M. MacIver, Mary C. B. Mumford, Lea D. Taylor, Jesse O. Thomas, Eva W. White, Arthur E. Wood.

VII. *Mental Hygiene.*—Chairman, Walter E. Fernald; Vice-Chairman, Jessie Taft; Secretary, Edith M. Furbush. Members: Smiley Blanton, Mrs. W. F. Dummer, Walter E. Fernald, Bernard Glueck, George A. Hastings, Clark E. Higbee, C. M. Hincks, Cordelia Hopkins, Arnold J. Jacoby, Mary C. Jarrett, Marian Kenworthy, Everett Kimball, Frank J. O'Brien, Christine Robb, Thomas W. Salmon, Maida H. Salomon, Jessie Taft, Douglas Thom, William A. White, Frankwood E. Williams, Helen Anderson Young.

VIII. *Organization of Social Forces.*—Chairman, Sherman C. Kingsley; Vice-Chairman, Wilfred S. Reynolds. Members: Otto F. Bradley, Mrs. E. T. Brigham, Kenyon L. Butterfield, Margaret F. Byington, Louise Cottrell, J. Howard T. Falk, Rowland Haynes, Robert W. Kelso, H. T. Levy, H. J. Maginnity, W. F. Maxwell, Howard W. Odum.

IX. *Public Officials and Administration.*—Chairman, John A. Brown; Vice-Chairman, Ada E. Sheffield; Secretary, Charles P. Kellogg. Members: Hugo B. Anderson, Burr Blackburn, Peter Bryce, Joseph P. Byers, Richard K. Conant, Caroline M. Crosby, Louise Cottrell, Clarence E. Ford, Elizabeth R. Forrest, M. B. Harris, Florence Hutsinpillar, W. J. Kerby, James S. Lakin, James F. Mastin, D. F. McLaughlin, H. H. Shirer, Elizabeth M. Speer, Forest S. Treat, Gertrude Vaile, G. Croft Williams, Elizabeth Yerxa.

X. *The Immigrant.*—Chairman, Edith Abbott; Vice-Chairman, Dr. G. E. Reaman; Secretary, Bruce M. Mohler. Members: Ruby Baughman, Edith Terry Bremer, Bradley J. Buell, Thomas Burgess, Thomas L. Cotton, Fred C. Croxton, Mrs. Ralph S. Doud, George Green, Winifred Hutchinson, John A. Lapp, Eleanor Ledbetter, Rose J. McHugh, Herbert A. Miller, Thomas F. Mulholland, Cecelia Razovsky, Philip Seman, C. W. Vernon.

Motion carried that all those named in the list of divisional nominations be elected.

Meeting adjourned.

Tuesday, July 1, 1924, 8:00 P.M.

President Abbott announced to the Conference that the election of officers held at the business meeting on the morning of this date resulted as follows: President, William J. Norton; First Vice-President, Mrs. Helen T. Woolley; Second Vice-President, J. Prentice Murphy; Third Vice-President, George W. Kirchwey. Executive Committee Members: Miss Edith Abbott, Chicago; James F. Jackson, Cleveland; Eugene Kinckle Jones, New York; Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford, Illinois; Robert A. Woods, Boston.

PART 4

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION

Preamble

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

Membership

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

Officers

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the assistant secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

Committees

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President, and the Treasurer, ex-officio; the chairmen of all of the Division Committees, ex-officio; and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years: vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

Annual Meetings

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

General Secretary

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

Amendments

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

1. *Membership Fees*

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, $5; without the *Proceedings*, $3; for sustaining members, $10; for institutional members, $25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members,

$25 or over. (Contributing memberships shall be limited to individuals contributing $25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. *Duties of Officers*

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. *Finance*

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. *Appointment of Committees*

Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the next meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A Conference Program Committee of seven members, to consist of the retiring President, the newly elected President, who shall act as chairman, the General Secretary, and four persons to be appointed by the newly elected President for a term of one year. This committee, subject to action by the Executive Committee, shall have entire responsibility (1) for preparing all programs for general sessions of the Conference, (2) for harmonizing and co-ordinating the programs of the several Divisions.

d) A Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

The appointment and personnel of all committees shall be published in the bulletin next following the appointment.

5. *Divisions*

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Public Officials and Administration.

b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Division members and elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Division shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succceeding year.

f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year elect a Division Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. *Kindred Groups*

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. *Submission of Questions*

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such question with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. *Business Sessions*

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

All individuals holding the rank of member under any of the classes provided in the constitution and duly qualified shall be entitled to vote. Dues shall cover the period of one full year from the date of their payment; but dues paid at the annual meeting in any year shall cover the period to the date of but not including the next annual meeting. Any person who was a member on the first day of January preceding and is a member on the date of voting shall be entitled to vote. No member of the Conference shall be entitled to more than one vote.

9. *Voting Quorum*

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

10. *Division Meetings*

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairmen of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. *Minutes*

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. *Local Arrangements*

All local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. *Nomination and Election of Officers*

1. The nominating committee shall have the function of nominating two or more persons for each of the offices of President, first Vice-President, second Vice-President, and third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the nominating committee by any member of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the nominating committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the second day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:15 P.M. of the third day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the third day of the Conference.

5. At any time either before or following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the nominating committee. Such nominations shall be received up to one o'clock P.M. on the fourth day of the annual meeting.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday. Should the fifth day fall on Sunday, such publication shall be made on the morning of the sixth day.

Ballots shall be supplied to all members who are entitled to vote and who present themselves for voting.

A polling place shall be established and maintained between the hours of 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired the ballots shall be counted by three tellers appointed by the President and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by plurality of the votes cast.

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